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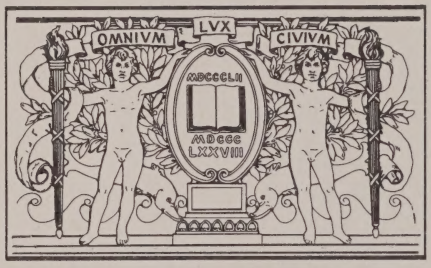

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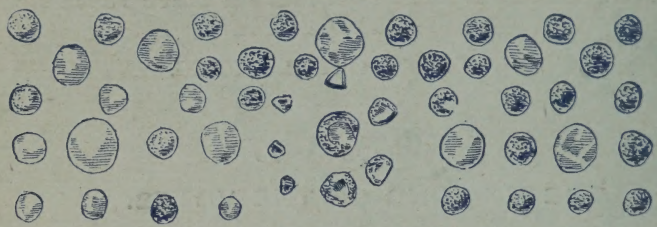

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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CLXIV.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

RE-ESTABLISHED BY A. T. RICE AND LLOYD BRYCE.

EDITED BY DAVID A. MUNRO.

VOL. CLXIV.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
291 FIFTH AVENUE.
1897.

NOV 10 1964

Per. Dept.
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.N7
Vol. 164

July 15, 1897.
Ir. Cl.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXII.

JANUARY, 1897.

THE MEANING OF THE VOTES.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

NOTHING is more unprofitable than the "might have beens" of history or politics. The computations by which it is shown that, if a few thousand votes had been changed in one place and a few thousand more somewhere else, then the result of the Presidential election would have been different, are not only meaningless but harmful. The single statement that it is no easier but actually more difficult to change votes when the margin is narrow and political lines tightly drawn than when the margin is wide and party ties loose really disposes of the whole thing. They are harmful because they are able by a certain fallacious picturesqueness to disturb and agitate many people who do not stop to analyze them. This calculation and solemn setting forth of practically impossible hypotheses is a favorite amusement after elections. It was indulged in in 1892, and has had its run again in 1896. But these computations and imaginings are not worth a moment's serious thought nor the paper used to print them.

But while the "might have beens" are flat and unprofitable, it is both useful and profitable to examine the actual facts disclosed by the votes after a national election and especially after an election as momentous as that through which we have just passed. Such an examination seems especially desirable at this time, when many persons who in October would have found complete joy and salvation in the election of McKinley by a majority of one

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electoral vote are now grumbling and shaking their heads because he did not have a hundred and fifty. Such utterances and such a state of mind are especially undesirable now when the business confidence, for which at last we have good ground, should be stimulated and not checked and depressed.

My purpose here, therefore, is to sketch briefly the situation which led up to the political campaign just concluded, and then by a few simple tables to show what the votes which decided that campaign really meant and what they represented. The elections of 1893, 1894, and 1895 were fought exclusively upon the tariff, and their overwhelmingly Republican results made it obvious that the people were not only convinced that the Democrats were a failure in office, but that they were also against low tariffs and in favor of protection. When a party elected to power on a distinct declaration in favor of free trade found itself unable to frame or pass anything but a tariff protective in principle, it became clear that the vast majority of the American people adhered to protection. This was confirmed by the election results of three successive years. The voters clearly did not want free trade, and were sick of the attempts made in that direction under the guise of tariff reform. Thus it became plain to everybody, except to those few persons whose horizon was so small that it was completely filled by the figure of Mr. Cleveland, that on the tariff issue the party of protection would carry the country, and win a sweeping victory. In the question of free silver some of the Southern Democratic leaders saw a means of escape, not only from national defeat, but what was far more important to them, from the loss of their own States to the Populists. In the election of 1892, Mr. Cleveland, although he had a plurality of nearly 400,000, was in a minority on the total popular vote of close on to a million. If by free silver the Populists could be united to the Democrats, victory was certainly possible if not probable.

The plan of these leaders was to confine the campaign to the silver issue, but when they got to Chicago they found it was easier to light a fire than to control it. They had broken down the old leadership of the Democratic party in the North and a new element had come in. This new element cared little for the silver question except as a means to an end. What they desired was to make a general attack on all existing institutions. Under

the able lead of Governor Altgeld they embodied in the platform a demand for repudiation, for the overthrow of the powers of the Court, for making the courts a mere mouthpiece of the victorious political party, and for the destruction of the Executive power of enforcing law. When this platform was first published, these clauses struck the country as merely wild declarations put forward without consideration in the hope of catching certain bodies of voters. But, as the campaign proceeded, it became clear to every one that, instead of being a collection of reckless and crazy utterances without cohesion or plan, it was a well-drawn and carefully thought out scheme based on socialistic and anarchistic theories imported from Europe and involving, if successful, nothing short of a revolution in our form of government.

As the discussion went on and the weeks passed, the silver question dropped more and more into the background. The theatrical declaimer who won the nomination by arresting at a critical moment the wandering fancy of the Convention first dropped from his repertoire the question of the tariff. Four years before he had been proclaiming to all who would listen that free trade would bring the millennium and the overthrow of all those wicked persons and combinations engaged in the criminal pursuit of earning and saving money. In 1896 he had forgotten the panacea of 1892. In all his miles of talk and acres of words there is hardly an allusion to tariff. At the beginning his speeches were devoted almost exclusively to the money question. He even tried at Madison Square to discuss it seriously and he never wholly abandoned it, but gradually it assumed a less and less important place in his declamation. More and more he was impelled by the forces which had put the revolutionary clauses into the Democratic platform to devote himself to passionate appeals along these lines. His action, which was the result not of thought but of the governing forces of the contests, illustrates the single point I desire to make, which is that the real question finally developed during the campaign was whether we should hold to the principles of government and the traditions of law and order which have been characteristic of the American people, or whether we should break down all these principles and traditions and enter upon a new line of experiment and probably of revolution. No graver question was ever submitted to any people for decision at the ballot box at a single election. The result of

the voting therefore becomes of the utmost importance, and its true significance should be rightly understood so that we may know what it means and what it portends in the future.

Let us note, first, exactly what the result of the voting was on the popular vote, which is much more instructive than the electoral vote, and see how it compares with the previous elections. The following table gives these statistics:

TABLE I.

POPULAR MAJORITY AND PLURALITY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Year.	Candidates.	Popular vote.	Plurality.	Majority.	Minority.
1828	Andrew Jackson	647 231	138,134	138,134	.....
"	J. Q. Adams	509,097	.....	.....	.....
1832	Andrew Jackson	687,502	157,313	124,305	.....
"	Henry Clay	530,189	.....	.....	.....
1836	Martin Van Buren	761.549	24,893	24,893	.....
"	W H. Harrison	736,656	.....	.....	.....
1840	W. H. Harrison.	1,275,017	146,315	139,256	.....
"	Martin Van Buren	1,128,702	.....	.....	.....
1844	Jas. K. Polk	1,337,243	38,175	.....	24,125
"	Henry Clay	1,299,668	.....	.....	.....
1848	Zachary Taylor	1,360.101	139,557	.....	151,706
"	Lewis Cass	1,220,544	.....	.....	.....
1852	Franklin Pierce	1,601,474	220,896	64,749	.....
"	Winfield Scott	1,380,576	.....	.....	.....
1856	James Buchanan	1,838 169	496,905	.....	377,633
"	Jno. C. Fremont	1,341.264	.....	.....	.....
1860	Abraham Lincoln	1,866,352	491,195	.....	944,149
"	Stephen A. Douglas	1,375,157	.....	.....	.....
1864	Abraham Lincoln	2,216,067	407,342	407,342	.....
"	Geo. B. McClellan	1,808.725	.....	.....	.....
1868	U. S. Grant	3,015.071	305,456	305,456	.....
"	Horatio Seymour	2,709,615	.....	.....	.....
1872	U S. Grant	3,597,070	762,991	627,975	.....
"	Horace Greeley	2,834,079	.....	.....	.....
1876	S. J Tilden	4,284.885	250,935	157,037	.....
"	R. B. Hayes	4,033.950	.....	.....	.....
1880	J A. Garfield	4,449,053	7,018	.....	311,300
"	W. S. Hancock	4.442,035	.....	.....	.....
1884	G Cleveland	4,911.017	62,683	.....	222,951
"	J. G. Blaine	4,848,334	.....	.....	.....
1888	G. Cleveland	5,538,233	98,017	.....	300,394
"	Benj. Harrison	5.440,216	.....	.....	.....
1892	G. Cleveland	5,556,918	380.810	.....	945 515
"	B Harrison	5 176.108	.....	.....	.....
1896	W. McKinley	7,065,410	725,448	380,059	.....
"	W. J. Bryan	6,339,962	.....	.....	.....

It will be observed from this table, which is made up of official returns in all except two or three of the smaller States, that McKinley received the largest plurality and the largest majority over all ever given to a President except in 1872, when Grant defeated Greeley.

It must be remembered that in the latter case the Republican vote of the South was still polled, and that the Democratic vote

did not come out. The Democratic voters abandoned their candidate, so that that election is hardly a fair test, as it was not at the end seriously contested.

The magnitude of McKinley's victory is thus shown, and it is thrown into still stronger relief if we consider the number of Presidents who have been in a minority of the popular vote, and especially when we recall that Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and Cleveland in 1892 were in a minority of nearly a million, and yet we know how decisive both those elections were at the time.

I now give a series of tables showing the illiteracy, wealth, population, and proportion of foreign-born population in the States voting for McKinley and Bryan.

TABLE II.

PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERACY AND OF FOREIGN BORN, AND WEALTH AND POPULATION OF M'KINLEY STATES.

State.	Percentage of illiteracy.	Percentage of foreign born.	Population.	Wealth.
California	7.7	50.21	1,220,000	$2,533,733,627
Connecticut	5.3	34 99	800.000	855,120,219
Delaware	14.3	12 94	179 700	175,678,795
Illinois	5.2	36.39	4,500.000	5,066 751,719
Indiana	6.3	12.33	3,135,360	2,095,176,626
Iowa	3.6	29 92	2,000,000	2,287.348,333
Kentucky	21.6	6.61	2,200,000	1,172,232,313
Maine	5 5	15.14	732,000	489,134,128
Maryland	15.7	15.73	1,138,348	1,085,473.048
Massachusetts	6.2	38.66	2,495,345	2,803.645,447
Michigan	5 9	40.22	2,297,000	2,095,016,272
Minnesota	6.0	58.85	1,610.000	1,691,851 927
New Hampshire	6.8	22.05	400,000	325,128 740
New Jersey	6.5	35.08	1,672,942	1,445,285,114
New York	5.5	38 73	6,690,842	8,576.701,991
North Dakota	6.0	64 89	225,000	337.006,506
Ohio	5.2	21.53	4,000,000	3,951,382,384
Oregon	4.1	33.48	400,000	590,396,194
Pennsylvania	6.8	27.19	5,760,128	6,190.746,550
Rhode Island	9.8	40.18	384.758	504.162,352
Vermont	6.7	19.36	340,000	265,567,323
West Virginia	14.4	5.40	875,000	438.954,881
Wisconsin	6.7	52.93	1,937,915	1,833,308.523
23 States	Av., 7.90	Av., 30.99	Total, 44,994,338	Total, $46,789,803,012

The statistics on population are estimates made from the *World Almanac* by the Governors of the States.

PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERACY AND OF FOREIGN BORN, AND WEALTH AND POPULATION OF BRYAN STATES.

State.	Percentage of illiteracy.	Percentage of foreign born.	Population.	Wealth.
Alabama	41.0	2.50	1,600,000	$622,773,504
Arkansas	26.6	3.20	1,600,000	455,147,422
Colorado	5 2	30.52	450,000	1,145,712,267
Florida	27.8	11.70	485,000	389,489,388
Georgia	39.8	1.75	1,984,939	852,409,449
Idaho	5.1	37.17	130,000	207,896,591
Kansas	4.0	19.07	1,350,000	1,799,343,501
Louisiana	45.8	10.12	1,225,000	495,301,597
Mississippi	40.0	1.86	1,351,850	454,242,688
Missouri	9.1	17.11	3,200,000	2,397,902,945
Montana	5.5	45 82	185,000	453,135,209
Nebraska	3.1	31.80	1,158,000	1,275,685,514
Nevada	12.8	51.41	60,000	.....
North Carolina	35.7	0.61	1,720,000	584,148,999
South Carolina	45.0	1.45	1,375,000	400,911,803
South Dakota	4.2	44 35	332,000	425,141,299
Tennessee	26.6	2 74	1,800,000	887,956,143
Texas	19.7	14.04	2,838,263	2,105,576,766
Utah	5.6	45.02	254,743	349,411,234
Virginia	30.2	2.99	1,750,000	862,318,070
Washington	4.3	39.44	415,000	760,698,726
Wyoming	3.7	33.99	100,000	169,773,710
	Av., 20.03	Av., 20.39	Total, 25,364,795	Total, $17,094,976,325

The statistics on population are estimates made from the *World Almanac* by the Governors of the States.

Population of McKinley States	44,994,338
" " Bryan "	25,364,795
Balance in favor of McKinley	19,629,543
Wealth of McKinley States	$46,789,803,012
" " Bryan " (excluding Nevada)	17,094,976,325
Balance in favor of McKinley	$29,694,826,687

FOREIGN PARENTAGE.

No percentage by States of persons born of foreign parentage, but in 1890 the number was 20,676,046, being 33.02 per cent. of the population. The percentage in 1880 was 29.75, and in 1870 was 28.25. Total number of foreign born and born of foreign parentage, 29,925,593. Total number of native born and born of native parentage, 32,696,657.

These tables suggest some important and interesting deductions. They show that where the McKinley vote cast against the revolutionary programme was heaviest was in the States where the average of illiteracy was lowest. In other words, they demonstrate that

the public schools not only teach people how to vote intelligently, but also rightly, on fundamental questions and imbue them with the strongest American sentiment. The second table gives also the wealth and population of the various States arranged according to their electoral votes. By them it appears that the population of the McKinley States, in round numbers, was close to forty-five million, while the population of the Bryan States is only a little over twenty-five million.

We find also from these tables that the wealth of the States which gave their electoral votes to the Republican candidate, according to the census of 1890, was close to forty-seven billion, while that of the States which gave their votes to the Democratic candidate was, according to the same census, just over seventeen billion.

The figures giving the percentage of foreign born show that that percentage was largest in the McKinley States. This indicates, in the first place, that a majority of the foreign-born citizens take a conservative view of the currency question. But it indicates something which is more important than this with reference to that which I have said was the main point decided at the election.

The great bulk of the electoral vote of Mr. Bryan came from the Southern States. The voters of those States are chiefly small planters and farmers. It is neither an industrial region nor one of large cities.

Now the planter and the farmer are freeholders and a small freeholder is by nature, and at bottom he can never be otherwise than, conservative; that is, the owner of land whether large or small is not a man who is in favor of the destruction or division of property or of anarchy or disorder. If the issue should be squarely made, he would be found in opposition to the destructive principles of Altgeld and those whom he represented. The Southern planter and farmer, of course, found himself in combination with these elements of the great Northern States merely because he was carried away by the free-silver propaganda. The same is true of the farmers of the West who voted for Bryan. They were for free silver. In a vague way they may have been opposed to railroads and corporations, but they had and can have no genuine sympathy with the general overturn of laws and institutions which the Chicago platform proposed. It is clear also

that if those disintegrating and revolutionary principles were to find strength anywhere, they would be likely to find it among our foreign-born citizens, because the Altgeld policies were imported and not native. Yet the votes of the States show that the majority of our foreign-born citizens voted decisively against the revolutionary sentiments of the Chicago platform. If those doctrines can be beaten in our great cities, if the majority of the foreign-born citizens are as strongly against them as the native-born, they are not likely to flourish anywhere. They certainly can take no hold among the farmers, planters, and freeholders of the South and West.

This analysis shows, too, how unreal the combination was which enabled Bryan to get as many votes as he did, and that it was made up of men who, in their deepest convictions, were as wide apart as the poles, but who in a period of agitation and bad times were united by the skill of certain desperate leaders on a single misleading issue relating to the currency.

The next and last table which I shall give shows the dates at which the various States were admitted to the Union, and the candidate to whom they gave their electoral vote in the November election.

TABLE III.

AGE OF STATES VOTING FOR MCKINLEY.

State.	Year admitted.	Age.
Delaware	1787	110 years
Pennsylvania	1787	110 "
New Jersey	1787	110 "
Connecticut	1788	109 "
Massachusetts	1788	109 "
Maryland	1788	109 "
New Hampshire	1788	109 "
New York	1788	109 "
Rhode Island	1790	107 "
Vermont	1791	106 "
Kentucky	1792	105 "
Ohio	1802	95 "
Indiana	1816	81 "
Illinois	1818	79 "
Maine	1820	77 "
Michigan	1837	60 "
Iowa	1846	51 "
Wisconsin	1848	49 "
California	1850	47 "
Minnesota	1858	39 "
Oregon	1859	38 "
West Virginia	1863	34 "
North Dakota	1889	8 "

Average age of McKinley States, 80.4 years.

AGE OF STATES VOTING FOR BRYAN.

State.	Year admitted.	Age.
Georgia	1788	109 years
South Carolina	1788	109 "
Virginia	1788	109 "
North Carolina	1789	108 "
Tennessee	1796	101 "
Louisiana	1812	85 "
Mississippi	1817	80 "
Alabama	1819	78 "
Missouri	1821	76 "
Arkansas	1836	61 "
Florida	1845	52 "
Texas	1845	52 "
Kansas	1861	36 "
Nevada	1864	33 "
Nebraska	1867	30 "
Colorado	1876	21 "
South Dakota	1889	8 "
Montana	1889	8 "
Washington	1889	8 "
Idaho	1890	7 "
Wyoming	1890	7 "
Utah	1895	2 "

Average age of Bryan States, 53.6 years

This table, when we consider it, is a very interesting one. It shows that McKinley carried nine of the thirteen original States, and of the other four North Carolina was so divided that its vote has little significance. Going beyond the borders of the thirteen original States, we find that, outside the South, where the voters were held in line merely by party discipline and the strength of the party label, McKinley carried the States just about in proportion to their age as States. From this we see that the older and more settled our States become, the heavier and more decisive is their verdict against dishonest policies and disorganizing and revolutionary principles of government.

If we sum up the whole matter, as disclosed by these tables, we find that the oldest and thriftiest, the richest, the best-educated and the most populous communities in the United States were those where the theories of Altgeld met with their heaviest defeat, going down in some cases under majorities that were little short of phenomenal. It would not be easy to find a better proof of the strong and patriotic character of the American people, or a better guarantee of American institutions than this.

Then again, if we analyze the Bryan vote, we find that his Western States and his Southern States were held to him by the free-silver doctrine, in the one case because it seemed to promise benefit to a local industry, in the other because the old and re-

current delusion, as old as human history, that times can be made better by an abundance of cheap money, had taken hold of the people. It is mere conjecture to say how much of the large vote he received was held to him by the fact that he was the regular candidate of the Democratic party. In New England I have no question that nine-tenths of his vote at least was merely for the label—that is, it came from men who would have voted the Democratic ticket last November if it had declared in favor of gold or if it had declared in favor of putty dollars. On the naked question without the forces of the party organization behind it, Mr. Bryan on the platform which Mr. Altgeld prepared for him would hardly have polled in New England a vote sufficient to have risen above the dignity of the scattering. What I feel certain is true of New England I believe to be true of the rest of the country. Therefore we may not only feel encouraged by the result of the election, but we are warranted in believing more firmly than ever in the character and intelligence of the American people when a great moral issue is squarely presented to them.

I should not for a moment deny, despite the confident view which I think an intelligent study of the statistics warrants, that there were some deplorable and alarming events in the last campaign, but I do not find them in the results of the voting. The great misfortune of the campaign was the capture of the Democratic party, one of the two great parties of the country, by the men who seized upon its name and authority in Chicago. In two strong, well-organized parties lies one of the sources of the success and strength of representative government among the English-speaking people. Great parties are responsible organizations. In the end they are conservative, and tend to maintain the principles on which the government has been founded, and by which the race has prospered. They constitute one of our great points of superiority to the Latin races, who, in their representative governments, do not have two great parties, one of government and one of opposition, but only a collection of groups and factions. From this fact has arisen a large proportion of the troubles which have beset the non-English speaking races in their efforts to carry on representative government. Hence it is that the capture of a great party organization by such elements as prevailed at Chicago is a national misfortune. We have but to look at the next Senate

to see as one of these results that the Republican party is not confronted by a coherent opposition, but by a body of Senators split up into no less than four groups. This is a danger, and every patriotic man must hope that the Democratic party will shake off the unnatural and incompetent leadership into whose hands it has fallen and to return to its old principles under which it has flourished for so long.

The other unfortunate event was the fact that the Southern leaders succeeded again in dragging most of their States into a position where a majority of the people of the country identify them with a revolutionary movement and with hostility to the business and prosperity of the nation. The South has suffered heavily and paid bitterly for bad leadership and mistaken policies in the past. No matter on which side of politics they array themselves it is profoundly to be hoped that the new and progressive elements in the Southern States will lift them out of the false position into which the old leadership has been continually thrusting them.

Yet with all allowances for these two very serious aspects, the result of the election looked at dispassionately cannot but give an American an increased pride in the good sense and high character of his countrymen. We have been brought to a test nearly, if not quite, as momentous as the Civil War and far more insidious. We have met it victoriously and we may well feel confident in the future of such a people and such a country and bend all our energies to the development and renewal of that prosperity before which the last traces of the late campaign, to which hard times alone gave vitality, will melt away.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE GERMAN PRESS AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

It is one of the curiosities of history that Bismarck should, in some parts of Germany, be regarded as the champion of Constitutional Government as opposed to Absolute Monarchy. The Iron Chancellor is well named in that he has made himself and his country great by means of war and its iron methods. Down in the bottom of his heart he has a profound contempt for popular government of every kind, and he has never shrunk from expressing his feelings on this subject, at least when he was in power. To the representatives of the people assembled in the Imperial Parliament, he more than once hinted that if they refused to vote according to his wishes he would find means of asserting the power of the crown in spite of their opposition. And while on the one hand he is praised as the author of German Constitutional Government, on the other hand he, more than any other German, has exerted himself to make parliamentary government in the Fatherland a worthless institution.

As Bismarck endeavored to rob the people's representatives of their legislative dignity, much more did he attempt to weaken the force of public opinion as voiced by the newspapers. He was wont to refer to them as merely so much ink and paper, and in this spirit his government treated editors as though they could be but of two classes—either slaves or enemies. The constitution of the empire guaranteed a free press along with free speech, and the judges in Prussia are as a class high-minded and able officers. But in spite of all this constitutional machinery the history of journalism in Germany since 1871 is one calculated to depress rather than cheer the student of politics.

In 1866 the King of Hanover was driven from his throne and his estate was sequestered by the Prussian government on the

ground that it was necessary to have at the command of the Prime Minister a large amount of money with which to counteract the treasonable machinations of the anti-Prussian Germans. This great fund was a species of secret service money devoted to a variety of objects connected with the political police. As Socialism became a force the money of this fund was used in hiring spies to give information regarding the doings of the disaffected; and much of this money went for the purpose of supporting newspapers devoted to the principles of Bismarck.

It would be grossly unfair to say that the press of Germany is corrupt, unless we refer to a corruption represented in the English and American press as well. Every newspaper is primarily a money-making business and no great daily could long exist if it disregarded the interests of its advertisers or ceased to pay dividends to the shareholders. The editor of a newspaper with us is nominally a free man, but practically he has no more freedom than a member of Congress or a clergyman. He represents a certain line of thought on certain subjects, and woe to the editor who hopes to keep in his place without the sympathy of his proprietor! The newspapers of Germany stand on a far higher level than those of France, for a variety of reasons. In Paris I once heard the ambassador of a great power state deliberately that he could print any article he chose in any paper of Paris provided he paid their regular rates. The statement was so astounding that I asked him seriously whether he meant what he said, whereupon he repeated this damning proposition; in other words he accused Parisian journalists of treating their editorial columns as we treat those reserved for advertisements, and at the same time practicing a deception upon their readers. The German, as a rule, is a reading and thinking man; curious in matters of general information and so intelligent that he is not readily imposed upon by his newspaper. If the German government gave perfect freedom to the press and exercised no favoritism toward the papers supporting different parties, it is possible that the Germans would furnish us with the best newspapers of the world; for even to-day a first-class Berlin paper gives its readers as good articles upon literature, art, science, travel, and human progress generally, as any paper of London or New York, but they stop short of perfection because of the political helplessness to which they are condemned by their own government.

Suppose you or I desired to start a newspaper, we must have two things besides capital; we must get news and get advertising. In a free country the state knows no distinction of parties, and news of public interest is accessible to all papers in proportion as their editors are enterprising and intelligent. In Germany it is otherwise. I do not know the exact number of Germans directly or indirectly supported by the state, for the statistics on this subject have never yet been published; but a very able politician told me once that I might regard every other voter in Germany as a dependent upon government. In Germany it is the duty of officials to vote in favor of government measures, and in every other respect they are expected to loyally sustain the powers that support them. The editor therefore who wishes to establish a newspaper must be bold indeed if he attempt to make a fortune out of his enterprise while advocating a cause distasteful to the government. Every official will, of course, boycott him and he will be unable to secure advertisements from such as have any relations with the government. When we recall that all the railways of the state; all the eating-houses and drinking-places connected with this system, are indirectly government institutions; that the telegraph and express service are managed by the state; and that the contracts for the army make up a large part of the country's industry, we can readily appreciate the fact that the state has a means of influencing the advertising columns, if not the editorial columns, of many newspapers.

But in the matter of securing news, the position of a German editor is more delicate still. Should he apply to the Foreign Office, or to any other department of the government for an interview with any official, the first question raised is as to the political views encouraged by his paper. Should these views be opposed to those of the officials, our editor will be shown the door with the remark that disloyal papers need not expect assistance from the government which they are seeking to overturn. That editor, should he be so innocent as to have made these two efforts, will soon realize that he must either abandon his project of making an independent newspaper, or else limit himself to the discussion of literary and musical compositions.

It is easy to see that a government with a large fund of money notoriously reserved for press purposes, and reserving to itself

the power of furnishing news only to subservient papers—that such a government is in a position to create in its service a servile, if not a corrupt, body of newspaper men. This is putting the case very strongly, and standing alone this proposition might strike the German reader as a gross misrepresentation of facts, yet no one more than myself appreciates the excellent work done in journalism by many German newspapers even to-day. I need only point to the *Nation* and the *Vossische* as examples of independent journals fighting persistently for constitutional freedom, and at the same time representing a very respectable minority of their countrymen ; but examples of this kind are too rare and brilliant to affect our general proposition, and the melancholy fact remains that in Germany it is far from complimentary to describe one as a journalist.

Under the laws governing the German press there must be attached to every newspaper some editor engaged with the distinct understanding that he may be called upon at short notice for the purpose of being imprisoned for alleged treasonable utterances in the paper. We do not know what treason is in American law, and no Englishman regards the word as anything but a dead letter in his own. We punish a man, not for his thoughts or for his language, but simply because of an overt act leading directly to a breach of the peace ; for instance, Guiteau was hung, not because he imperilled the head of the state, but because he murdered a private citizen ; but Bismarck has more than once, during his official career, arrested eminent members of Parliament for addressing their constituents in language out of harmony with government propositions. To be sure, Bismarck has been six years out of office, but it is his machinery which still moves the great engine of the German State.

I have said this much about the nature of the German press in order to explain to Americans how it is possible for a government to use it as part of its own machinery; and I have said quite enough, I am sure, to show that this press must attract to itself men ready to sell their opinions on any side of a question.

Now as to the attitude of the German press towards the United States, it is, after all, little more than asking what is the attitude of German military, official and aristocratic classes towards our Republic. The governing class of Germany lives principally by two sources of income ; the one a government

salary; the other the rent which they draw as landlords. As dependents upon government and as an important part of an absolute monarchy they must look with profound distrust upon a community of 70,000,000 of English-speaking people governing themselves without the intervention of a divinely-anointed War Lord. The American experiment in self-government is a monstrous anomaly and impious scandal to the average German squire. That it will succeed he does not for a moment believe and he is profoundly ignorant of anything American save the large number of discreditable items which abound in the local German papers on the subject of our divorce cases, our lynchings, our strikes, and above all our political dishonesty. The German newspapers make no distinction between citizens of the United States and those of any other part of the Great Western Continent. The American in Germany seeking for news of his country looks under the head-line "America," and there finds items from Brazil, Costa Rica, Chicago, Montreal or Mexico, all put together as though they were near neighbors under the same political head. And, indeed, the German squire or Yunker firmly believes that the United States persists as a Republic, not in spite of corruption, but because of it. He thinks that the President and his cabinet are a species of oligarchy holding power through bribery or intimidation, or both, much after the manner of some little South American republics we might name. He believes that Americans are chronically shrewd and dishonest; that American women are hopelessly emancipated; that society with us is a rotten concern compounded of vulgar millionaires and a proletariate of adventurers. It requires but a casual reading of German papers, notably the provincial ones, to justify all that I have said, but it requires some knowledge of German official machinery to see why it is that these papers take so much pains to paint America and Americans in such unlovely colors.

It is bad enough that we should in German eyes represent principles of government hostile to those of an empire, but in the eyes of a Prussian landlord we commit daily sins more grievous still. We are shipping to Germany bread stuffs, and even meat, to an enormous extent, all of which compete with the wheat and meat grown by loyal Germans. It is bad enough in their eyes that Russia and Hungary, both of them monarchical countries, should compete with the monarchical pigs and cereals of

the Fatherland, but it is nothing less than sacrilege that the profits of Prussian landlords should be diminished by importation from such a republic as ours. The German squire would gladly enforce a law excluding all food produce from every country, in order that the people might be forced to pay higher prices for bread, but, fortunately for other countries, there is in Germany a large and intelligent industrial class, who see good reason why they should have cheap food, even if the landlord must receive smaller rents.

Then again Germany cannot forgive our country for attracting every year a large number of young men who are fit for military service. She says, and with some show of justice: "We have given these young men their education at the expense of the state, and now, when they are in position to pay back to the Fatherland the debt they owe, they sail away to a new country and become Americans." The German is unwilling to believe that his fellow-countrymen emigrate to America because they prefer American institutions to those of their own country; on the contrary he is firmly persuaded that we, in some underhand manner, entice good Germans away by means of heavy bounties or fraudulent representations made by government agents. In fact so deeply grounded is the German suspicion regarding things American that they are ready to believe anything about our country, so long as it is not complimentary. For instance, I have not only seen it taken for granted in print, but even heard it stated in conversation by educated Germans, who certainly meant no disrespect to me, that our War of Independence, as well as the Civil War, were won because we had in our ranks so large a number of Germans, or because our men were drilled and commanded by Germans. These absurd propositions are made in such good faith that it is impossible to dispute the matter with a German for fear of wounding his national pride. To him there was but one hero in the war of 1776, namely Steuben; and as for the war of 1860, of course the hero was Franz Siegel.

In January of this year the State of New York sent me to Berlin for the purpose of presenting its ultimatum to the Prussian Government in the matter of its behavior toward our principal life insurance companies. My credentials were of the most complete nature, for they were derived not merely from the Governor of New York, but his authority was further fortified

by the endorsemen of the State Department at Washington, and through it by the American Embassy in Berlin. The case was very simple and my little diplomatic mission still more so. Prussia had felt the competition of our life insurance companies for the reason that we, in America, being able to invest our funds at a higher rate of interest than Prussians, were consequently able to offer those who assured in Germany a higher advantage than could be offered by their own companies who had not the same advantages in the way of investments. But Prussia did not wish to put herself on record as violently excluding American companies, so instead of that she framed a series of police regulations, so artfully drawn that the most important of the American companies found it wiser to withdraw than to attempt to obey an edict which was obviously intended to ruin their Prussian business. I had no other care in this matter than to inform the Prussian Minister of the Interior that if he persisted in treating our insurance companies in this ungenerous manner, the State of New York would be compelled to retaliate. As it had been my good fortune to meet personally in previous years nearly every member of the German or Prussian government, I withheld the retaliatory document until I had had an informal personal talk on the subject with each of them, for I had left New York in the firm belief that the ungenerous Prussian edict would be revoked upon a clearer understanding of the case. Nearly every minister of the government gave me fair words, but in one notable case I discovered that the official opinion in regard to our two or three leading life insurance companies was that they were little better than swindling concerns, and no protestations that I could make was capable of shaking this opinion. But the answer to my proposition came through the German press before the officials had made known their answer. There appeared in one German paper after another a series of paragraphs and articles evidently inspired by government, all of them insulting to the United States in general and to the insurance department of the State of New York in particular. The hue and cry was taken up by all the official, semi-official, and otherwise dependent press, and the statement was boldly made throughout the country that the government was only protecting Germans from the swindling efforts of insecure American insurance companies. The attack

upon America, of course, harmonized with the Bismarckian idea of state protection to native industries, and the press paid no attention to the few journalistic efforts made by one or two independent papers to stem this torrent of abuse let loose by government.

Perhaps this dislike of the government for things American finds nourishment in the fact that a large number of German subjects, who have gone to America and made some money, return to their native land with a great deal of swagger, and pretend to be American citizens, though they can barely speak English, and obviously use the American name for the sake of evading taxation. These white-washed citizens are usually not very creditable to either country, and unfortunately give Germans about the only idea they have of our countrymen.

But let us not think that we are alone the target of German press malevolence. That we are now singled out for particular attention proves only that we have to-day, in the eyes of the German government, more importance than we had when her attacks were only occasional and sporadic. About six years ago Russia was the object of Germany's particular press attacks, because the Czar had built many fortifications on his western frontier, and had placed nearly the whole of his standing army in positions that meant nothing if not a menace towards the West. But Prince Hohenlohe, the present Chancellor of the Empire, has many reasons for desiring to retain the favor of the Czar's government, and consequently the German press has ceased to find much occupation in that quarter. It is England that latterly has received the greatest amount of German abuse, for reasons very vague, indeed, about as vague as those influencing the abuse of America. The German government to-day, not satisfied with having the strongest army in the world, aspires to be a great colonial power. She possesses already one million square miles of feverish soil, situated mostly where no white man cares to live; indeed, on this one million of square miles there are not to-day so many Germans as would fit into one battalion of their army. Mr. Chamberlain has placed this number as low as 700, although in their own White Book on the subject I added up over 900. Now, here again Germans find reason for abusing England, because she draws away from Germany hundreds and thousands of German subjects who might have gone

to a German colony, they think, had they not preferred to go to an English one. In this respect England resembles the United States, in that she offers to settlers cheap land and the sweets of constitutional liberty. Germany, however, governs her colonies as she would a barrack yard, or a Polish province, with the result, that in South Africa at least, not even the Boers can be induced to settle under the German flag, much as they admire the German Emperor and dislike Queen Victoria.

Returning recently from a trip through the Transvaal and the Cape Colony, I could not but be struck wherever I went in South Africa by meeting most excellent German settlers, growing rich under a foreign flag, enjoying at least under British rule all the liberty they could possibly desire, but at the same time finding nothing but abusive epithets to apply to England and Englishmen. Naturally I had frequent occasion to ask them why hey did not move into German West Africa or German East Africa, where they would be free from the presence of Englishmen ; but that idea, to them, was so preposterous that they always treated it as a joke. To Germans at home it is most irritating that England should offer better inducements to colonists than does their own government, for, in parenthesis, let us note that the German colonies are a heavy tax upon Germany, while English colonies are self-supporting, to say the least. Were it not for this artificially stimulated zeal for German colonies, it would be impossible to conceive of a people so sensible as the Germans, going mad over tropical possessions which they have held now for twelve years, which are a perpetual drain on the mother country, and which afford occupation to a mere handful of Germans who would probably be materially more prosperous if the English flag were substituted for the German.

The United States, without being a colonial power, has of late emphasized the Monroe doctrine in a manner irritating to the German government. That government is seeking to enlarge its navy, and a navy, as we know, must have coaling stations. That the United States should spread out its hand over the whole of Central America, the West Indies, and South America is well enough, in so far as it protects France and England in their West Indian and South American possessions, but is cold comfort to Germany, which would very much like to have something to say in those waters. It should not surprise us if we

read some morning the news that the German flag had been hoisted on St. Thomas or Curaçoa as a practical protest to our pretensions. Denmark sold St. Thomas to us some thirty years ago, but our Congress declined to ratify the bargain. Why should not Germany make the purchase ? and what if she came to an understanding with Holland in regard to some of her West Indian harbors ? We must not suppose that the German government is seeking to spend more money upon its fleet merely for the pleasure of seeing a large number of warships together in Kiel. Her navy can be of little use in an European war as compared with her excellent army, but Germany can do nothing outside of her borders without ships-of-war, and that she is building up her navy can only mean that she intends to participate actively in events beyond the seas. In this last summer she sent her blue-jackets ashore at Zanzibar, and took away under her protection the rebellious Sultan of that country, in spite of English protest. By that act she gave notice to all Mohammedans that Englishmen in that part of the world were of less consequence than Germans. In January of 1896 a German man-of-war at Delagoa Bay attempted to land fifty blue-jackets and march them into the Transvaal to protect the Boers against an alleged act of war on the part of England. The German Emperor, at the same time, let loose a dispatch which was by the Boers interpreted to mean that, in case of need, they might count upon German assistance against England. The Boers are illiterate ranchmen for the most part, and know of the outside world no more than the Mohammedans of Zanzibar. At Pretoria, therefore, the harm done by the Emperor's dispatch consisted in making the Transvaal government to feel that with their handful of cattle-drivers they could cheerfully face all the troops that England might bring against them ; and with this confidence, based upon German action, they have gone to great extremes in expressing officially their contempt for English sovereignty.

Of course in regard to both these episodes, the German press almost entirely kept up a steady fire of abusive articles against English selfishness and tyranny quite as violent as any attack ever made upon the United States.

We have to-day fallen still deeper in German eyes in that we have shown a disposition to treat England in a manner creditable to civilized people. We have both officially and in popular

resolutions endorsed the principle that war between England and the United States would be worse than a crime—it would be a monumental blunder. Europe, with its standing armies, chuckled with delight when it seemed possible that England and our country would go to war over Venezuela, for the happiest dream of a Frenchman or a German is the breaking up of the British Empire and a division of spoils amongst the other great Powers, much as Poland was divided a hundred years ago. But that England and America should come out of this quarrel, not only without threats of war, but with an apparent understanding that each regarded such a proceeding as stupid, is a source of deep regret, particularly in the German Cabinet. For there is a converse to the above proposition, namely, that in case America or England be engaged in war with some third Power, not only will neither attack the other, but on the contrary each will observe a species of benevolent neutrality. It is a well-known principle of diplomacy that the art of weakening your opponent is to isolate him first, and then crush him. The jubilation of France springs from the feeling that she has now emerged from this lonesome state, and that, together with Russia, she is more powerful than the members of the Triple Alliance.

With an understanding between England and the United States, no possible combination of European powers can hope with any success to give more than a momentary check to the great onward sweep of the English-speaking, self-governing race.

The German press is only the faithful exponent of the German government in looking malevolently upon the United States while such combinations as these are possible or even mooted on either side of the Atlantic. So long as we were merely an agglomeration of industrial communities without any apparent desire to take an interest in the affairs of the rest of our race, Germany could afford to regard us with no more contempt than she expended upon the Boers of South Africa prior to 1884, but now that we have created a new navy and have insisted upon being heard, not merely in regard to South America but even at the gates of Constantinople, we have placed ourselves in a position to invite jealousy as well as dislike. Our last election made a more profound impression upon Europeans than any event in our history since the separation from England. For the first time German newspapers even treated American politics as a matter

directly affecting their pockets. So eminent an economist and statesman as Dr. Theodore Barth travelled the United States during the whole of the Presidential canvass and wrote home to his paper, *Die Nation,* a series of discriminating articles on the situation. It was felt in Europe generally, and in England particularly, that government by the people was on trial and that if dishonest coinage should triumph the meaning was clear that the United States, as a popular government, was a failure. Often before has popular government in America been on trial in particular cities, and in individual States, but never has a great national crisis turned upon a question so vitally important to the world at large as whether the national credit and the integrity of the Supreme Court should be maintained. Once more has the cause of popular government gained the victory, and we need not close our eyes to the fact that such a victory means cheer to the hearts of millions on the continent of Europe who looked to the United States for a vindication of democratic principles. Had Bryan been elected every semi-official newspaper in Germany would have rejoiced with a vigor only second to that which they would have experienced had they heard the news that Canada or Australia had become German colonies.

In conclusion let me emphasize, particularly for the benefit of such Germans as may see these lines, that I quite appreciate the distinction between the people of Germany and the government of Germany, but that like the expressions "Prussia" and "Germany" they may often, for purposes of brevity, be confounded.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

STRIKES AS A FACTOR IN PROGRESS.

BY M. E. J. KELLEY.

THE utility, or rather the uselessness, of strikes is a favorite topic of discussion with those whose attention has been called to the extraordinary scale on which these old economic phenomena have recently developed. Whenever, for any reason, workingmen or workingwomen "go on strike," straightway is raised the cry that "wilful waste makes deserved want"; that through their misguided hearkening to the voice of the agitator, they lose wages which no future advance will quite make up. The statistician comes to the front with figures which show just how much the workman is out of pocket by his voluntary idleness, and which prove to the scientist's, if not the workingmen's, satisfaction that, even when the strike is successful from the wage-earners' point of view, the advance in wages is rarely enough to compensate the striker for his loss of earnings, leaving out of consideration the hardships consequent on his idleness.

As comparatively few strikes result in the granting of the workmen's demands, and as the proportion of successful strikes becomes smaller with the more complete organization of employers into associations, leagues, combinations, corporations, and trusts, the questions naturally arise: "Why do working people strike if they know that so little is to be gained? When are strikes beneficial to the workers?"

From the striking workman's point of view, from the vantage ground of the trades-unionist, all strikes are beneficial to the working people whether they succeed or fail.

It is something after this fashion that the trades-unionist thinks and talks about the matter: Most people look at strikes in a much too fore-shortened sort of way. It is like looking at the houses across the street and regarding them as dull walls of brick

or stone, which shut out our view and our air. When we look beyond the walls we see the homes, and a little thinking convinces us that these houses, with our house and others, go to make up the city. They are the result of the advance of civilization and necessary to its further progress. So it is with strikes. Take a great railroad strike, for instance. People are apt to think of it as hindering them from getting about their affairs. Closer investigation shows that it, too, is a necessary part of civilization. Strikes are checks which prevent civilization from going to smash through the brutalization of the masses. They are like the torpedoes the switchmen place on the tracks to warn the engineer of approaching trains to slow up, for there is danger ahead. Perhaps you have lain awake at night and listened to the low rumble of a heavily-laden freight train coming nearer and nearer. Suddenly you hear two quick sharp reports. The rumble grows fainter, then ceases, and you know the engineer has stopped and got down to consult the man in the switch tower.

And that is just what the engineers of society do. They get down and look about for the trouble. They investigate the motives and methods of employers, and seek for results on their employees. If the explosions are numerous enough they set about finding remedies for the grievances which have led to such persistent alarms.

That is one reason why all strikes are beneficial to working people; because they set people thinking about the conditions of the workers. A strike is always beneficial in the long run because it interests in the dynamic labor movement a great many persons who would never think of conditions, or their relation to civilization generally, if it were not for some violent disturbance. And the more people are interested, the sooner the strike phase of the development of the labor movement will give way to something less violent.

It is this profound conviction that in the long run strikes are a success, even when they fail, which impels clear-headed leaders of organizations to advocate the most determined fighting even when it is apparent to every one that the point contested must inevitably be lost. They believe implicitly that all the improvements which have been brought about in labor's condition, all the factory laws and boards of arbitration and conciliation, bureaus of statistics, are due indirectly to strikes.

Even when strikes seem most absurd, and look to the casual observer like the most dismal sort of failures, they are often of the greatest benefit. There was the great railroad strike of 1894 at Chicago, which so many condemned, and which to most outsiders looked like a disastrous failure. No trades-unionist looks upon it as anything but a most glorious event in the history of labor insurrections. Eugene Debs, who was sent to prison for violating a sweeping injunction, is thought to have done more for labor's cause than any one person has accomplished since the days of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison.

The railroad companies were not the first employers to secure injunctions which tied the strikers, who desired to obey their country's laws, hand and foot, and even deprived them of the right of free speech. But never before had the injustice and the evil of such a course been brought so forcibly to the country's notice. The echo of the indignation of the time may be heard in the political platform of one of the old parties in the recent Presidential campaign. The Chicago strike did more to show the people generally the tremendous power of the railroads, and how utterly dependent on them is our economic and social life; it interested more of the educated class, and did more towards making possible the governmental control of the railroads, than a quarter of a century of agitation could have accomplished.

The strike of the six thousand motormen and conductors employed on the trolley cars of Brooklyn may be cited as another example of the strike which seems, from the foreshortened point of view, a disaster, and from the trade-unionists' standpoint, a success. Thousands of people now regard municipal control of public franchises as desirable where a dozen gave the matter a thought before the strike, and this, in the end, must be a benefit to the workers in general because it will mean reduced fares and better service, as well as better treatment for employees. The interest aroused by the strike in the condition of men employed by the street car companies has led to the drafting of a bill which will be presented to the next Legislature, and which provides that all bodies holding public franchises shall establish joint boards of conciliation and arbitration with their employees for the purpose of settling all disputes. Provision is made for the selection of a referee whose decision shall be final in case the members of the board cannot come to an agreement.

The strike of the cigarmakers at Binghamton, N. Y.—a strike which involved three thousand young men and women, which lasted three months and ended in disastrous failure for the workers immediately involved—was a direct benefit to the strikers in Brooklyn five years later. The strike at Binghamton in 1890 was broken up by means of injunctions which restrained the leaders from making addresses to the strikers, from writing articles for the newspapers, from soliciting aid, from picketing shops. The Cigarmakers' Union carried the suits on which the injunctions were based to the higher courts, and four years later a decision was handed down that in New York State workingmen are on the same footing as business men. Their labor is a commodity and they have the same right to persuade others to join with them in protecting their own interests by keeping up the price of the commodity they have for sale that merchants possess. They have the right to persuade others to leave their employers, provided they do not use violence, and they have the right to picket shops. In short, all the methods which a merchant may use to protect his business and to persuade his competitors not to undersell or otherwise injure him are legitimate for the labor seller. While this view of labor as a commodity, like other wares, may not be in accord with the opinions of the most enlightened school of economists, this decision of the highest court of New York, sitting at Syracuse, in the fall of 1894, was of great importance to the Brooklyn strikers. Injunctions could not tie the hands and tongues of the leaders of the motormen as they did the cigarmakers' strike committee. The Binghamton strike was a great success for the working people as a whole, although it was a miserable failure for the cigarmakers involved.

Less easily pointed out are the benefits which result from strikes in the way of prevention of reductions of wages or of the imposition of harder conditions. The greedy employer who will stop at nothing, no matter what its effect upon the workmen, so long as it enables him to undersell his competitors, will hesitate a long time before he will reduce wages if he has had one experience with a long and bitter strike. It is a maxim among the workmen advocates of boards of conciliation and mediation that such boards are never successful until both sides are thoroughly tired of fighting. The employer will only consent to settle

peaceably all future differences after he has been thoroughly whipped, or at any rate made to take a leading part in a long and expensive strike. And it is a fact that the most successful joint boards of conciliation are in operation in those trades which have been characterized by the fiercest fighting. In Belgium and in England the mine owners and their employees only came together to settle matters peaceably after long and bitter strikes. The same thing is true of the building trades in New York, which have not had a strike for twelve years, and all of whose difficulties are now settled by a duly elected joint board in which the Workmen's Union and Employers' Association are equally represented.

More obvious are the benefits of strikes which succeed than the helpfulness of those which fail. Very often, however, their real benefit is overlooked. Usually the increase of wages or the prevention of a reduction is only the surface indication; the real benefit strikes deeper roots into the social body. The strikes of the garment workers are evidence of the superficial view which the great public takes of strikes. Not one person in a hundred of those who have read of the bitter struggle of those half-starved foreigners has any notion of the significance of the struggle. Only the few who have made a study of the sweatshop system have a realizing sense of the good which the garment workers' strike has accomplished not only for the workmen involved, but for every one who ever wears a ready-made garment. If people did understand, the secretary of the Garment Workers' Union would be snowed under the avalanche of letters and resolutions of thanks.

The conditions under which ready-made clothing was manufactured in all the great cities, but particularly in New York, prior to the series of strikes inaugurated three or four years ago, was atrocious. The workshops were merely tenement-rooms, insufficiently ventilated, badly lighted, terribly crowded. Dirty beyond description, and entirely without any decent sanitary arrangements, men, women,and children worked, ate, and slept in them. Very often the only beds were the piles of half-finished clothing. Scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles were two hundred per cent. more frequent in the sweatshop districts of New York than anywhere else, and children ill of these diseases lay on the heaps of garments which were afterwards taken back to

the retail shops and scattered far and wide. Rarely was any method of disinfecting the garments thought of, or any attempt made to prevent contagion. The hours of labor were outrageous, Children four years old, even, were found pulling basting threads twelve hours a day.

Time and again the public was harrowed by the story. The United States Senate appointed a committee of its members to investigate. It did so and reported itself duly horrified, but no improvement resulted. The Legislature of New York did likewise and the sweatshop system continued to flourish. Anti-sweatshop leagues, composed of philanthropic and influential people, were organized. Apparently no one dreamt that the workers themselves might solve the vexing problem by the very simple method of refusing to work under such conditions. Ignorant of the language and customs of the country, most of them Russian Hebrews, immigrants, they seemed helpless indeed. Gradually the leaven of discontent worked among the New York sweatshop toilers. The immigrant aspired to the level of the native worker. Leaders sprang up from among their ranks. Three years ago they inaugurated a series of strikes. First, they struck against the "task" system, which was at the basis of the terribly long hours. They had been required to finish a certain number of garments as a day's work, instead of working a stipulated number of hours. They were willing to work ten hours a day, they declared. Public sentiment was with them, and they won their strike. Emboldened by success, and by the fact that a law had been passed regulating the manufacture of clothing in tenement-houses, and giving special powers over the sweatshops to the factory inspectors, they struck again. They demanded that the wholesale dealer give the cut garments only to contractors who would have them made up in shops conforming to the factory laws. Their demands were granted, with the result that the sweatshop system, if not entirely wiped out, has received a very severe blow. The workers themselves, by their own united efforts, and by using that much-abused weapon the strike, have accomplished what apparently far more influential outsiders were unable to do. The garment workers all over the country followed the example of their New York brethren of the National Garment Workers' Union, and in most cases succeeded in materially improving conditions.

The garment workers' strikes are particularly interesting not only because they show the power of the workers when they realize that power and work together, but because they demonstrate the quickness with which the immigrant rises to the new level instead of dragging down the American workman to his old-world standard. The garment workers' strikes are also illustrative of the change in methods of strikes which has been brought about by changed methods of employers. The later-day strike to be successful must be on an immense scale. The old idea of the workmen was to strike in one shop at a time, but they have been obliged to change their methods since employers have formed combinations and in such a case supply the orders of the shop in which the workmen have struck instead of trying to get the unfortunate employer's customers for themselves, as they would under the old order of competition. The modern strike to have any chance of success must be on a large scale. The workmen must be well organized and disciplined. The chances of winning are increased by having a paid leader whose business it is to devote his whole time to the management of the collective affairs of the workmen.

From the trades-unionist point of view, then, all strikes are beneficial to working people in the long run. Some strikes are beneficial to those who strike as well as to the workers generally. A strike may be a benefit to people who never heard of it. This pre-supposes, of course, a wrong of some sort back of the strike. Strikes which have not a principle of justice behind them are very rare nowadays. In the earlier stages of the labor movement it is quite possible that feverish, childish, ill-considered strikes were entered into without sufficient cause. Mr. Oscar Cole, a prominent member of the New York Bricklayers' Union, and a member of the New York Council of Mediation and Conciliation, remarked recently that twenty years ago, whenever the slightest dispute arose, the bricklayers threw down their trowels, pulled off their overalls and quit. Nowadays they do things quite differently. The bricklayers of New York have not struck in twelve years, yet they are receiving a third more pay and working two hours a day less than before the era of peace set in. Their employers, too, consider themselves better off, though they pay nearly twice the old scale of wages, because of the certainty of not having their contracts delayed by strikes, and because of the

higher grade of intelligence and the greater sense of responsibility which have been developed. But even these benefits may be traced to those early strikes which caused people to inquire into their difficulties, and to suggest a better way of settling disputes. When both sides were tired of the constant fighting they listened to the suggestion of an outsider, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, that they should organize a joint board of conciliation and arbitration. Both sides are represented, and all disputes are settled by the joint committee. This is one of the greatest benefits of strikes, that they ultimately lead to better ways of settling labor disputes, and there seems no other way of reaching this peace except through war.

The labor movement is simply the struggle upward to the light of the wage-earning class; the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariate, the Socialists call it. All emancipating movements have begun in insurrections. Strikes are the insurrections of labor. There has come, in all emancipating movements, the taking up of the cause by disinterested outsiders. This, too, has happened to labor. It marks the step beyond the strike stage of the labor agitation, and that, too, is one of the benefits of strikes. Strikes mean progress.

M. E. J. KELLEY.

GENIUS IN CHILDREN.

BY ANDREW LANG.

DR. JOHNSON defined genius as "an infinite capacity for taking pains." He remarked, "I am persuaded that had Sir Isaac Newton applied himself to poetry he would have made a very fine epic poem." In short, the Doctor's opinion was that a man, by accident, is born with more mind, with a more powerful mind, than other people, and that the *direction* of this power, to poetry, war, law, mathematics, politics, is quite an affair of chance. But the power must be "applied with diligence."

Now, in my opinion, Dr. Johnson was wrong, and I would rather define Genius as "an unmeasured capacity for doing things, *without* taking pains." Moreover, I fancy that, as a rule, the child of genius is born to do but one set of things in this excellent easy way, though there are exceptions, as in Napoleon's case.

Let us take arithmetic, the science of numbers. Dr. Johnson said, "We may instance the science of numbers, which all minds are equally capable of attaining" . . . "Mathematics are a science to which the meanest intellects are equal." . . . "Yet we find a prodigious difference in the powers of different men, in that respect, after they are grown up, because their minds have been more or less exercised in it."

Now, surely both schoolboys and teachers will here disagree with the Doctor. In the power of learning arithmetic there are prodigious, natural differences from the very first. I, myself —this does not illustrate genius !—could not be taught arithmetic at all beyond the simplest rules, and algebra not at all. As to mathematics, Macaulay was absolutely incapable of learning them ; so too, I think, was Sir William Hamilton, the philosopher. Meanwhile, many boys, otherwise stupid, are fair, or even good, mathematicians.

But the great argument against the Doctor is furnished by calculating boys. About a score of these prodigies are known in history. At a very early age, say, five or six, they have been able to do in a moment, and correctly, calculations which, with pencil and paper, would occupy mathematicians for a long time. A German schoolmaster once set his class a sum which he expected would suffice for an hour's work. One boy scrawled a line of figures on his slate and threw it down. "There it lies," said he, and his answer was right. Where was the taking of infinite pains?

In this case genius was a capacity for doing things without taking pains at all. As a rule, these calculators have been unable to explain how they did the sums. The answers flashed on them; they *saw* the answers at a glance; they did not know *how*.

Out of about a score of such boys two or three have been almost idiots at everything but calculation. This, of course, again proves the doctor to be wrong! These boys had *not* large quantities of mind in general, of mind fit for all purposes; they only had arithmetical genius, without taking pains.

Two or three of these lads again turned out great philosophers, or great practical men. The rest were on the common level. The strangest was Archbishop Whateley. As a small boy he was a miracle at counting. At about twelve years of age he lost the knack, and, though a very clever man, became almost a dunce in arithmetic; certainly, at least, no better than his neighbors.

Thus Dr. Johnson's chosen exemple, of genius as applied to numbers, is found to confute his opinion. If any reader of this happens to be, or to know, a calculating miracle of a child, may I implore him to study the case, and especially to observe whether the child is left-handed, or can make equally good use of both hands?

The most extraordinary genius would be that which could do anything equally well without taking pains. Of this class the standing example is Joan of Arc. A peasant girl of seventeen, she understood the politics of her day as nobody else understood them. In war, whether for gallantry and resolution as a leader, for skill in artillery practice, for science in military combinations, or for Napoleon-like suddenness in surprises, she excelled all captains of her time. She was an accomplished rider, who

had never learned to ride. When questioned by theologians, she answered with such mastery that they were intellectually powerless in her presence.

Yet she was an untaught peasant child, who could not read nor write. Here, then, was genius, but the only pains she took were pains to make other people carry out her ideas.

In this instance genius conspicuously borders on the miraculous. Indeed, genius always does border on the miraculous. It is intellect and power so different in degree from that of other people that it seems to differ in kind, and to be a sort of "inspiration," or, as we say, "intuition."

Now, the word "intuition" means "seeing," and it will be found that persons of genius do *see* in their mind's eye—see unwritten rows of numbers, hidden pieces on a chess board, the positions of absent armies, the unknown consequences of events, the effects of natural forces as of steam in a kettle, with a clearness unfamiliar to the general body of mankind.

This curious gift of mental, or inner, vision is certainly more common in children than in grown-up people. The creations of their own fancies are more vividly present to little boys and girls than to grown-up people. So far, almost all children are children of genius, and a man of genius is often what he is because he has retained this gift of childhood.

How often children, not destined to be famous, amaze us by wisdom beyond their years! "Out of the mouths of babes" comes a word which the child's own experience, we think, could never have taught him. Has he inherited this genius, as birds inherit, without knowing it, the art of nest-building? Or is it that his eyes are not yet blinded by the dust and smoke of the world?

Next to genius for arithmetic, genius for music is probably the most developed and most surprising in childhood. "He lisps in numbers," like Pope, because there really is a connection between numbers and music.

If we turn to poetry, it becomes far more difficult to recognize early genius. Thousands of boys rhyme from a very early age, thousands of boys who will never be poets. Now the rhymes of the boys who were destined to be poets have usually been no better than the rhymes of boys who were destined to fall back on prose.

The young Mozart was, from the age of four, undeniably a born musician. The young Millais, or Leonardo, or Landseer, or West, was, from early boyhood, undeniably a born painter. But the boyish poems of Scott, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, and Tennyson were not a whit better, and were often a good deal worse, than those of boys who were not to be poets at all.

As most children have many of the imaginative qualities of genius, the gift of vivid dreams, and as most children who are to be men of genius display little *special* power—except in music, arithmetic, and drawing—it is not an easy thing for parents to know whether they have a genius in the family or not!

As far as I have studied the childhood of genius, it commonly shows itself less in performance than in *character*, and, alas, not agreeably! The future genius is often violent, ferocious, fond of solitude, disagreeable in society.

The great Du Guesclin, the scourge of the English invaders of France, was a most odious boy. His parents had to make him dine at a table apart. He was rude, furious, a bully; he beat every boy he could lay hands on; he ran away from home; he led companies of peasant children against other companies; he was the terror of the neighborhood, and the ugliest page, as he became "the ugliest knight in France." This was the boyhood of a great military genius; the boyhood it was of a little savage.

Scott's childhood was noisy. He yelled old poems at the top of his voice. He loved the lonely hills. He read forever, when he was not wandering alone, and he remembered everything that he read. He was a dreamer, a teller of romances to himself. He delighted in fighting, as did Keats. He studied everything except his books. His enthusiasm for poetry made a lady recognize him for a genius at the age of six, but his father thought he would end as a strolling fiddler.

Napoleon, again, was sullen, lonely, a dreamer, and always "spoiling for a fight," like Du Guesclin.

Unluckily, sullen, dreamy, pugnacious boys are not at all uncommon. They do not become Scotts (not that *he* was sullen), nor Du Guesclins, nor Napoleons, nor Byrons—for Byron, too, was a passionate, lonely, morbid kind of boy, with terrible fits of temper. His early poems were trash.

Shelley's early poems were trash; Scott's were such as almost

any cleverish schoolboy can write, and there is no promise at all in the Tennysons' "Poems by Two Brothers."

Shelley, indeed, was rather "mad" at school, where he cursed his father and the King, and wrote the silliest of all schoolboy novels. He, also, was dreamy and solitary, but by no manner of means fond of fighting.

In all these cases eccentricity was marked, but whether eccentricity in boyhood can be taken as promise of character and genius is another question. At school in Scotland, a few boys, like "Mad Shelley," were called "dafty." None of them has amazed the world by displaying genius! The great men named were all "dafties" in boyhood, but all "dafties" do not become great men.

Coleridge was a "dafty." "I took no pleasure in boyish sports, but read incessantly." The other boys drove him from among them. He was always a dreamer, and saw so many ghosts that he did not believe in them. "Before I was eight years old I was a *character*," he says—and not an agreeable character! He was vain, lazy, he dreamed, and he despised everybody. He ran away from home, and stayed out all night in the rain. His son, Hartley, was the same child over again, and a metaphysical philosopher from his cradle.

In most of these cases, in addition to mooning, solitary ways, and moody tempers, there was conspicuous *intellect* in the young genius. He could read early and, as it were, untaught, and he did read a great deal. Scott, Byron, Keats, were also athletes and very fond of boxing, of sport, and of games, Byron bowling at cricket for Harrow. *These* geniuses were not such "dafties" as their rivals.

For my part, genius or no genius, I do hate a boy who "shuns boyish sports," as you so often read in biographies. But, on a general survey of genius in childhood, I think that we ought to try to put up with it, and not bully it at school, "at least as far as we are able."

If the genius is a born artist, he is likely to be popular for drawing dogs, horses, and the schoolmaster. If he is going to be a poet—why one rather pities him, in his schooldays. A Scott, a Keats, may make himself respected at school, by a genial readiness to fight all challengers, to take part in every dangerous diversion. A Cowper, or a Shelley, should probably not be sent to

school at all, and genius rarely passes through the University without what Coleridge calls "a row."

These troubles and sorrows come, because, whatever else genius may be, it is certainly a thing apart, self-centred, and ill to govern. A genius "varies from the kindly race of men," hence the tendency, even in childhood, to a love of solitary places, that passion so marked in Wordsworth from his boyhood.

Even in childhood, also, it is a mistake to try to drive genius, a mistake which naturally flows from Dr. Johnson's theory, that the spiritual force can be turned into any chosen direction. Following the Doctor, parents will endeavor to make a boy with a genius for literature take to law or to civil engineering. The effort was made with Mr. R. L. Stevenson, and, of course, failed.

Mr. Stevenson was the only genius whom I ever knew moderately well; in boyhood I did not know him. But he has described, in his own case, the day and night dreams, the love of lonely wanderings, the ungovernableness, the dislike of boyish sports, and the other symptoms of genius in the bud. The *character* was there; the boyish *performances* were not remarkable. You cannot recognize literary genius, in boyhood, "by results." Musical, mathematical, mechanical, and artistic excellence are, for some reason, much more easily recognized, almost from the first.

Perhaps these remarks may console parents of lonely, dreamy, moody, ungovernable sons. Perhaps they may modify the contempt of schoolboys for "dafties." Don't bully such lads; don't thwart them needlessly. They may be children of promise, though the odds, unluckily, are against any future performance.

At all events, do not drive them too hard into uncongenial industries. An instinct wiser than experience may be guiding them into the way appointed. They must and will go their own way. Still, had I a son, who displayed, like Mr. D. D. Home, a genius for being a medium, I certainly should thwart him to the full extent of "the resources of civilization."

ANDREW LANG.

PENDING PROBLEMS.

BY THE HON. ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

THREE problems present themselves with which the incoming administration will have to deal without delay, that are unique in our political experience. First, it will have to provide means to meet an actual and serious deficit in revenue which cannot wait for the slow remedy of an uncertain tariff law; second, it must provide some means by which the Treasury will be secured from any special demand for gold that may arise on account of financial conditions either at home or abroad; and, third, it must find some way of relieving our currency from the anomaly of the so-called "silver certificates," which are really promises to pay the holders silver dollars which are worth something less than fifty cents apiece. These three things are tasks of such emergent character that no one professes to believe that they can be avoided or even delayed for any considerable time with safety to our national finances or the interests of the Republican party.

The actual deficit at the date of Mr. McKinley's inauguration will probably amount to $40,000,000, or thereabouts. It is difficult to ascertain its exact amount because of the policy which has been adopted of holding back the payment of appropriations made and the stoppage of work provided for by law, in order to apply the sums which would be required for them to other and more exigent needs. No objection can be made to such a course—it is, in fact, inevitable when an actual deficiency of revenue exists; but it is admitted that the deficiency now amounts to about $36,000,000, and there is no probability of its being reduced in the interim between the present and the fourth of March next. On the contrary, it is almost certain to be increased. Two remedies have been proposed for this condition of affairs:

The one is the passage of the tariff measure now pending before the Senate, known as the Dingley bill, by the present session of Congress, in order to save the delay and the tendency to hasty and incomplete tariff legislation at a special session. As a remedy for the present deficiency, this plan is wholly defective. The Dingley bill at the best could only stop the increase of the deficiency and would of necessity leave the existing deficit unprovided for. The other plan consists merely of leaving the whole matter to be provided for in a tariff law to be enacted at a special session. This view is objectionable to those who realize the necessity of retaining the support of the gold Democrats and understand that this would naturally be imperilled by hasty and extreme action in regard to the tariff.

A similar difficulty presents itself in connection with the currency. No one questions the fact that the present situation is intolerable. In effect, the government is likely to be called upon at any time to pay gold for all the United States notes and all the coin treasury-notes, that may be outstanding at any particular time. These amount to about $480,000,000, or more than four times the gold reserve. Of course, any considerable rise in the price of gold, resulting either from commercial conditions in this country or political conditions abroad which might increase the rate of exchange, would at once cause a repetition of the process by which the gold reserve in the Treasury was lately reduced perilously near the vanishing point and the bonded debt increased $262,000,000 to prevent such result. While it is true that a part of the gold received through the sale of bonds was undoubtedly used to make good a deficiency of revenue, it was made evident to every thinking man that no financial skill can keep gold in the Treasury while the demand-notes of the government remain in circulation, and while for any reason whatever people happen to prefer gold to such notes. Under present conditions, greenbacks and treasury-notes are sure to be presented for redemption, whenever gold is worth a premium, either for domestic use or for export; and there being no legal means of replenishing the gold in the Treasury except by borrowing, new loans must be made and new bonds issued. Everyone is agreed that the government should not be left exposed to such a contingency a moment longer than is absolutely necessary to enact preventive measures.

But just here the question arises, how can such a contingency be prevented? The answer is evident to a child's comprehension. The means by which such result is likely to be effected must be destroyed. What is the instrument by which the gold is likely at any time to be drawn from the Treasury? The demand notes of the government—the legal-tender promises to pay which if the government does not redeem on presentation, the currency of the country must at once depreciate. The Treasury cannot pay $480,000,000 of demand notes, with $110,000,000 gold reserve, any more than an individual can pay four dollars of debt with one dollar of money. It must either borrow to meet the demand or put its indebtedness in some form so that no more can be demanded at any particular time than it is able to provide gold to meet.

To effect this two plans have been proposed; first, that the indebtedness represented by the present demand-notes of the government be placed in the form of long-time bonds, and these be taken by associations which shall deposit them as security for an equivalent amount of bank currency, thus more than trebling the volume of our present national-bank issues. To this plan, there are many and evident objections. (1.) It would greatly and dangerously reduce the volume of our legal-tender currency, so that in case of a commercial panic the only debt-paying currency would be gold and our depreciated silver coins. (2.) In such case, the banks being forced into liquidation as they are likely to be at any time, the government would be compelled to redeem their issues. In other words, the country would be furnishing the capital, and paying the banks a permanent bonus of $12,000,000 a year, at least, for doing what it might do directly and much more securely for a third of that sum, and at the same time be compelled to provide for maintaining the credit of these issues as well as of its bonds. (3.) It would be extremely hazardous for the Republican party, after having denounced the present administration for borrowing money to protect the gold reserve, to increase the interest account to such an extent at the outset, and at the same time restrict the volume of legal-tender currency to a like extent. To do so would in effect be to plead guilty to one of the most serious charges made against it in the late campaign, to wit, a purpose to restrict the debt-paying money of the country to gold coin, in the interest of the dealers in currency and speculalators in gold.

Still more objectionable would it be, if in apparent imitation of other countries, these bank issues should be made legal tenders. In England, France, and indeed most European countries, the issues of the bank which is the final agent of the government are legal tenders. But in those cases, the bank is, in effect, a part of the government, controls its funds, pays its debts and both maintains and uses its credit. Such conditions are impossible under our system. When the conflict came between Andrew Jackson and the Bank of the United States, the American people settled forever the question of relation between the nation and its banking institutions. The party which should attempt to grant to any bank or system of banks the monopoly of legal-tender issues based on the credit of the government, would to a moral certainty proclaim, thereby, its own death-warrant. The recent "campaign of education" has prepared the people for the intelligent consideration of this question and they will not accept the extension of the costly and unreliable bond-security banking system as a substitute for our present paper currency, unsatisfactory as that may be. Neither is there any probability that they will consent to the restriction of the legal-tender money by fully one-half its present volume, nor allow mere credit banks to issue legal-tender notes.

The question then arises whether there is any other feasible method of preventing the legal-tender notes of the government from being used in any financial emergency to draw gold from the Treasury to the peril of the nation's credit. In an article published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for October, 1896, the writer suggested another plan which has been very favorably considered by leading financiers, as well as by many other thoughtful persons in all parts of the country. The same was treated especially in its relation to the silver controversy at some length in a contemporaneous work, "The War of the Standards." The controversy which has arisen since the election and the momentous character of the problems affecting our currency which will confront the incoming administration, make it proper that the same should be considered somewhat more fully in relation to assured facts than it could be at that time when such conditions were hypothetical rather than actual.

The distinctive features of the proposed plan consist of: (1.) The substitution of *terminal* legal-tender notes of the govern-

ment for the present *demand* legal-tender notes, and, if found desirable, the silver-certificates also. These notes for convenience are designated *bond*-notes. (2.) The payment of interest at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum on the present non-interest-bearing debt of the United States. (3.) The restriction of the term of the proposed bond-notes to five years, in order that the accrued interest may never exceed 5 per cent.

By this plan, such bond-notes would be at all times worth *as much as gold;* at the end of three years they would be worth 2½ per cent. a year as an investment, and at the end of the fourth year they would be worth 5 per cent.; but they could never go any higher, and only one-fifth of the whole amount would command this rate at any particular time.

Our present demand-note circulation consists, approximately, of United States notes (greenbacks) $346,000,000; coin treasury-notes $140,000,000—$486,000,000. To this, should be added the silver certificates, $340,000,000 more, which are really promises of the government to pay a dollar, though the medium in which such promise is technically redeemable is now depreciated to about one-half the value of the present standard gold dollar. The defect of these certificates is that they are neither demandable in gold nor redeemable in silver. No one can ask that they be paid in gold and no one is willing to receive silver in exchange for them. They hang like Mahomet's coffin midway between the heavens and the earth, sustained as a circulating medium only by the hope that the greatest debt-paying nation of the world will find some way to make them equivalent with the existing gold standard. In effect, they are simply promises to pay and are obnoxious, in a peculiar sense, to the objection of being an irredeemable paper currency, mere fiat money which constitutes a permanent forced loan. This makes the actual amount of our paper currency now issued by the government and representing its non-interest-bearing indebtedness, about $825,000,000, of which somewhat more than two-thirds is legal-tender money redeemable in gold on demand.

In addition to this, we have something like $230,000,000 of national bank-note currency, which is based solely on the credit of the government, being secured by bonds drawing on an average four per cent. interest, and having no other basis of credit whatever. This makes the whole amount of our currency which rests upon

the credit of the government about one billion dollars. Of this, practically one-half depends for its stability on the implied promise of the government to redeem it in gold as often as it may be presented : one-fourth of it on the promise of the government to redeem the bank-notes whenever the banks fail to pay the same on presentation, and the other one-fourth on the belief that the nation's promise to pay a depreciated silver dollar will somehow be made equivalent to a good dollar. In order to keep the $500,000,000 demand-notes at par we have maintained a gold reserve, averaging $130,000,000, lying idle in the Treasury for twenty years. In order to keep the national bank-notes at par we pay four per cent. a year on about $250,000,000 of bonds deposited to secure circulation. The $130,000,000 of gold reserve has been proven insufficient to keep the existing amount of demand-notes safely in circulation. To do so would probably require a gold reserve of at least $150,000,000.

We have, then, this evident comparison of cost, between the three methods : To provide $500,000,000 of legal-tender *bond-note* currency to take the place of the present legal-tender *demand* notes, under the proposed plan at one per cent. a year, would cost exactly $5,000,000 annually. The cost of $150,000,000 gold reserve necessary to maintain the present amount of demand-notes in circulation, at four per cent. a year, would be $6,000,000 annually ; a balance of $1,000,000 a year in favor of the proposed terminal note currency, or $30,000,000 in thirty years.

The cost of bonds to retire this $500,000,000 of demand-note currency would be not less than three per cent. a year on notes having thirty years to run. This would amount to $15,000,000 a year, or in thirty years $450,000,000 for interest alone. This shows a balance in favor of the proposed bond-note currency of $10,000,000 a year, or $300,000,000 during the life-time of the bonds. In other words, the proposed interest-bearing legal-tender currency will cost the country only five-sixths the amount necessary to keep the present demand-notes in circulation and only one-third as much as will be required to substitute bank-notes for the same.

But this is not all.

These *bond*-notes being divided into classes would make one-fifth of the whole renewable each year, with five years' interest on the same to be paid in gold. This would be equal to one per cent.

on the whole amount of the proposed currency and would represent the entire amount of gold that could be called for during any year in order to maintain such currency. It would, therefore, be entirely unnecessary to maintain a gold-reserve greater than the amount required to meet the possible liability of any fiscal year. If the whole amount of such bond-note currency were one billion dollars, the yearly payment would be $10,000,000, and it would be unnecessary to retain more than that amount as a gold-reserve to maintain the same. All the rest of the present gold-reserve would be at once available and might be used to meet the current expenses of the government, thus liquidating the present deficit and providing ample funds to run the government until a carefully prepared tariff law could be put in operation, giving sufficient revenue, yet so adjusted as not to be burdensome to the business of the country.

It was not intended, at the time the article referred to was prepared, to make this currency a substitute for the national-bank issues. A recent interview put forth by the Hon. Joseph H. Walker, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency in the House of Representatives, in which he states with peculiar force the objections to the present national banking system, has induced the inquiry whether the proposed bond-notes may not with advantage to all parties be substituted for that currency, the change being left optional with the banks themselves, which now make complaint that the issue of currency under present conditions is not profitable to them.

Considering this plan, therefore, as applied to the whole of our paper currency, amounting to one billion dollars, its entire cost at one per cent. would be $10,000,000 a year, which is *exactly the cost of one-fourth that amount of national-bank currency based, as it now is, on four per cent. bonds, even if issued to the face value of the bonds held to secure it.* This comparison of cost would remain, even if the currency were supplied by a system of credit banks, because the interest on the bonds would be the same whether they were deposited to secure circulation or not.

The chief advantages resulting from this course are, however, to be found in the following facts: (1.) It would eliminate all currency not of a legal-tender character from our circulating medium. (2.) It would leave to silver coin the whole field of small currency, under $5, that is, in accord with the experience

of other nations, and so find use for the silver coins now in the Treasury. (3.) It would be easy to keep every part of such currency on a parity with every other part. The bond-notes, being payable in gold with interest in gold, would always be at par, since the payment of interest and the credit of the government would make them as good as its other bonds. The silver coinage being relieved from the burden of doubt created by the silver certificates, would, as a restricted currency regulated by a natural demand, be maintained at parity without difficulty or danger. (4.) It would be a gold-standard currency which would require less gold to maintain it by at least three-fourths than the present demand-notes of only half its volume. It is evident, therefore, that the national banks may, in this manner, be not only safely, but very profitably, relieved of the function which they aver to be so unprofitable, and which Mr. Walker declares increases the rates of loans and discounts throughout the country by making it so difficult for them to pay a profit on their capital. Considering the hardship which the issue of currency seems to impose on these institutions, this should be regarded as a conclusive argument in favor of the plan proposed.

Again, the plan as outlined in the article referred to, contemplates the payment of that part of the public debt represented by its present non-interest bearing promises to pay, in equal instalments covering a period of fifty years, or at the rate of $20,000,000 a year. Even with this provision, the whole amount that could be drawn from the Treasury each year would be $30,000,000. So that more than $70,000,000 of the present gold reserve might be at once released and applied to the current expense of the government, a sum nearly double the existing deficit. This is a consideration of prime importance at this time, not only to the incoming administration but also to the financial conditions of the country. The elimination of the deficit would of itself be a fact that would strengthen the forces of good government, sound money and prosperity to an almost inconceivable degree; and this, taken in connection with the utter destruction of the celebrated "endless chain," would do more than anything else to restore confidence in our financial prospect.

Perhaps the most important feature of this plan, however, is the fact that it provides for an immediate increase of the legal-tender currency instead of a great and dangerous restriction of it. The

one really serious claim of the advocates of a double standard is that there is not gold enough in the world to serve the purpose of redemption money. The experience of the world goes to sustain this claim. Every gold-standard country has been compelled to resort to legal-tender paper currency in order to lessen the demand for gold, and the proportion of such legal-tender money to the gold reserves of such countries has steadily increased since 1832, when the legal-tender quality was first conferred upon the issues of the Bank of England. The result is that gold is demandable in payment of debts nowhere in the British Isles except at the Bank of England. Her notes are legal-tender for all debts and all other banks clear in them and hold them as reserves. As a consequence, a much less amount of the money of ultimate redemption is required.

The bond-note provided for in this plan goes a step farther in the same direction; that is, it reduces the amount of redemption money required to hold stable a specific amount of paper currency. In order to keep stable a constantly redeemable currency of one billion dollars, there would need to be a gold reserve always available of at least $300,000,000. This amount would have to be kept practically useless and withdrawn from actual circulation in order to forestall a possible contingency. By applying the principle of terminal redeemability to legal-tender paper currency, this vast reserve of idle redemption money becomes unnecessary, and it is left free to serve its legitimate function in the liquidation of international balances. Even upon a liquidation schedule of fifty years, thirty million dollars a year of gold would be all that would be required to keep a billion dollars of legal-tender bond-notes always at par with gold. Why? Simply because that amount would suffice to meet the stipulation of payment and liquidate the pledge of interest. This would be equivalent to a constant enhancement of the currency of $250,000,000; that is, this sum in gold would be released from service as a reserve necessary to keep the rest of the currency good.

While such currency would always be worth as much as gold, so long as the credit of the government remained good—and whenever that shall fail bank-issues based on bonds and those based on the credit of her citizens will likewise depreciate—and would during a part of the lifetime of every such bond-note be

worth *more* than gold, this period would not be so great as to produce any harmful constriction of the currency if, indeed, it had any such result. The term of these notes being five years, one-fifth being renewable each year with accrued interest, no one would care to invest in them until the close of the third year, so long as money was worth three per cent., while during the fifth year every person would be anxious to secure them in order to get the accrued five per cent. at the end of that year. This would bring gold into circulation to pay for them. In other words, one-fifth of these legal-tender bond-notes would be regularly hoarded instead of gold, which would thereby be released to perform the functions of currency.

The fact should not be forgotten that this plan provides a financial harbor of refuge for the ship of state which is at once easy of access, perfectly secure and easy to leave, whatever way the wind may blow. In no event can the country receive any detriment by its adoption. Viewed in the most unfavorable aspect, it would be merely a funding of one billion dollars of debt at one per cent. ; surely not an unprofitable transaction, in itself. If at any time it should appear desirable, this could easily be refunded on the terms proposed as essential to the establishment of either a credit banking system, or one based on the deposit of bonds to secure circulation, since one per cent. bonds can always be exchanged for three or four per cent. bonds without sacrifice. Being renewable every five years they could be called in one-fifth each year, and such disposition made of them as might seem desirable, without shock to our financial system. The ease with which this system may be adopted should also not be left unconsidered. The Secretary of the Treasury has only to be authorized to issue interest-bearing bond-notes for non-interest-bearing promises to pay. Of course, every holder of the latter will be glad to make such exchange. The result will be to give us immediately a currency composed of gold coins, the silver coins now in circulation, and paper currency, every dollar of which will be legal tender, and every dollar of which will be and remain at par with gold, without any legislation or any bracing influence whatever. Even if any other plan should ultimately be adopted, this offers the best and simplest method for effecting the transition. It leaves the use of silver as a restricted coinage to be determined by demand,

though if no bond-notes were issued in denominations under five dollars, the demand for its use as change would be greatly enhanced.

It should not be forgotten, either, that this plan is in harmony with the trend of thought among the American people. The grant of privilege to issue currency for profit is of itself obnoxious. It savors too much of favoritism and monopoly, which are the insidious but mortal enemies of equal right and just opportunity. Any system that should ignore this popular sentiment and in any manner farm out the power of the nation to regulate the currency to individuals or associations as a means of profit-making to such individuals or associations, would not only invite popular reprehension, but would make itself liable to exactly the same aspersions as have been so freely showered upon the advocates of the unrestricted coinage of silver, to wit: a design to control and use the powers of government to promote the interests of a class. Instead of giving the profits resulting from the grant of privilege to supply a circulating medium to individuals or corporations, this plan distributes the same equally between all users of currency. It does away, too, with the obnoxious principle of immunity from state and municipal taxation, which must always constitute an essential element of any banking system under federal control.

To recapitulate, then, we have shown that the proposed system of bond-notes will effect the following results, which are of prime importance to the success of the incoming administration:

It will eliminate the existing deficiency and furnish a sufficient surplus to meet expenses until the requisite tariff changes can provide a sufficient revenue.

It will smash the "endless chain" and permit the Secretary of the Treasury to regard with entire indifference the fluctuations of the money market.

It will immediately enhance the currency by releasing at least three-fourths of the gold reserve.

It will practically double the amount of legal-tender money and will free the whole currency from suspicion by making every part equal in value with every part.

By making a part of our paper currency all the time better than gold, it will be sought as reserves by institutions required by law to maintain reserves, and by persons holding money for

speculative opportunity or other purpose, and so put gold into circulation.

By avoiding the necessity for bank reserves it will leave gold free to perform the more important function of liquidating international balances.

Instead of granting favor to a class, it makes the whole people the nation's creditors and gives to all users of currency an equal opportunity to participate in the advantages resulting from its issue.

It will avoid all semblance of fiat money and all taint of a forced loan.

It will take the government wholly out of the brokerage business and remit the banks to their legitimate business of loans and discounts.

It will relieve the national banks of the burdens under which they groan and which they consent to bear only out of patriotic regard for the public welfare.

It will avoid even the appearance of putting the control of the currency in the hands of a class.

It will obviate the difficulty that is apt to be experienced with bank-currency, which is withdrawn from circulation when most needed, and is most abundant when least required.

It combines the advantages of a better currency with a more manageable indebtedness.

It offers an opportunity to refund our bonded debt at one-third its present rate.

It applies to the national debt the universal principle that a terminal obligation is more easily met than a demand obligation; and to our currency another universal principle, that interest and certainty of payment enhance the value and ensure the stability of all promises to pay.

It may not be an absolute panacea for monetary stringency, but it will never lend itself to increase financial panic.

It is new only in the sense that it applies our financial experience in the past to our existing financial conditions, and instead of retiring the legal-tenders immediately at a cost of four per cent. a year, provides for their amendment and gradual payment at one per cent.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

ROOT DIFFICULTIES OF IRISH GOVERNMENT.

BY T. W. RUSSELL, M. P., SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

THE subject which I propose to treat is one of admitted difficulty, and one upon which differing, and even divergent, views may legitimately be held by political students. But I have chosen it with some deliberation. And for this reason. After long years of political excitement, tumult, and disorder, a period which has unsettled much, and settled very little, the people of Ireland have reached a point where further heroics are, for the time being, impossible—when the exercise of what Tennyson calls "saving common sense" in political affairs is absolutely necessary. As George Macdonald has finely said: "Birds cannot always sing," and even the most fiery of politicians cannot always be on the war path. No matter how superhuman the ardor, the powder of agitation is apt to become damp. The rockets will not go off. Men are forced simply to sit still. The newspapers, of course, write away. That is their business. But at such times wise men possess their souls in patience, and give the precious fallow time to thought. Now—the country having reached such a period—I am going to try and reveal the inside of a man's mind, who has for many years taken some small part in the fierce strife of Irish parties; who has been proud to belong to that "thin red line" upon which the brunt of the ten years' conflict, produced by Mr. Gladstone's great surrender, fell. I shall say much probably with which party men will disagree and that will not be palatable. But one cannot get to the root of anything without giving and taking trouble—and I must trust to the indulgence of my readers for a patient hearing and a sane judgment.

Let us, first of all, then, get the bare facts down on the record and see where we are. For well nigh 800 years England has

been endeavoring to govern Ireland. In this work she has employed Governors of every kind and degree. She has summoned Parliaments of more or less authority. Content at one time to allow the ascendancy of a class to have its own way, she has at long last fallen back upon household suffrage. And the result, we are told, is dissatisfaction more or less widespread, discontent and disloyalty prevalent over great areas of the country, hostile representatives in Parliament, and grinding poverty, squalor, and destitution afflicting large masses of the people. Once this fact—and, to a considerable extent, it is a fact—gets solid lodgement one must perforce ask what it all means; one must press for the why and the wherefore of such a condition of affairs. Is the fault with the governors or does it lie at the doors of the governed? We cannot help asking why it is that England, the great colonizing power of the world, has after so long a trial achieved so little in Ireland; why a people who, in India, in Egypt, and all throughout Africa, has shown what can be done with, and for, mere "niggers," has been so unsuccessful in Ireland with Celts. It was exactly at this point, and on a survey of these facts, that Mr. Gladstone blundered into Home Rule. But nothing could have been worse than the *tactics* of the step then taken. In the first place, and, apart altogether from the wisdom of the proposals, Mr. Gladstone laid himself open to all sorts of misrepresentation. The General Election of 1885 resulted in placing Mr. Parnell in a commanding position. If the Liberal party was to come back to power the votes of the Irish Nationalist party had to be secured. They could only be secured at a certain price. Mr. Gladstone paid the price, became Prime Minister, formulated a scheme of Home Rule, disrupted the Liberal party, and went out of office in six months. Was this a case of genuine conviction and of conversion to Home Rule? Or rather was it what Lord Randolph Churchill described as the action of "an old man in a hurry"? I do not undertake to say. But, unquestionably, Mr. Gladstone fairly laid himself open to the charge of selling the convictions of a lifetime for eighty-six Irish votes. Then, again, as to *procedure*, what could have been worse? Just imagine a general election fought clearly and without doubt against the Irish demands. This was in November, 1885. Then in the spring of the following year, and without any consultation with the people—a complete somersault and a Home

Rule Bill! Even as a matter of procedure the method adopted was fatal. Had Mr. Gladstone followed the course he adopted on the Irish Church question—had he come forward at the opening of the Session of 1886, announced the change in his views, submitted resolutions in favor of the establishment of an Irish Parliament, and declared his intention of appealing to the country in the event of their rejection, the result might have been altogether different. The veteran Liberal leader took, as I conceive, the worst possible course. But, when all this is said, the solid fact remains that Mr. Gladstone became an enthusiastic Home Ruler—that he carried with him the great bulk of the old Liberal party, that a House of Commons, sitting at Westminster, passed a Home Rule bill through all its stages, and that things in Ireland can never quite be what they were before all this happened.

Now whatever Mr. Gladstone's position in 1885-86 may have been—whether he lusted for power, or was passionately convinced that the Act of Union was a mistake—no one can doubt that he and the bulk of the party he led are to-day firmly convinced about what they call the misgovernment of Ireland. And those of us who, with many doubts and difficulties, took another view of the situation—so far, at least, as the remedy is concerned—are bound, under the circumstances, to show cause for the attitude we have taken up. I am one of those people. I was a follower of Mr. Gladstone, and have never been able to deny the past misgovernment of Ireland. And as I do not believe that the true remedy for misgovernment of any kind can be found without a thorough and painstaking diagnosis of the evil, I should like to get, if possible, to the root of the matter. Let us then see what is at the bottom of the business. There are many root difficulties in the way of Irish government. But in the front rank I place

THE POVERTY OF IRELAND.

Now I am not going to spend time and labor in proving the poverty of the country in which I live. With the exception of a corner in the Northeast, Ireland has no manufacturing industry. Her old gentry have either disappeared, or are rapidly disappearing. I hear of coal and copper mines, but I never hear of anybody with capital who cares to invest a sovereign in any such ventures. There are fish on the seaboard, but few fishing

boats and fewer real fishermen. We have, no doubt, a few rich brewers, distillers, and drink sellers. The professional classes also flourish and abound. But Ireland is, for all practical purposes, an agricultural country. And we all know what agriculture means to-day. There are whole counties and large areas of which, however, even this much cannot be said. Who will venture to call the peasantry of the greater part of the West agriculturalists? There are probably a quarter of a million of people in this country to whom the failure of a single year's potato crop means hardship, if not actual starvation. The small farmers in other parts of the country are oftentimes hard pressed, and with many of these a bad year makes rent paying difficult, whilst the tens of thousands of poor people who live in small towns and smaller villages, one hardly knows how, rarely know what the comforts and oftentime the decencies of life are. I will make any allowances that are desired. I will admit that the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks have gone up by leaps and bounds; that the Joint Stock Savings Banks have the same pleasant story to tell; that the balances at the ordinary banks are large; that the main lines of railway are prospering; and that the Registrar-General's report as to the increase in cattle and the decrease in tillage is every year entirely satisfactory to the statistician. But when all this is said and admitted Ireland is still poor—poor actually, and in fact, and still poorer relatively when compared with Great Britain. Now, the common idea is that Ireland, being poor, must necessarily derive an immense advantage from her close connection with a rich country like Great Britain. And the common idea is, so far, quite correct. In the olden time—viz., before and towards the end of the last century, and, therefore, before the Act of Union was passed, England deliberately crippled Irish trade for the benefit of English traders. The merchants of Bristol had but to say the word and the thing was done. And sad havoc was undoubtedly wrought by such means. But whatever may be said for or against the Act of Union it undoubtedly made this course of conduct impossible. All trade within the United Kingdom is free and unfettered, and traders of every kind and degree are now on the same footing. This is a very great matter for the poorer conntry; and I do not know that anyone would care to deny it. And what I venture to call the advantages of Empire

are not to be set aside lightly. There is an Ireland living, working, and earning good wages in Great Britain, which would starve at home. There is an Ireland in the Imperial Civil Service. In the army and navy Irishmen abound. In the Colonies they are everywhere to the front. All this is an enormous gain to the poorer country. There are, indeed, Irishmen who profess to believe that Ireland would be better off were she shut in within her own four seas, eating and living upon the produce of her own soil. I do not believe anything of the kind. The advantages of the world-wide Empire of which Ireland forms a part are enormous, and it is as fortunate as it is true that these advantages are confined neither to creed nor class. But this being so I feel bound to state that there is something to be said on the other side, and something, too, which merits very close attention. We all know what happens when poor people give themselves airs and begin to ape those whose means are greater. The result is oftentimes ruinous—it is always very absurd and ridiculous. Well, now, something like this has been going on for a very long time in Ireland.

The theory of taxation which obtains in this country is in principle this: Ireland and Scotland are dealt with just as if they were Yorkshire and Lancashire. There are, indeed, a few trifling taxes imposed in England which are not imposed in Ireland. But, for all practical purposes, Ireland pays into the Imperial exchequer just as Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire pay. Now, if we take the finding of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland—and on this point Englishmen and Irishmen agree—the proper or fair basis for Ireland to pay upon would be one-twentieth of the Imperial revenue. This is not the finding of Mr. Sexton and Mr. Redmond alone. It is the finding of men like the late Mr. Childers, of Lord Welby, an old Treasury official; of Lord Farrer, another ex-official, and of Sir David Barbour. This would mean that Ireland should have paid into the Imperial Treasury the sum of £4,842,781 in the year 1893-94, whereas she actually paid a sum amounting to £7,568,649. Now, it will at once be seen that, for a poor country, this raises a very serious question, and one about which much will be said in the immediate future. We hear already, indeed, of an Irish claim for arrears of overcharge amounting to over £100,000,000 sterling, and

a demand for what is called a thorough and honest re-arrangement of taxation. But we may depend upon it that, whatever happens, judgment will not be allowed to go by default. And in the exceedingly luminous and able report of Sir David Barbour, the lines of the answer to what may turn out to be a somewhat premature charge, are calmly laid down. Sir David Barbour says, in effect, as I understand him, that it is true that one-twentieth of the whole revenue would be Ireland's fair basis of contribution, that she has (mainly and chiefly by her extravagant consumption of whiskey) been paying much more than this, but that if her contribution is to be calculated on the basis of "taxable capacity," the Imperial expenditure in Ireland must also be taken into account. And if this expenditure were to be calculated on the same basis, it was £3,791,498 in excess of what it ought to have been in 1893-94. Therefore, says the *Times:* "We are quits. Ireland pays too much into the Treasury. The Treasury pays out too much to Ireland, and the one balances the other."

I am not going to enter into this argument at all. This is not the object I have in view in referring to the financial relations between the two countries. Before I express any opinion upon such a thorny question I prefer to wait and hear the argument on both sides. But what I do wish to point out is this, and it is a thing the Commissioners felt themselves precluded from touching, viz., the extravagant expenditure on the government of Ireland. As things stand, nobody in this poor country has any interest in economy of government. We are virtually charged with our share of the expense of 20,000 soldiers—and to remove a single man from a garrison town is to inflame the whole population; we have a police force which partakes of a semi-military character, and which costs something like one and a half millions per annum. We have a vice-regal court, a judiciary—Superior and County—which in quality cannot be surpassed, but which in quantity is admittedly excessive. We have boards for everything—boards to educate our children, boards to fix rents, boards to dispense our charities, boards to lend money, boards to build bridges, boards to instruct people who are counted able to govern themselves, and other people as well, in the elementary principles of that science which teaches them how to earn their daily bread. But all this costs money, and a great deal of it. The taxation of this country is

mainly paid by the people who drink whiskey and tea, and who smoke tobacco. Here are the figures for the year 1893–94 :

Total tax revenue of Ireland	£6,892,948
Proceeds from spirits, wine, beer, tea, and tobacco	4,848,489

And what I desire to emphasize is that the people at large pay; but that with the exception of the sums voted for education, the police and the army, the expenditure goes largely amongst a narrow class. So far as I can see, we are bound to accept the argument that Imperial expenditure in Ireland is local expenditure. I know this is not the view of the Irish Nationalist. I know it will be fiercely resented. We shall be told to remove our soldiers, to disband our police, to pension our judges—that they are mainly kept going for Imperial and not for Irish purposes. But all the same the charge for these services is paid out of the common purse. It is spent in Ireland, and is, therefore in my opinion, local expenditure, or money expended in this country in connection with the government of the country. But, as I have said, it is not the argument *pro* or *con* that I care about at present. What I desire to draw attention to is the fact that a country, admittedly poor and backward, has to keep up an expenditure practically on the basis of the expenditure of a rich and prosperous country and the still more ominous fact that nobody on this side of St. George's Channel cares one straw, or has any inducement to care, about any plans of economy. If, for example, an English Minister is strong enough and wise enough to say, when there is a vacancy on the Irish Bench : "I shall not fill it up. The Irish Judges are many in number and they have comparatively little to do"—at once the wigs are on the green. The bar is in revolt. Political animosities are promptly buried. Mr. Healy joins hands with Mr. Samuels. And why not ? Up till now the imaginative Englishman has been under the impression that, inasmuch as the salaries of the judges are paid out of the Consolidated Fund, they are paid by England. We now know, however, that this is pure imagination; that every penny expended in Ireland from Imperial resources, no matter what it is, has been paid for by our noble army of native whiskey-drinkers, and, seeing that the Judge's salary will remain in England if he is not appointed, I confess that I can understand, if I do not appreciate, the argument which says : "Hang the judge, but let the country have the benefit of his salary !" This is all as pernicious as it well can

be. Ireland ought to pay a reasonable share of taxation. She ought to have an executive and a judiciary commensurate with her needs. And every man ought to have an interest in keeping the public expenditure within reasonable limits, which is the very opposite of what the present system encourages.

Again, let us take another example. Free Trade is one of those things about which all Englishmen are, or rather until lately were, inclined to boast. The bottom principle of free trade is unquestionably sound. The bottom principle I take to be this—that the exports from any country are paid for, not in money, but by imports, and so long as the imports into a country are in excess of the exports from it, always assuming, of course, that the latter represent a great volume of trade, the country must be prosperous and trade must be profitable. I agree that this is a sound principle, when applied to the whole country. But, when you tell an artisan, whose special trade has been ruined by some foreign product admitted free of duty to compete with his handiwork, that this is a sound axiom, he does not readily see it. The truth is that a principle may be sound as a whole, while capable of doing a great deal of mischief in detail. Now the imports into England greatly exceed the exports from that country. The figures for a given year were :

Imports	£408,000,000
Exports	287,000,000
Balance in favor of imports	£121,000,000

And so the Cobden Club rejoices. The English farmer may be in a bad way, special industries may suffer, but the country as a whole is all right. If people do not succeed in one thing they can and do try another. And this is true of England. But when we come to Ireland, that which I call the root principle of free trade will not work out. Our imports do not exceed our exports. It is the other way round. Here are the figures for a given year, as estimated by Sir R. Giffen :

Exports	£25,574,000
Imports	20,954,000

And the people cannot turn to anything else, for there is nothing else to turn to. Now, we may glorify the general principle of free trade as much as we like ; we may maintain that it has made England, but cannot we see that what may be a great success in

a mixed agricultural and industrial community may not work out the same result in a purely agricultural country? And so it has come about in Ireland. Ireland once produced wheat in large quantities. She produces next to none now. And why? Because, with the ports of the United Kingdom open to all the world, she cannot compete with California, Manitoba, India, and the Argentine. The industry is dead—has been clean killed off. So with other crops. The foreigner, with his superior climate, with his boundless tracts of practically free land, with freights that bring corn and cattle almost as cheap from the ends of the earth as our railways will take the same commodities from Galway to Liverpool—a thing that Cobden never dreamt of—has it all his own way. And so it comes about that the Irish figures will not work out on free trade principles in favor of free trade. But, of course, we cannot have two fiscal policies in the two countries. I agree it is quite impossible. And what is called "Home Rule" would not cure this evil. But it does not follow that England ought to calmly conclude that because a thing is good for her it must, therefore, be good for a people wholly and entirely different in conditions and in circumstances.

To sum up, then, on this head, we have here an undoubtedly backward and poor country in close union with a rich and prosperous country. The poor country pays in taxation just what the rich pays—not, of course, in amount, but on the same principle. There is no compulsion. Let this be clearly understood. We do it out of our poverty and in the exercise of our blessed free will. But it is done. In addition to this we have an extravagant expenditure on the government of the country. And, finally, we have a fiscal policy which, benefiting the rich country, has grievously handicapped the main industry of Ireland. It has no doubt given the people cheap food—a priceless boon. It has enabled people to get luxuries who but for the change would have had to be content with bare necessaries. But free trade, as the figures show, has not worked out in Ireland as it has done in the industrial and richer sister country. This poverty, accentuated by the means I have described, is at the very root of the Irish difficulty. A people living as thousands of Irishmen live can never, and never ought to be, content. There must be a way out, and it ought to be the business of statesmen to find that way.

The second root difficulty in the government of Ireland is

THE IRISH AGRARIAN SYSTEM.

I had almost placed this difficulty in the front, and if I had been writing fifteen or sixteen years ago I should have placed it there. But, for sufficient reasons, I place it second. The story of agrarian Ireland is nothing less than a tragedy. Space will not permit the story to be unfolded from the beginning. But, for practical purposes, I start from the establishment of the English law of tenure in this country. And I only refer to this in order to make clear the fact that it supplanted the old Irish custom by which the peasant had certain rights in the soil. It is important to note this, for down through the centuries, and in spite of repeated confiscations, this old idea of peasant ownership lingers, preserved, apparently, by some curious antiseptic power in the Celtic nature. But with this important fact admitted, let us look at the agrarian difficulty. What are the facts? Go—read the report of the Devon Commission if information is wanted. Lord Devon was a great Irish landowner. But his report is a perfect mine for the student. Up to the year 1870 the Irish tenant possessed no legal property in the soil. He had, in the great majority of cases, built his own house, reclaimed, drained, and fenced the land. By law, the house which he had built, and every atom of improvement he had made, belonged to the landlord. Under the Encumbered Estates Court Act, for example, the whole of the tenant's property was expressly conveyed with the freehold to the new purchasers. The second fact is that, without cause, and with the rent fully paid, he could be evicted and his whole property confiscated. This is no fancy picture. When I first entered Irish politics this was English law in Ireland, and every day in Irish counties this law was wont to be enforced by policemen paid for out of Irish taxes. By a long, laborious, and arduous fight—by the constitutional labors of men like Sharman Crawford, Dr. McKnight, Richard Smyth, Hugh Law, and Isaac Butt, aye, and shame be it said that it should have required it, by the unconstitutional work of the Land League, this horrid system has been all but brought to the ground. I have a friend whose history is a complete epitome of the Irish land question. The son of an evicted tenant, he is now a prosperous well-to-do man. Evicted in the pre-1870 days, when an Irish tenant had no legal property in the soil, and when "the agent" could do pretty well

what he liked, this friend of mine realized to the full what all this meant. With what result? He is one of the most intelligent and reasonable of men. But he hates England. He hates landlordism. He would do me or mine any service in this world —but *vote* for me. This he could not be prevailed upon to do.

This feeling, indefinitely multiplied all over the world and transmitted from father to son, is what the Irish land laws have done for England. Yes, we have righted many of the wrongs. No one knows it better than I do. I know that eviction is not so easy as it was, and that at the best it is now a costly enterprise. I know that the expenditure of a tenant on house and land cannot be confiscated, as in olden days. I know that we are rooting the peasant in the soil once again either as occupier or owner—that he has emerged from his long night of serfdom and is at last a freeman. But at what cost has all this been done? I remember at the close of the Session of 1878—just after the Irish Sunday Closing Bill had been passed—I stood in the lobby of the House of Commons conversing with the late Mr. Parnell. He had voted all through in favor of that bill, and I thanked him. "Now," he said, "we are done with liquor for some time; we must see about land." "Ah!" I replied, "that will be even a tougher job. It will require an earthquake to upset the Irish land system." "Then," replied Mr. Parnell, "earthquake be it." And the earthquake came. But who can estimate the ruin and suffering and demoralization that ensued? And where are we now? We have reached daylight, so far as the Statute Book is concerned, only to be faced with two fresh and very serious difficulties. Agriculture, as a paying industry, appears in danger of disappearing. Even with the highest farming, the farmers of Great Britain are hardly able to hold their own. In the last session of Parliament government had to come to their relief. And if this be the case what is to become of the small farmers of Ireland, many of whom do not even know the rudiments of the business they are supposed to follow?

I say nothing of the seasons—they come and go. With low prices for agricultural produce we may get cheap food—we shall not secure agricultural content, and in a country like Ireland the absence of this is fatal. And the landlord also finds himself face to face with a new difficulty; for, with fifteen per cent. struck off the rents in 1881, and a second reduction of a serious char-

acter impending in 1897—for very many, I fear, this means a clean sweep of the margin which sufficed for existence. In the days when the landlords made the land laws for themselves all went well. These were indeed halcyon times for them. And in what seems to have been sheer recklessness, the landed property of Ireland was mortgaged and charged to the very throat. Nobody appeared to think of the future, but now the storm has burst. The present race of landlords are, most of them, perfectly innocent, but they must know that Parliament can neither raise nor lower prices. They must be aware that a Parliament, responsible to the people, and not to a class, could not, and ought not, to maintain the injustices of the old land system. I read a speech delivered the other day by an Ulster member, a great friend of mine, in which he was reported to have gaily referred to the land question as being "settled." Settled forsooth! The lines of settlement have, indeed, I am thankful to think, been successfully laid. But the actual settlement is yet far off. The one thing certain is that before five years have passed the margin upon which many, very many landlords have lived, will have disappeared, not by the operations of any Land Act, old or new, but by the working of economic causes.

From this sketch it will be seen how great are the difficulties of the Irish Agrarian system. We have first the whole area of the congested districts where a single bad season throws everything out of gear and produces discontent and sometimes disorder. Next we have the memories of harsh and unjust laws—under which the mind of a whole people has been poisoned and embittered. Added to this we have the serious trouble caused by the very effort to remedy these wrongs, and, finally, just as daylight appears, the whole industry of agriculture is upset, if not paralyzed. The situation is one of extraordinary difficulty, and will tax the energies and statesmanship of the strongest minds that can be brought to bear upon it.

The third difficulty which presents itself is one even harder to deal with, viz.:

THE DIFFERENCE IN RACE AND RELIGION

of the people living in Ireland. I am, of course, aware that in the minds of many people this is the root difficulty in the government of the country. The mere fact that the great mass of the Irish people are Celts and Roman Catholics accounts for

everything that is wrong. I cannot admit this; but, on the other hand, it is impossible for any one studying the facts of Irish life to ignore it. Nothing is more common than the statement—I have heard it many hundreds of times—that if Ireland were all like Ulster the whole problem of government would be solved. And it is often put in another way, which indicates that Roman Catholicism is the real tap-root of the ever-present mischief. I am not going to say that there is nothing to be said for these twin contentions. It is possible that if we could apply the business energy of Belfast and of parts of Ulster to the south of Ireland marvellous results might ensue. We might also lose a little—for your Belfast man is not an entirely lovely character. It is quite possible also that the free breath of Protestantism might work wonders if allowed to operate all over the land. I am not in the least concerned to deny this, for, in truth, I believe it. But the statesman is not at liberty to contemplate these things. He cannot look for a new heaven and a new earth on such lines. He cannot contemplate the disappearance from the face of the earth of the Irish Celt, rather the reverse; much less can he calculate upon the extinction of that wonderful ecclesiastical organization which, as Macaulay finely says, was "great before the Frank had passed the Rhine and before the Saxon had set foot in Britain." But the difficulty caused by these two factors is seen at every step. The Ulsterman very frequently knows infinitely more of Scotland than he does of the South or West of Ireland, and would often be a greater stranger in Dublin and Cork than he would be in Glasgow. Between North and South there is little or no community of feeling. And even in the Northern province itself the two peoples, almost equal in numbers, are kept separate and apart as if by a wall of fire, owing to the force of old feuds and bitter memories. The effect of this is to destroy all real national life. The "old race," as it is called, conquered and overborne, subject in the past to confiscation and persecution, long denied education and civil rights, but rapidly emerging in the sunshine of saner times to better things, stands for Ireland and all they understand by it. The descendants of the Settlers, and those who, in the Providence of God, have found their home here, stand for England and the Empire. Their lives are to a great extent lived wholly apart. At certain seasons of the year

they even frown upon and fight with each other. The glorious memories of the one are memories of sorrow and defeat to the other. Derry thrills the heart of the Protestant. To the Roman Catholic the crimson banner is the symbol of a lost cause. The Roman Catholic glories in Patrick Sarsfield and Owen Roe; delights in Limerick, Benburb, and the Yellow Ford. But these waken no enthusiasm in the breast of what I may call for convenience the English in Ireland. The fact really is that there are two Irelands; that genuine national feeling does not exist; that the parties live often simply to thwart each other. They have few aims or aspirations in common. Now, the real difficulty arising out of all this to-day lies in the fact that the government of the past was for the few and not for the many; that avowedly, and it may be necessarily, government existed for the benefit of the English garrison and, not for the Irish people. Possible in days that are happily gone, when men's minds moved in a narrower circle, such a system of government is absolutely impossible now. We have got to a higher altitude. But the operation of changing the old order is not a pleasant one. It is everywhere painful. There is a wrench at every step. The American poet Whittier, writing of the overthrow of American slavery, once finely said: "Fierce burns the fire where wrongs expire." And when privilege gives place to equality the process is by no means pleasant. The truth is that we have reached a point when every act of justice is described as a concession; when to enfranchise one class is held as being tantamount to despoiling another. We are in the transition state; hence the difficulty.

The fourth and last root difficulty to which I propose to refer is the all but complete

ABSENCE OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE.

I have already referred to the fact that, apart from a corner in the northeast, Ireland is a purely agricultural country. And the absence of manufactures, accounting for much in the condition of the country, opens up one of the most contentious of questions. If I ask how it comes that manufactures flourish in some parts of Ulster, and that they are generally absent in Munster, I am at once referred to the legislation of the last century. I am told to look at the Coombe, and to think of the time before its glory had departed. I have already said what I think about the

legislation of the English Parliament in those days. It was mean and selfish to a degree. But it is all nonsense to say that the position of Ireland to-day is practically affected by legislation which has had no operative effect for a hundred years. If factories can be started and successfully worked in Caledon, and Castlecaulfield, two villages in South Tyrone, there is no reason that I know of, so far as government and legislation are concerned, why similar factories should not spring up in the counties of Cork or Kerry. There is no reason why Blarney should not be indefinitely multiplied. There is very little coal in Tyrone, and for purposes of freight Cork is as near the south of England as Tyrone is to Glasgow. The difference is not great. Girl labor ought to be more plentiful in the South than it is in the North. And the expert knowledge can be had in the one place as cheaply as in the other. Why, then, do factories spring up in the one place and not in the other? Why is the factory line practically drawn at Drogheda? Why is it that the drink industry alone flourishes in the South and West? The true answer to this question would take us far in argument, further than I care to go. But, unquestionably, the absence of manufactures, causing, as it does, an abnormal drain on the land, is one of the chief difficulties in the government of Ireland.

Now, it may be said, "You have told us what is wrong. Will you be good enough to go a little further and tell us how things are to be set right." I admit that the question is fair. But I have no patent specific for the disease. There are those who say, and who believe, that the disease is incurable, that the Celt is irreclaimable, and that things must just flounder on, every man doing the best he can for himself. There are others who maintain that the mischief is all due to what they call the domination and injustice of an alien government, and what is practically a foreign power. They tell us that the union of the two countries was a blunder as well as a crime, that Ireland was as wealthy in 1850 as she is now, the wealth now, of course, being spread over a smaller population, and that nothing can be done so long as self-government is denied to the people. I am not convinced of either of these contentions. I do not believe in the depravity of the Celt. I admit that wherever you find him he is troublesome. Lighthearted and gay, clever and somewhat unscrupulous, he *is* apt to worry and even drive to despair his slow and oftentimes stupid govern-

ors. But he has great and brilliant qualities and cannot be surrendered to despair. Nor can I accept the other proposition—that the union was a mistake. I, however, can and do understand the contention. And I admit that there is much in the past history of Ireland to enforce the claim. I prefer what I consider a nobler policy. I am for union, not disintegration. But, for this policy to be successful, the two parties in Ireland must loyally co-operate. What I venture to call, for convenience, the English in Ireland must recognize that the country is not entirely theirs, that they are a minority, an important minority, no doubt, but still a minority, possessing rights—but rights to be shared by all. Every vestige of privilege or inequality ought to go. If I had the power I should leave the Home Ruler with absolutely nothing to rely upon in argument save the claim advanced on National grounds.

I would destroy every vestige of grievance. And in addition to this I would have England recognize that she also has present day duties to the country she so long neglected. During the last twenty-five years very much has been done in this way. Religious equality has been secured. Agrarian reform has been accomplished. But no one conversant with the mind of the English people can fail to realize that, at present, they are a little wearied of Ireland. Having put their hand to the plough they are inclined to look back. They imagine that twenty-five years of well doing can obliterate centuries of neglect. My own view is that England owes much to Ireland, and that the account between the two countries is far from being squared. In my opinion England has never fully realized the financial aspects of the union, and how these have told against the poorer country. That was enough. But with a rigid policy of undoing the wrongs of the past, a generous recognition of the needs of the present day, and the exercise of a kindly patience on both sides, there is hope for even a closer union than that which an Act of Parliament has been able to cement. This is not a change to be brought about in a day. But it is in times of calm, and not when the storm winds blow, that healing work of this kind should be done. We are in the doldrums now. We may be in the rapids to-morrow.

T. W. RUSSELL.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAMA OF TO-DAY.

BY HERBERT BEERBOHM TREE.

WHETHER it be in society, on the platform, or in the newspaper press, we see evidences of the all-pervading interest which is taken in the drama nowadays. Indeed, the attention given to matters theatrical is not less absorbing than that which is devoted to football news, or the latest utterances of a retired statesman. Nowadays, every second man is a would-be dramatist, every other woman a potential actress. The interest in the stage is not confined to that enthusiastic person, the constant playgoer—it extends to those platonic patrons of the drama who never enter the portals of a theatre; it embraces that sympathetic individual, the *laudator temporis acti*, who is ever prepared to bewail the death of the drama, and to weep the ready tear over its untenanted grave. It is not my intention to assist the readers of this magazine in holding a kind of literary autopsy on the body dramatic. We have heard something too much of late of such functions, whose melancholy enquiries have generally resulted in a verdict of manslaughter against that arch-enemy of progress, the actor-manager. Whatever may be its ailments, the drama is not suffering from want of medical attendance, for disagreeing doctors are constantly warring over its prostrate but pulsating body. If one may dissent from the maxim, "whatever is, is right," one may surely be excused from joining in the chorus of "whatever is, is wrong," as sung by the sentimental re-actionaries who worship the past at the expense of the present, who disparage their ancestors when living, and write pæans to them when dead. If results (as Nature tells us) are obtained by striving, this should be a prolific period for our drama; for never, assuredly, was there a time when among authors and managers a more honorable rivalry obtained to produce distinguished work.

The dramatic output of each generation is the direct result of that generation's thought and tendency, although a demand for work of the highest kind usually receives its impetus from some exceptional creative or executive genius who is the highest product of his age. And, too, geniuses grow in clusters, whether they be great poets, great painters, great statesmen, great generals, great gentlemen, or great dramatists. Witness the Elizabethan era.

We have all been crying in the wilderness for the manna of dramatic literature, and it would be strange indeed if, in defiance of all the laws of supply and demand, that manna did not descend from the dramatic firmament. It is impossible that the same sort of romance or the same sort of realism in art should emanate from, say, the Georgian period and the Victorian era. Each age has its offspring after its kind, and according to the social conditions which govern it. The more strenuous habits of the people of to-day, the greater brevity in the expression of thought, the increased dramatic precision, the decay of eloquence, and the development of force, make for a different sort of literature and a different sort of drama. The best plays of to-day are keener, less mannered, less heroic, less epic, but probably more direct and swifter in effect, if not deeper, than those of the early part of the century. If there is to-day a widespread taste for the lighter forms of entertainment, yet there is at the other extreme of the dramatic scale a great and vital demand for serious work. We have passed through a period of undue pessimism, and now the ultra-realistic or morbid drama has in its turn given place to romanticism. Each school has its ardent champions who, from the formidable bulwarks of their respective newspapers, shoot peas at each other with pleasing regularity. For me, I love them both. I confess I do not share this leaning towards a morbid monogamy in matters of art ; the Muses must not be regarded as purely domestic creatures. People talk as though romance and the problem play were two things of some sudden birth, as though we had either lately discovered problems, or had been lately born anew in romance. One day we are told that this is the age of the problem play. We are fascinated by Ibsen, by "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," and are under the sway of the new woman in literature, as it might appear, when lo ! the voice goes up in the wilderness, "How long, how long will this problem business last ?" And with a gayety and a sud-

denness which come of the gods and not of men, down swoops romance, and again a new world has been discovered.

But what are the facts of the case? Romance and Realism have always been perennially interchangeable. They never interfere with each other. They are the most polite rivals in existence. They are like those Swiss clocks with a little wooden man and a little wooden woman in a little wooden sentinel box. When it is going to rain and wet the dainty robes of Romance (Romance always has robes), back steps Miss Romance into her little wooden box, and out pops the little wooden man called Realism (and you know Realism always has draggled skirts!). These little gentry—in the clock of the stage—they love each other, but they can never be out together. There is no keeping company for them! Like rival stars, they never appear together—when the one is out the other is in, out of the wet, or out of the sun, as the case may be. They never embrace, but they never quarrel. Let us be patient with the great discoverers who are constantly making comparisons and prophecies and proclamations to thrill that great public who care little whether they are given Romance, or the Problem Play, or the Comedy of Manners, so long as the fare provided be interesting and amusing, amusing in the highest sense of the term; at the apex of its expression reaching beauty, at its base touching burlesque. For the time being, modern blank-verse dramas can scarcely hold us, or convince us. We are not in touch with them. We incline to the prose of the telegram, not to the chorus from Olympus. Our drama of to-day comes nearer the vernacular. We love wit more than poetry, and cleverness more than prosody. I confess myself to being somewhat alarmed when I find myself face to face with a play written in the medium employed by Sheridan Knowles. The blank verse is apt to be somewhat echoic, and it seems to me only suitable when the stately march of its eloquence is employed as Shakespeare employed it—and that employment we find but seldom in his followers. This medium of expression is apt to be unconvincing—to detract from, rather than add to, the illusion at which all drama must aim.

And here we come to the very Alpha and Omega of stage science—illusion. Everything that tends to aid illusion, to stimulate the imagination of an audience, is legitimate on the stage. Everything that detracts from illusion is illegitimate.

We hear a great deal of cant talked by those who insist that the ideal stage setting should be a green baize, whose decoration should consist of placards inscribed, "This is a street," "This is a house," "This is heaven." In all this there seems to me something of affectation. If Shakespeare's poetry could be better or more reverently illustrated by such means, I would say: "Take away those baubles of scenery, of costume, and of archæological accessories!" It was all very well for David Garrick to appear in a powdered tie-wig, a Georgian coat, and silk stockings, when he was impersonating the *Thane of Cawdor;* but he created the effect (which undoubtedly he did create) not by virtue of the incorrectness of his costume, but in spite of it. The greater knowledge of historical periods possessed by our theatre-goers of to-day, the increased sense of humor, the demand for luxury, require general and detailed illusion in the appointments of the stage, and to deny it to theatre-goers is to be affectedly superior to one's age, and belated in the movements of the time. Every artist uses the material which his generation places at his disposal. If the painter lacked paint and canvas, he would content himself with the flag-stone and a piece of chalk, if the musician lacked a Stradivarius he would still be returning to the old tooth-comb; but why complain of the canvas and the paint and the Stradivarius! The increase of picturesqueness in all the arts, the complete revolution in taste as regards house decoration, the greater cultivation of the eye, all these have tended to what has been contemptuously called the "millinery" of the drama. I admit that there has been a tendency towards an over-elaborate decoration, which may have sometimes swamped the beauty of the poet—and here taste must always be the arbiter—but I cannot think that the public would nowadays be so readily inclined to listen to Shakespeare's noble dramas did they not receive that splendor of setting which modern ingenuity and modern resource have placed at the disposal of the stage manager of to-day.

Briefly, mechanical devices should be avoided, if illusion can be given without them; and it should be remembered that the real thing may, on the stage, be not so effective as the ingenious make-believe. Suggestion is often better than an undue insistence on detail. In the same way the art of the dramatist and of the actor is not to give us a mere photographic representation of life, or of its detached and perhaps commonplace incidents, but

rather to epitomize for us a whole career, to present the heart of an incident, to give in one crystal of a thousand facets the aspects, impressions, inflections, and modifications of a life, to suggest to the imagination of the audience by the illustration of dialogue, or by the presentation of character, the artistic embodiment of a man or a woman, rather than the photographic actuality. Were it otherwise, then the blacksmith should be taken from the blacksmith's shop, the costermonger from the barrow, to represent the passions through which the blacksmith and the costermonger may be supposed to pass. That would be photographic. And, as Mr. Whistler once remarked, there is something in art that even a photographer does not always achieve. But what is the actor? It is he who was never a blacksmith or a costermonger, yet who, by his power of observation and through the medium of his adaptive physical organism, can suggest those characters. It is the dramatist's art to outline the character, to seize upon its vital moments, to depict the situation, and it is the actor's art to make that man and that situation live. It seems to me there is only one way to act, that is by impersonation; but, for some occult reason, there are still those who regard the art of acting as if it were a co-operative store, which is subdivided into departments: the grocery department, the haberdashery department, the tailoring department, and so on. In the same way, there existed a tradition of the stage which prescribed certain "lines of business"—one of those traditions, which are, I think, made by fools for wise men to break.

Among these "lines of business" was the first old man, the leading man, the first low comedian, the walking gentleman, the second old man, the light comedian, the second low comedian, the heavy man, the utility man, the leading lady, the singing chambermaid, the heavy lady, and so on. The sanctity of the laws of the Medes and Persians was as nothing compared with the sanctity which governed the "lines of business" in the olden days. And I believe that for the singing chambermaid to have trenched by one hair's breadth on the domain of the walking lady would have been an offence to extenuate which the rack were too mild a form of torture. I am glad to think that this ancient prejudice is passing away, for though in its time the demarcation may have had its uses, I fancy it had still greater abuses; and an actor nowadays is no longer regarded as a heretic

if he substitutes for the "damnable iteration" of his own personality, in a fixed line of business, the artistic embodiment of various and opposite characters.

There is another cant expression, which I would be glad to see eliminated from the dictionary of acting; that is, the phrase "character acting." All acting should be character acting. What is *Shylock?* A character part. What are *Macbeth* and *Richard III.* but character parts? What are *Hamlet, Iago,* or *Othello* but character parts? What are *Brutus, Mark Antony* and *Cassius?* Such characters as *Romeo* of course require the appearance of youth and those graces of person which will alone commend the Mantuan lover to his *Juliet.* But even here, an audience will be more moved by the intellectual suggestion of a Jean de Reszké, than by the inadequate posturings of a youthful nincompoop. The meaning of "character acting" in the ordinary acceptance of the word, I take it, is the assumption of a character which is afflicted with either mental or physical eccentricity. Nowadays, as I have said, lines of business have become merged, and most managers will cast their plays according to the ability of the actor to embody his part; thus an actor will one day play an old man, another day a young man, and so on. I believe Mr. Frank Benson, who has done so much to uphold the banner of Shakespeare in the English provinces, recognizes no "lines of business," and his actors accordingly have the advantage of playing a round of parts, one differing from the other; and so they obtain greater freedom and have opportunities for the exercise of that versatility so necessary to the development of the actor's art.

If acting is an art, then it should be the highest endeavor of the actor to so cultivate his sensitive and imaginative being that he can at will become absorbed in whatever character he is portraying and give appropriate utterance to the feelings, the manners, and the passions of that individual. In this respect he is on a level with the literary artist. It would never be held that the author should be perpetually grinning through the horse collar of his characters; and if the imaginative faculty be developed in him, his characters, though foreign to his own nature, will yet act and speak in a fashion appropriate to them. This power of affecting the imagination is not merely a matter of externa

disguise or make-up; it is something that comes from within; it is the assumption of a character—character-acting, if you will. It is happily no longer essential to popular success that an actor should cultivate peculiarities and tricks of speech, by which he should be recognized if possible before entering upon the stage. "This," as a brilliant critic once remarked of a performance of the present writer, "this is no way to behave." Of course, an actor, like an author, is known by his style, and a dominant individuality is of the greatest value to him as it is to the author; mere mimicry is not the be-all and end-all of acting. One may be an excellent imitator, and yet an indifferent actor. How often do we not see an artist who, instead of employing the vehicle of his own resources, will seek to make an effect by imitating the blemishes of an acknowledged master? Strange that when men seek to flatter their superiors they should do so by imitating their infirmities! Because the Venus of Milo has no arms, it does not follow that a perfect piece of sculpture needs necessarily be arrived at by omitting those members from the statue. It does not follow because Cromwell had a wart on his nose, that a man should become a statesman or a reformer because he happened to have a like nasal superfluity.

We have, as I have hinted earlier, heard much of late of the baneful influence of the actor-manager, to whom all the evils to which dramatic flesh is heir have been traced. A newspaper was recently put into my hands, containing an article signed by one who is supposed to be responsible in directing public opinion in matters theatrical. In the course of this article, statements were made which, however ridiculous to the initiated, are yet calculated to mislead the public—to detract from the dignity of the calling which is assailed, and to lessen the regard in which it is held. It was stated that the actors who preside over our principal London theatres are animated in the conduct of those theatres by unworthy motives; that they have no sincere regard for the art which they are supposed to represent; that their actions are informed only by vanity, by self-aggrandizement, and by a greed for gold. Now, I will admit that an actor is subject, as is every artist, as indeed is every man who leads a public life, to that self-contemplation which in the unsuccessful is called vanity and which in the successful is often called laudable ambition. Few among us will pretend to an indifference to that advancement in

the opinion of our fellow-men which is called popularity, nor is the substantial reward which it ensures to be held in contempt. But this much I will say, without fear of contradiction, that the bulk af artistic achievement given to the stage during our generation has been due to the actor-manager.

The lay-manager exploits a commercial enterprise ; the actor lives in his art as well as by it. "The reason why your drama in England is so vital," said an eminent French actor to me, "is that your theatres are governed by artists and not by tradesmen." The actor who makes sacrifices in struggling for the highest is not a martyr, he is a devotee, maybe an epicure ; his joy is more in his art than in his balance-sheet. But let us not be boastful of our ruling passions, or make a virtue of our pleasant inclinings.

To briefly review the history of the stage of the last fifty years, who have been the great managers ? I mean the managers whose labors have been directed towards the highest class of work. Their names jump to the mind of every playgoer. There are men still living to whom the name of Macready is something more than a memory. The next name on which the high light of theatrical history falls is that of Charles Kean, who devoted to the production of Shakespearian and modern plays all the sumptuous description and illustrative decoration which the ambitious actor-manager of to-day gives to his work. Then come such as Phelps and Charles Calvert, who worked steadily for their art. So in America did Edwin Booth, Forrest and Barrett. In our own time we have the history of the Bancroft management at the Prince of Wales' and Haymarket theatres—the Bancrofts who were, I think, the pioneers of our modern drama. We have the brilliant record of Henry Irving, whose untiring devotion to the highest interests of our art is the pride of us all. We have the Kendals and John Hare, whose efforts both as artists and managers are assuredly deserving of the gratitude of the public. We have to-day Richard Mansfield, Wilson Barrett, Charles Wyndham, and George Alexander. We have Edward Compton and Frank Benson, not to mention the younger generation which is knocking at our door. The late Augustus Harris will be remembered chiefly by his splendid efforts in the cause of opera ; but he too was at one time an actor, and, had he lived, would have devoted himself to the production of Shakespeare on a scale

of worthy magnificence. I am far from saying that a lay-manager must of necessity be an undesirable director of a theatre. On the contrary, I will go so far as to admit that, given the sympathy and the capacity for his work, the lay-manager should be the ideal head of a theatre, for he is not oppressed with the double labor which acting entails. Yet in all time and in all arts, it is the artist himself, whose enthusiasm has given, and will preserve for his time, the masterpieces of the arts. It is the poet, not the publisher ; the painter, not the picture-dealer.

If England or America cannot boast a national or state-subsidized theatre, we still may trust to that public spirit which finds expression in responsible and individual effort. And, if the pecuniary reward of such efforts is not always great, yet the worker leaves behind something whose value cannot be appraised by the standard of the death-duties.

H. Beerbohm Tree.

THE FOLLY OF DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES

BY CAPTAIN JOHN CODMAN.

In discussing the shipping question during the last quarter of a century, I have so often been obliged to combat proposed systems of bounties and subsidies, that it is a relief to find that they are now at last abandoned by their advocates, as ineffectual and impracticable.

From the time when the first of the many "investigating committees" was appointed by Congress in 1870, and the Hon. John Lynch, of Maine, its Chairman, seriously maintained that it should be our policy to encourage the wooden shipbuilding of his constituents by bounties, in order that their sailing vessels might drive the iron steamships of England from the seas, various attempts have been made in that direction coupled with more plausible movements in favor of subsidies, the argument being that England acquired her maritime supremacy by paying a few of her steamers for carrying the mails, although the number of vessels that received money for that purpose from the postal department did not amount to more than two per cent. of her merchant fleet. The bounty scheme was the first to be abandoned, but the proposition for a subsidy was urged with such persistency that it was at last adopted five years ago. It was enormous in some of its provisions, as, for instance, in that which offered to a swift class of steamships on the transatlantic route four dollars for every statute mile for the outward passage. And yet it remained in abeyance until by an act of special legislation two British steamships were transferred to our flag on condition that two similar ships should be built in American shipyards to complete the line. It was an expensive experiment for the government, inasmuch as the subsidy it pays to these four ships is over eight hundred thousand dollars per annum. Still,

it may be cheap in the end, for although the same terms of payment are open to all American built ships of a similar character, it has not been taken advantage of any further. The admission is at last forced upon Congress and the people that our once prosperous carrying trade is not to be restored either by bounties or subsidies. Thus a great point is gained.

Now comes another proposition that it will be more difficult to carry into successful effect than either of the others that have passed into oblivion. This is the proposal for the restoration of the early American policy of discriminating duties enunciated by the Republican party in its last national platform, and advocated by Mr. Alex. R. Smith, Secretary of the Merchant Marine Association, in the October number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I do not propose to criticise Mr. Smith's article in detail, or to controvert the quotations he makes from the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 1790 and the *London Times* of 1827, which, with others of the same character that he cites, have no bearing on the subject. His main point is that, since the discriminating duties that existed previous to 1828 were abrogated, our merchant marine has steadily declined until "to-day a beggarly eleven per cent. is the sum total of American carriage."

Manifestly we should have everything back again as it was in 1828—discriminating duties, old wooden ships, and all—for he does not seem to take into account the changes in marine architecture, the necessities of the world at large with which we are connected, or the new methods of commerce which time has developed. He seems to think that if the world has moved at all, it has moved in the wrong direction, and, therefore, he wishes Congress to put a shoulder to it and pry it back to where it was sixty-eight years ago.

I commend to Mr. Smith's attention an extract from an article written by Dr. Channing in 1829, with which, however, he will not be likely to agree. That distinguished humanitarian had for a protective tariff an Eighth Commandment and a Gospel hatred. He desired to strangle the monster in its early youth.

"To this country, above all others, belongs, as its primary duty and interest, the support of liberal principles. It has nothing in its institutions congenial with the maxims of barbarous ages, with the narrow, monopolizing restricted legislation of antiquated despotism. Freedom, in all its forms, is our life, strength, prosperity, and every system at war with it, however speciously maintained, is a contradiction to our character—and, wanting

harmony with our spirit, must take something, however silently, from the energy of the institutions which hold us together. As citizens of the world, we grieve that this country should help to prolong prejudices which even monarchy is outgrowing; should, in imitation of meddling despotisms, undertake to direct the industry and capital of the citizens, and especially should lose sight of that sublime object of philanthropy, the promotion of free, unrestricted commerce throughout the world. The interests of human nature require that every fetter should be broken from the intercourse of nations, that the most distant countries should exchange all their products, whether of manual or intellectual labor, as freely as the members of the same community."

When the discriminating duties were abolished in 1828 the act was mutual on our part and on that of other nations with whom we had commercial intercourse. It proved to be more for our advantage than for theirs. The only objection to it that we can now see is that it did not go far enough. As Mr. Smith admits, in the era of wooden shipbuilding our vessels were cheaper and better constructed than those of most other nations, all of which enforced the same restrictive navigation laws that we alone still retain. If a proposition for a general abandonment of these laws had been made by other nations in 1828, our government would at once have seen its advantage in acceding to it; and again in 1849, when England swept her restrictive laws from her statute books for the sake of allowing her subjects to buy our ships, this country would have reciprocated if it had been asked to do so. But England did not desire this then any more than she desires it now. It is not for her interest to sell us her ships, and the only mistake she has made has been in allowing her shipyards to turn out vessels for other nations who have thus become her competitors in ship owning at first, and, eventually, in shipbuilding.

Two years ago an eminent Scotch shipbuilder wrote:

"It is a matter of regret to us that there is likely to be a change in the American registry laws. For the last thirty years they have permitted us to build, and largely to own, nearly all the ships that the ocean-carrying trade requires; and they have caused a loss to their people of about £40,000,000 sterling annually of freight money that they might have appropriated to themselves. Their new policy of free ships, if adopted now, would unquestionably benefit our ship-yards for one or two years; but the competition to which American shipwrights would be forced would soon enable them to divide with us the ship-building, and their countrymen to divide with us the ship-owning of the world, in both of which industries they have heretofore so kindly given us the practical monopoly."

Fortunately for the Scotchmen, and unfortunately for us, an eminent American shipbuilder prevented the anticipated measure from becoming a law.

It is quite natural that, as Mr. Smith asserts, there should have been a temporary falling off in our tonnage immediately after discriminating duties were abrogated. Cautious shipowners, instead of giving orders for new vessels, waited to see what would be the effect of the sudden change. When they found by experience that it inured greatly to their benefit, when they saw that there was a demand for American ships in all the ports of the world, and that our vessels commanded higher freights than English ships even in the carrying trade between Great Britain and her colonies, they entered with renewed zeal and activity into the business, and the result was that our ocean tonnage steadily increased until it reached its culminating point in 1855, at which period it stood at 2,535,136 tons, as against 812,619 in 1828. It had increased in double proportion to that of England, and if wood had continued to be the material for shipbuilding, we would long ago have surpassed, in that industry, Great Britain and all her colonies combined. In 1895, our ocean tonnage was 838,187, having gotten back almost precisely to what it was in 1828. This ought to be very satisfactory to Mr. Smith, as absolute protection, in which he is a firm believer, has brought it there. It was in 1855 that iron shipbuilding, having been demonstrated to be a success, began rapidly to supersede shipbuilding of wood. England and all other nations excepting the United States became cognizant of this. No more wooden vessels were built in Great Britain. Iron steamers and iron sailing ships became the order of the day. British shipyards were open to the demands of all nations. All of them, including Brazil, China and Japan, repealed their antiquated registry laws—all of them excepting the United States, whose domestic shipbuilders controlled and still control legislation—and allowed their people to build or buy ships in England. This practice led to shipbuilding in their own countries in course of time. Consequently, since 1855, ship-owning and shipbuilding have increased enormously in every maritime country on the globe, excepting in these nominally free United States, in which they have been driven back to where they were in 1828.

Mr. Smith tells us that we could not sail ships if we were allowed to own them. What, then, is the harm of permitting us to invest our own money in our own way, and to try the experiment at our own cost? But I deny his assertion outright. It is

an insult to the intelligence and business capacity of American shipmasters. He says that we would be obliged to pay higher wages. Well, from my experience, commencing at 1834, and continuing for thirty-five years in various capacities, from the forecastle to the quarterdeck, in those palmy days of American shipping, I know that we always paid higher wages, especially to the officers, and we paid for a great part of that time higher wages to seamen also—and they earned them. They were mostly Cape Cod and Cape Ann boys, such as manned the "Constitution," and gave her the victory over the "Guerrière" in time of war, and gave us the victory over our rivals in time of peace—such sailors as we have not now, for our registry laws have driven them from the ocean, and forced them to dig clams or to earn their living on the shoemaker's bench. I have not a word to say on disparagement of the many sailors who are regularly employed in some of the liners that come to New York, but sailors in general in all the ports of the world are the mere slaves of landlords, who sell them to the highest bidder, without regard to flag or nationality. We can buy them as cheaply as others. The only difference in the cost of sailing British and American ships now is that our officers in some instances are paid a little more, precisely as they were in times past. As to the claim advanced by Mr. Smith that it would cost 27 per cent. more to feed sailors on an American than on an English ship, it may be set aside by my testimony that in many voyages in late years across the Atlantic I have frequently inspected the food served out to the men, and have invariably found it far superior to the cabin fare we used to have in days gone by.

To satisfy my readers that Americans can sail ships were they permitted to own them under their own flag, and at the same time to show the devices to which our people are obliged to resort in order to participate in the carrying trade of the ocean, I quote the following paragraph from the report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1894 :

"The Bureau has endeavored to ascertain the extent of American ownership of iron and steel steamships under foreign flags at all Atlantic and Gulf ports. Such an inquiry, it was realized, approached close to private business affairs, and must rely for any measure of success solely upon the voluntary responses of shipowners. While the responses were far from complete, the courtesy of those engaged in naviga-

tion has enabled this Bureau to prepare a statement upon the subject which, though adequate, is confessedly incomplete. The iron and steel steamers registered at Atlantic and Gulf ports for foreign trade on June 30, 1893, numbered 82, of 175,369 gross tons. They comprised 8 steel steamers, 24,247 gross tons, and 55 iron steamers, 108,295 gross tons of domestic build, and 5 steel steamers, 25,898 gross tons, and 14 iron steamers, 16,923 gross tons, of foreign build, admitted to American registry. From responses to the inquiries of this Bureau it appears that American corporations or citizens own the majority interest in 41 foreign steel steamers of 138,459 gross tons and in 23 foreign iron steamers of 58,649 gross tons. The total tonnage of this description under the American flag was thus 175,363 gross tons; under foreign flags 197,108 gross tons, for the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The figures suffice to warrant the statement for the whole country that American capital owns a larger tonnage of iron and steel steamships in foreign trade under foreign flags than it owns under the American flag, even including 42,000 tons of foreign construction admitted to registry. . . . The United States Shipping Commissioner at New York reports that some Norwegian steamers at that port, in point of fact, are owned by Americans. They have not been included in the preceding summary of American ownership of foreign vessels."

Many of these American-owned vessels, to say nothing of others not included in the scope of the Commissioner's remarks, are commanded by American captains whom their own government condemns to sail under a foreign flag in order to gain their livelihood; and in case of war these, our own vessels, could be used against us. Would it cost any more to sail them if the Stars and Stripes instead of the British ensign should float from their peaks? It is a mere question of the cost of a few yards of bunting. Is it not a reasonable request that their owners should be permitted to hoist their own flags over their own property? And was it not a disgrace to the last Congress that a single individual should have had influence enough to defeat a free-ship bill that otherwise would have passed?

I come back to differential duties, in order to dismiss them as speedily as possible, for they require but little consideration and would have had none had it not been that the Republican party has fashioned them into a plank for its platform and that its candidate has heartily endorsed them. They were repealed in 1828 mainly because they were tending to bring about what would inevitably ensue should they be adopted now. The singular spectacle would be seen on the ocean of American ships going over to England and to other European countries in ballast and returning with full cargoes, while their foreign competitors would exactly reverse this process. All of them would neces-

sarily double their charges of freight at the cost of the shippers. Let us suppose the experiment to be first tried at Southampton. The enterprising "American Line" would cause to be inserted in the Manchester and Birmingham papers an advertisement to this effect:

"The United States government having decreed that there shall be a reduction of 20 per cent. (or of 10 per cent., as the case might be) on all duties, provided the goods are transported in American bottoms, shippers by our line are offered the superior inducements thus afforded."

Most certainly merchandise that might otherwise have gone by the Cunard line, or other lines from Liverpool, would be sent by Southampton. Does any sane man question what would be the action of the British government? Would it not instantly assess a corresponding duty on the cargoes of all incoming American ships? The argument that, her policy being free trade, England cannot afford to increase the cost of cereals and cotton to her people, would not count as it might if the tonnage of the two countries were reversed. The loss of the cargo which the four American ships could bring would be absolutely nothing when compared to what her own immense fleet and the fleets of all other nations, except ours, which does not exist, would bring to her on the same terms as before. The idiot does not live who would order ships to be built for the purpose of imitating Don Quixote in his fight against the windmills.

JOHN CODMAN.

A STUDY IN CAMPAIGN AUDIENCES.

BY THE HON. LLOYD BRYCE.

HOWEVER we analyze the vote cast for Mr. Bryan, its size indicates that the principles he represents will hardly be relinquished at once, and that in four years the battle may have to be fought again. In short, we seem to have rather earned a truce than a victory. If the new administration is successful, if values rise and business generally with wages improves, the next fight will be less severe. If the new administration fails, the fight will be correspondingly more bitter.

Everything about Mr. Bryan is, therefore, interesting, as everything about this unique canvass is instructive for future reference. Under these circumstances I accept the invitation of the editor of the REVIEW to describe a few of the great public meetings of the recent campaign. I had the very best possible opportunity for observation, as I accompanied Mr. Bourke Cockran in his three trips. The first lay through Illinois, Nebraska, and Minnesota; the second through West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and back through Illinois and Michigan; the third through Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia; and taken together they consumed over seven weeks. Thus we visited all of those States that are usually called the doubtful States, mixing with all classes of the community in public and in private gatherings. In fact, we traveled 10,300 miles and, with the exception of Mr. Bryan, I believe covered a greater amount of territory than anyone else has covered in the canvass.

On the evening of our departure from New York I was passing the Fifth Avenue Hotel, when a carriage drove up to the door, accompanied by mounted policemen. The light from the street lamps shone on the waterproof capes of the escort, for it was raining violently, and, amid considerable commotion on the

part of a hastily gathered crowd, a gentleman descended. I was informed that it was Mr. Bryan returning from his Tammany Hall speech. An hour later, on reaching Jersey City, we discovered he was to be on the same train. Shortly after it started we sent in our cards, and sat with him half an hour in his state-room. He was lying down. A fine type of manhood he seemed, with his clean-cut profile and his winning manner, talking courteously on every subject. Unconsciously I was reminded of Edwin Booth as he must have been in his younger days, and taken in connection with all the circumstances of his whereabouts, of Booth on a wide-extended starring tour. His manner was simple and unaffected, and marked by a certain earnestness that added to his attractions. His only allusion to politics was to express contempt for Democrats who proposed to support the third ticket while really intending to vote for McKinley. As we had ourselves openly endorsed McKinley from the first, the remark contained no sting for us.

He left the train at an intermediate station during the night and to our surprise next day in West Virginia his car was again attached to ours. It was rather an awkward situation now. Crowds lined the course and at every station cheers for Bryan resounded. Every now and then he would address them from the rear platform.

In connection with these wayside gatherings—which were mostly drawn from the surrounding country—I may be permitted to state that rural Populism is very different from that of the city. For the former embraces, I think, a far larger proportion of the well-to-do. It must not be forgotten, however, that social considerations are active in the country districts of the Middle States, while in the Southern and Southwestern States actual ostracism meets the seceder from the so-called Democratic fold. Besides, many who would follow their own dictates, such as small tradesmen, etc., whose business depends on the farmer, fear to lose their custom by a departure from the prevailing sentiment. All this makes Populism seem in the country well-nigh universal. But in the towns, and particularly in the great cities, "Hurrah for Bryan" seems more often the shibboleth of disappointed hopes.

While Mr. Bryan's speeches lack argument, and in print appear diffuse and tawdry, they attract the hearer. "What did he

say?" I asked of an enthusiastic bystander at one of the stations where he spoke a few words. "I don't know and I don't care," was the reply, "it was the way he said it." All this may be the effect of personality, of voice, of persuasiveness. But I think what really gives him his power is a certain note of prophecy, of self-believed inspiration, that he unconsciously breathes; for deep down in our national character is a strong religious bias, often developing among the emotional into hysteria and running into strange excesses. At one of his meetings later on in the campaign, I heard the flashlight was so arranged as to cast an aureole about his head when the crowd pressed round him in great numbers to touch the hem of his garments. The references in his speeches also, to the Crown of Thorns and to labor nailed to a golden cross play upon the same chord. In short, it is not alone the rôle of social reformer which he fills—there is the flavor of a wider promise in his utterances, and this it is that gives him, I think, his peculiar hold.

I have forgotten the station at which he left us in West Virginia, but an enormous crowd was awaiting him, and a committee marched him off to an adjoining hotel. As he passed us his appearance had entirely changed. He showed the strain of the campaign. He wore an expression, too, that I can hardly define, but somehow he gave me the impression of a man whose mind might at any time break down. And as the cheers died away and the train rolled on I wondered what would be the ultimate fate of this Rienzi of the West.

The most singular phenomenon about Western meetings is the disproportion between their size and the town that produces them. Why, they not only often seem to embrace the whole population of the town, but of several towns conjointly, and one might almost infer that their extent is in inverse ratio to the population they had to draw upon.

A curious psychological study they offer, too, these vast gatherings. I have often imagined the emotions of individuals are intensified by their combined numbers.

Victor Hugo in his lectures used to address himself always to the most stolid countenance among his hearers, feeling that if he could make an impression on him, the rest would follow. Dion Boucicault, the actor, assured me he always addressed himself to the occupants of the galleries, who, being drawn from

the poor and consequently less conventional elements of society, were quicker to respond, and consequently to encourage him. A popular lecturer whom I know regards his audience as one huge, conglomerate pink face—that smiles, that frowns, that weeps, that quivers—as a species of living composite photograph of the whole.

A clever stump speaker in explaining his success attributed it to the fact that he always regarded his hearers as children, and couched his remarks in language that the juvenile mind would grasp.

"An audience is a woman," a great French orator, now deceased, once observed to me, "subject to the same general rules that apply to the fickle sex. At one time it must be persuaded, at another caressed, at another bullied. It is full of moods." There is certainly something feminine in the quickness of a crowd's emotions. The intonation of a word may cause your audience to fawn upon you, or on the other hand to turn around and rend you. Perhaps it is half woman, half tiger.

The Omaha meeting presented a wide gamut of human emotions. Imagine several acres of humanity crowded well nigh to suffocation in a vast, but fragile frame structure, with the aisles and passages so blocked that the speakers could with difficulty force their way to the platform. In the centre and on the right the people were seated and mostly orderly. But on the left and in the aisles they were all on their feet shouting vociferously. The presiding officer vainly endeavored to make himself heard. As he proceeded, the noise and confusion increased, extending to the centre and right. The platform, too, was jammed, and as you sat there, you could imagine yourself on some low-lying strip of land, with an angry tidal wave ready to engulf you.

When Mr. Cockran rose to speak, one unhappily-turned phrase, one single look of flinching, would have precipitated a struggle, which, in the crowded condition of the building, might have been attended with a panic and loss of life. As it was, the phrase was turned happily and aroused their curiosity; another—between the shouts—attracted their interest; and in twenty minutes a pin could have been heard to drop. Then the orator went on to chide them, and, taking the late disorder as an object-lesson of what Populism would mean if enthroned in Washington, he spoke of patriotism and the country endangered by anarchy. As he pro-

ceeded women became hysterical, men wept, and at the close, the sea, now changed from uproarious dissent to approval, swept forward and carried him in wild enthusiasm off the platform.

Here we have an audience—hostile as a whole—at least one-quarter of which had gone with the deliberate purpose of breaking up the meeting at any cost—an attempt, organized and disciplined. We had been informed of trouble before we arrived in the town, and later in the day, in the town itself, from the crowd that surrounded the hotel to meet us, a man drew me to one side and begged me to warn my friend that he would never be allowed to speak in Mr. Bryan's State. The whole meeting was against the speaker—uproariously and bitterly. To what psychological cause can we attribute the change from hostility to a demonstration in his favor that I have never seen equalled? I speak not without experience, for I have attended public meetings in many parts of the world.

It was not alone his gift of language; nor entirely his argument, great as it was; it was not even the recognition that a master was before them shedding a new light upon a grave question. All these were factors in the change. There was also the instinctive appreciation of an underlying sympathy with them, on the part of the speaker, which disarmed their distrust, and the vast gathering responded to it with greater quickness and fervor than any one of them would have done individually.

These public meetings are significant, as showing how disorder, confined at first to a few perhaps, gradually extends, unless immediately checked.

At St Louis the disturbance began on the outside. A business men's delegation, several thousand strong, came to the hotel to escort us; they were headed by a brass band.

Exasperated by this sign of approval, the hoodlum element congregated around the hotel doors in great numbers. Now, escorts have a disagreeable tendency in a crowded street to get ahead of their convoy, and particularly when inspired by the strains of music. It was so in the present case. The business men got a little ahead, so that our actual escort consisted of a body of Populists, who danced about our carriage to the refrain of "Hurrah for Bryan," diversifying their antics by occasionally shaking a fist in disagreeable proximity to our faces. Nor was our uninvited bodyguard willing to leave us on our arrival at

the hall; for they burst through the doors, driving those waiting about the portals ahead of them into the already packed building, and blocking up the aisles and every available space. When you reflect that this was the convention hall where so short a time before Mr. McKinley had been nominated, you can imagine the crowd. It was variously estimated at between 15,000 and 20,000 people. I had already asked the Chief of Police to be particular in keeping the aisles clear. He had not expected, I suppose, this sudden invasion.

This clearance of the aisles is a very important matter. The eye of the speaker is like that of the lion tamer, and the entire audience must be subject to his gaze. There is a sort of silver thread between their eyes and his which, once broken, the spell is destroyed and his control over them is lost. There is another advantage in keeping the aisles clear; it will diminish the panic and the consequent loss of life which sooner or later I believe is destined to come in some of those enormous political gatherings. I remember with a cold shudder a balcony in a temporary frame structure. It actually seemed possessed—as it swayed with the changing emotions of its occupants. Below were perhaps a hundred persons, men and women, jammed together like sardines, as if awaiting, with that calm patience which distinguishes us as a people in moments of danger, its collapse. At one moment it seemed absolutely impossible that it should not shoot out from its supports and descend with a crash. Each burst of anger, every round of applause, it visibly responded to, and the entire building, being of wood, vibrated in sympathetic response, like a vast sounding-box.

At the Evansville meeting the resemblance to a sounding-box was rather due to the peculiar behavior of the disturbers than to the mere nature of the structure. When we entered the hall there was a considerable mob outside trying to press in and a considerable number inside trying to get out.

This created great confusion and scuffling about the doors. The police succeeded, however, in clearing the exits, whereupon the mob, enraged by the action of the authorities, scattered down an alleyway on which the building sided. Here they remained till the meeting closed, shouting threats of hanging, blowing horns, and singing, and by way of accompaniment, pounding, kicking, and battering on the walls of the building.

It was like talking in an iron foundry—for, the evening being sultry, an upper tier of windows had been left open. As results prove it was the most effective meeting, however, held in Indiana. When the disorder was at its height, and the audience showed signs of going out and suppressing it themselves, Mr. Cockran stayed them. "No, no," he cried, "this noise, this confusion, this disorder, is my best argument. Behold the Chicago platform in operation!"

When we left the hall a rush was made upon the carriage. It was, however, stayed by the police.

The appearance of this crowd was worse than that of any I had seen. The faces of the men were such as you might expect to meet in the crowded cities of an old civilization, and not in an enterprising, flourishing, and prosperous young town. The oldest resident of the place, who was one of the reception committee, said as we were driving to the station that he wondered where these people had come from. He thought he knew every type in Evansville, but he had never seen this one before. I remember to have seen such faces only once before in my life, and that was at Victor Noir's funeral, in Paris, when I was a boy at school. They were the type of men who smell disturbance and discord from afar.

The hostility they evinced was exceptional, however. I wish to say, and I will say it here, that while we met bitterness—bitterness that increased with the campaign—and continual disorder, we encountered little vindictiveness.

Never can I remember a remark that by the wildest exaggeration could be construed into a personal insult. Yet in these Populists' eyes we were coming to destroy the gilded fabrics of their hopes—to try and prove what was, was right.

Opposed as I am to the tenets of Populism, revolutionary as I consider their propaganda, a sort of sadness would steal over me at the very success of our meetings, for each one might help to destroy the *silver* lining to so many clouds.

These people believe, and believe honestly, that free silver is the panacea for every financial evil, and the earnestness of their belief has dignity and pathos in it, mistaken as I consider that belief to be.

Speaking about public meetings, who, in his own peculiar way, had a more extraordinary power over them than poor John

Fellows? It was in Memphis that we ran across him. Peace be to his *manes*.

In the afternoon we went for a walk. I can see him now, as he stopped for a moment on the lofty suspension bridge which airily spans, like the hope of youth, the Mississippi River. To the right, up the stream, stood the city, perched on its lofty banks. On the left the sun was setting. Away beneath our feet a large Mississippi steamer, with its double smokestacks and its huge rear paddle-wheel, was passing under the bridge. She seemed to recall thoughts of other days, and his eye followed her sadly as she passed on down the stream. He came to the meeting in the evening and, being called upon to say a few words at the close, said them, as he always did, pointedly and eloquently.

The Norfolk meeting began with about half the audience standing up, then forming into angry groups. Each group had its own orator. The noise and confusion was increased by an accompaniment of falling benches.

A very singular circumstance I observed about this Norfolk meeting. During its entire continuation the audience, while subject to every other emotion, displayed no susceptibility to humor.

Dion Boucicault, to whom I have already referred, once told me that during a season's performance in London he had become aware that on certain nights his audiences would show a greater responsiveness to the humorous parts of his cast, on another night to the pathetic. So struck was he with the fact that he repeated it to several of his professional friends, and they resolved in their own performances to make observations and to compare notes. The result was the discovery of an unmistakable uniformity of sensitiveness each evening on the part of the audiences throughout the town. I believe the cause was attributed to atmospheric influences.

A like comparison of notes might be made by our different stump orators in the next campaign.

The disturber of the public meeting, being one of its integral parts and so large an influence in it, deserves—in his individual capacity—a passing glance in such a paper as I am writing. He appears in various forms and offers an interesting study in each.

The mere representative of disorder who shouts "Hurrah for Bryan!" belongs to the hoodlum class. Then there is the fanatic,

often partially educated, and occasionally a member of one of the liberal professions, perhaps a school-teacher.

I remember distinctly a man at Parkersburg who belonged to the latter class—of medium height, with a circle of dark beard, and a Quaker-like hat. Nothing would silence him. Again and again he rose to propound some question—such as the ratio of values—in a harsh, monotonous voice—determined and inconvincible—alike callous to argument and to ridicule.

Then there is the agitator who hopes to receive money or some other recognition from his organization for his services. He is usually fierce of expression—well dressed, but he wilts early. Then there is the crank pure and simple, long haired, wild eyed—the type of man who in ordinary times haunts the newspaper office with some scheme of aërial navigation or perpetual motion. There is also the flippant disturber who breaks in with some inconsequential question or witticism ; usually he is the wag of the neighborhood. All these several types gain great local celebrity if they can succeed in confusing some well-known speaker. For months afterwards they are pointed out in the street as having "broken up" the famous Mr. So-and-So, and they hold forth as shining lights in the country store or in the particular saloon which they honor with their presence. But woe betide them if they fail! I can see a group of young men, congregated on the rear of the very stage on which we were, shouting "Hurrah for Bryan!" The speaker turned, and under his ridicule one after the other gradually dropped off like pears from a tree, leaving but the ringleader, who sat perched high up on some paraphernalia of stage machinery—for the hall was a theatre. A girl was near him and she tried to draw him away, but he resisted yet awhile. At last the ridicule focussed upon him was too much for him; he slunk down out of sight, pulled open a trap door leading below the stage and escaped into the street.

Some of Mr. Cockran's replies to these disturbers may well be recorded. For instance, to the young man who, interrupting, first declared himself a workingman, but went on to specify his avocation as the study of medicine: "Thank you," replied the speaker; "I have generally found," he continued with a sly smile, "that the work of the Populist is seldom of a manual nature. He is either a lawyer, who lives on other people's quarrels; a journalist, who records them ; or a politician, who foments

them. You have added a fourth profession to the list. I trust you will extend your services to your political friends. The number of our opponents will certainly be reduced."

"How about the unemployed?" shouted a voice from the gallery of a great hall as the orator was explaining that three days' wages now had the purchasing value of five in 1873. "The honest unemployed, who really want work, are seeking it," shouts back Mr. Cockran. "The incorrigibly idle, and those who would never work even if it were offered them, are trying to break up orderly meetings."

At another gathering a tall, cadaverous-looking individual of the crank type, emerges from the crowd in the rear, comes excitedly down the main aisle and stops within twenty feet of the platform.

"Is not the legislation of this country," he asks, "under the control of the money class?"

"It is," replies the speaker. "And I thank God that it is so. For in this country the money class embraces everyone outside of an alms-house."

Occasionally, when the audience have been won over by the orator, they not only prevent but resent interruptions, and the cry of "throw him out" becomes general.

At Detroit, a man at the far end of the hall, in one of the aisles, was asking questions of the speaker—by no means in an offensive spirit, though in a persistent, annoying manner—when there was a rush in his direction. He was struck on the head, and, in the *mêlée* which followed, though I was too far removed to see the finale, I understood he was ejected very much the worse for wear.

Of all our meetings this one I think was the most instructive. It consisted of about ten thousand people and was gotten up by the labor unions for the purpose of propounding certain questions to Mr. Cockran. These were delivered in writing through the Chairman, and were answered offhand. Though considerable hostility was shown at first the meeting closed with the best possible feeling. Made up as the audience was entirely of working men its earnestness was impressive, and in the obvious yielding of their doubts to the explanations of the speaker, I read a happy augury, not only for the outcome of the campaign, but for the eventual settlement of that wider question—the true relations between labor and capital.

LLOYD BRYCE.

THE DANGER POINT IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

BY JOHN E. MILHOLLAND.

POLITICAL reform is no longer a subject for ridicule. Through that stage of existence it has successfully passed. Only the dullest leaders fail to realize this fact. Even among those who look upon public offices as the prey of the victorious party, and to whom moral considerations seem out of place in caucuses or campaigns, there is a gradual awakening to the truth that to sneer at any of the various phases of this great popular movement is to appeal to an extremely narrow constituency and one that is constantly growing smaller in numbers and weaker in influence. Convinced at last that the low level of our political activity actually menaced the Republic, the people of this country, with characteristic courage, energy, and practical sagacity, have grappled with the perplexing problem, and to-day it is in the process of satisfactory solution. Ample justification for these statements will appear from even a cursory review of what has been done within the last few years to demonstrate that the purification of American politics is not, as the discouraged Kansas reformer rashly concluded, "an iridescent dream."

The retirement of the Republican party from control in the national administration a dozen years ago may be taken as a convenient starting point. Then the civil service law was scarcely more than an experiment. Nearly all the offices were outside the classified lists. Opposition to its further extension was so formidable that even President Cleveland was unable to resist the pressure brought to bear upon him by such powerful advocates of the spoils system as Mr. Gorman, and the Maryland Senator in this fairly typified the attitude of most politicians toward the reform. The practical leaders on both sides felt safe in denouncing it.

Still the movement went forward. President Harrison, one of the most practical politicians since Lincoln, came into office without any pretensions to superiority; and yet, before the expiration of his term, he rendered the cause more service than any of his predecessors, not excepting Mr. Arthur, another spoils politician, whose final convictions on the subject led to expressions of practical sympathy that should not be overlooked. The appointment of Mr. Roosevelt came at a critical period and was a powerful stimulus in the right direction. During his retirement Mr. Cleveland's ideas changed on many things, including civil service. In his message to Congress just before his defeat in 1888, he had not the courage to say one word on the subject. For this he has made the *amende honorable*. Since his return to the White House he has more than fulfilled the requirements of the most exacting advocate of the merit system. Under him the law has been extended beyond all expectation. Less than eight hundred exempted positions remain to trouble the peace of the President-elect.

While such amazing progress cannot be recorded in all the States and large cities, yet a commonwealth or municipality that is not included in the ever-widening scope of this reform is exceptional. Through the efforts of Mr. Joseph H. Choate, as presiding officer of the late Constitutional Convention, it is now part of the organic law of New York State.

Not less impressive are the results of the crusade for better election laws. In no political field can the purist find greater encouragement, not even the government service. The secrecy of the ballot has been secured in a greater or less degree of perfection in almost every State and Territory. Fraud and corruption have been eliminated from the work of election day to an extent that would have evoked endless derision had it been predicted ten years ago. But new developments, however startling, are taken as a matter of course in these days, and things over forty-eight hours old are forgotten. It is really necessary, therefore, for the proper appreciation of what has been gained on this line, to recall some of the conditions that prevailed in former days. And it is not necessary to go far back for the purpose of antithesis.

The enormous frauds perpetrated upon the ballot box by Tweed to elect a Governor of New York in 1868 are

usually referred to as the acme of political evil-doing. This is a mistake. Tweed's efforts, though effective, were clumsy and transparent; and, in comparison with those undertaken by his successors, lacked system and comprehensiveness. He did not seek to go beyond the State; for the most part his efforts were confined to the metropolis. But since his day Tammany has been a deciding factor in at least one national contest. No politician familiar with the facts doubts that John Kelly's indulgence in the bad work which had become habitual with Tammany, and the supplemental efforts of other Democratic leaders throughout the large cities of the State, defeated Mr. Blaine for the Presidency in 1884. We are in a state of righteous indignation at present over the shameful work in Tennessee and Virginia on the last election day; yet less than four years ago as outrageous things were done right in New York City.

Previous to the adoption of the Australian ballot system here, the most conservative estimate of Tammany's fraudulent vote was from twenty to thirty per cent. In the downtown and water-front districts the Republican vote was as relentlessly and defiantly suppressed as it still is in Mississippi and Louisiana. In some election districts not one Republican vote would appear in the returns. So reckless did the violators of the law become at last that even the ballots of the Republican election inspectors were omitted from the sworn returns sent to police headquarters.

A comparison of the returns from the Eighth Congressional District, now represented by Mr. J. Murray Mitchell, which covers a part of the section of the city alluded to, illustrates these remarks. In 1892 the Republican vote was 7,132; the Democratic vote, 15,287. Two years afterward, with even an imperfectly amended law, the Republican vote was increased to 9,099 and the Democratic vote cut to 9,466. Last fall the Republican vote ran up to 10,488, while the Democratic vote was kept down to 9,219. In other words, the normal Democratic vote of the district, as shown by two Congressional elections, is a little more than 9,000. Consequently the fraudulent vote cast under the old methods was about 6,000, or 40 per cent. of the total Democratic vote. This is only a fair conclusion, and yet what a vista of fraud it opens up! And the vista becomes wider still when the returns from all the districts are considered.

Another important result attending the operations of the new law is the curtailment of the use of money on Election Day. The evil has not been wholly eradicated. It is still possible to hire dishonest voters to stay away from the polls. But this device has never been popular, nor, excepting in the Fassett-Flower contest of 1891, has it been widely applied. Vote-buying on Election Day, either outright or in the form of "manning" the polls, was the established order of things. The amount of money expended by all parties was enormous. Twenty-five dollars was the usual amount allotted to each election district—there are nearly fifteen hundred of these in this city now—for this purpose by the Republicans on Election Day. This sum, however, was frequently doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. In a closely-contested fight Tammany would frequently raise the limit to two hundred and fifty dollars, but even that figure never dismayed the late John J. O'Brien when he was in control of the local politics of the Republican party. He has frequently been known to spend six hundred and seven hundred dollars in carrying election districts down-town, paying as high as twenty-five dollars for single votes, the usual price being from two to five dollars.

All this has been changed. Money can no longer be used for corrupt purposes on election day with any certainty that it will produce the desired effect. A few workers are still employed here and there, but merely for the purpose of getting them to register and vote. Every sensible person knows that the efforts of the past are now practically futile. It is useless to buy a man's vote when there is no guarantee possible that he will keep any agreement he may make. The hundred-and-fifty-foot limit of the law is not always regarded, but no worker can enter the voting booth or come within the polling place. And since even his own vote cannot be depended upon absolutely, what is the use of hiring him? It is not surprising, therefore, that less money was improperly spent on last election day than ever before in this generation. While a larger amount was raised and expended by the Republican National Committee in the late campaign than in any previous one, yet no presidential contest since the organization of the party compares with Mr. McKinley's campaign in point of cleanliness. The vast sums of money used went for speakers, literature, and other legitimate purposes. It was

the greatest campaign of education ever conducted. It was an honest, intelligent fight for the supremacy of right ideas, and those who refer to it as a "boodle" canvass speak from an imperfect knowledge of facts. Does it not seem incredible that a change could have been wrought within three years making dishonest elections impossible in New York, and anywhere else in the country outside of the Black Belt of the South?

There is an old adage in the Scotch Highlands, that we change faults instead of ridding ourselves of them. This is as true of political parties and nations as of individuals. However agreeable and encouraging it is to record the amazing progress that has been made towards higher moral standards in politics, it must be frankly confessed that the evils of the past have been transferred rather than discarded utterly. The civil service law has revolutionized the public departments and raised them immeasurably above the old plane; but it has also been used to protect in office incompetent and unworthy persons, and to create a certain bureaucratic class which, with its inner rings, secret combinations, and unsavory methods, inspires much of the antagonism to the reform itself. Almost every branch of the federal service is open to this criticism, and Tammany Hall to-day is maintained and supported almost entirely by its followers who are kept in office by an unwise and untimely extension of this law. This assertion may grate with all the unpleasantness of truth, but no intelligent believer in a thorough application of this reform who has examined the matter will hesitate to say that the new law is prejudiced by just such unfortunate misapplications.

While unfortunate, this is not fatal or even ultimately serious; it will be remedied by the natural development of the system and it requires only a passing allusion. The gravest abuses of the civil service are, after all, trifling in comparison with the evils that still flourish in connection with the other branch of the reform under consideration—elections. The general law on this subject has been successfully dealt with, but much of the evil formerly incidental to Election Day has been transmitted to the primaries. The vicious practices no longer possible at the polls are now employed in the caucus and in the nominating convention with an energy unparallelled in the past, although everything undertaken, no matter how villainous, is carried on in a manner entirely in keeping with modern methods.

Orderly procedure, to use a convenient term, is constantly aimed at. Isaiah Rynders, who, with his murderous gangs, broke up caucuses in the interests of Fernando Wood, and was rewarded for his work with a United States Marshalship by President Buchanan, does not find many imitators. Such work as his would now be impossible. His political descendants proceed more craftily but more effectively, though in reality they are no less flagrant in the violation of morals and of law. The party caucus or primary is to-day the danger point in American politics. The fountain head of power, it has become the fountain head of corruption. From it flow the evil influences that make unworthy nominations habitual, the machine possible, and bossism inevitable.

This evil, though long standing, has not been entirely neglected. On the contrary, much thoughtful consideration has been given to it. The efforts put forth in the large cities of the country to abolish it form an interesting chapter of modern political history. For twenty years or more the reputable Republicans and Democrats of New York have been striving to solve the problem. The measures that have been devised in furtherance of their purpose are numerous and varied. On the Democratic side the usual method has been to form organizations rivalling Tammany Hall, which has been, except at infrequently recurring intervals, the dominant organization of New York Democracy since the days of Aaron Burr. Perhaps the most significant was the revolt of Messrs. Whitney, Power, Hewitt, and other leading Democrats in 1880, which resulted in the formation of the County Democracy with a distinct plan of organization. It represented a serious attempt to get closer to the people than was deemed possible under the Assembly district system, which up to that time had been as a rule regularly employed by all parties. Instead of the Assembly district the County Democracy decided upon the Election district or voting precinct as their unit of organization and formed hundreds of these local associations throughout the city. Theoretically this was feasible; in actual practice it proved a lamentable failure, which was repeated in a subsequent test by the Republicans. In Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and other cities where the same experiment was tried the results were more satisfactory, but since it failed anywhere it cannot be considered a perfect plan. The strength of the chain is its

weakest link. To be satisfactory and safe a plan of organization must be capable of application to as vast and cosmopolitan a population as that of New York City or Chicago. Experience demonstrated that it was impossible to maintain interest in such small political centers and the district associations quickly passed into the control of a few lieutenants of the Assembly district bosses.

A few years after the County Democracy experiment the Republicans of New York attempted to set their local household in order. The disastrous result of the Presidential campaign of 1884 left things in a demoralized condition. A Committee of eighteen prominent members of the party was appointed by the State Committee to perform the task. Mr. Edward Mitchell, afterwards United States District Attorney, was selected as Chairman. The essential feature of the plan which they reported was a new enrolment conducted under boards of registry selected by the eighteen. The enrolment thus made was to hold only for one year; an annual repetition of it had to precede the formation of each new central committee to whom was entrusted the direction of the party's affairs. Like the County Democracy's plan, it seemed certain to bring about improvement in the nominating conventions, but its failure was evident within twelve months after adoption. The first enrolment under it was large and tolerably satisfactory; the second year it fell off, in some districts, two-thirds, so that difficulty was found in securing a quorum for the meetings. Thereupon it was decided to let the first year's enrolment stand and to add to it year by year. This was simply a reversion to the old ways. The district organizations dwindled in membership until they became again the pocket boroughs of the district leaders, the enrolment books their personal property. No one was allowed to become a member who would be likely to dispute authority or to stand in the way of a political deal with the other side. Revolts come to naught because the County Committee, composed as it was and is of these district leaders, is bound as a matter of self-protection to decide against every rebel to its authority. The County Democracy finally sank to Tammany's level, and united fortunes with the Wigwam; the Republican organization was content for years to be a mere Tammany annex. Its chief duty was to prevent a successful issue of honest non-partisan uprisings against

Tammany misgovernment. This it performed usually by refusing, for fictitious reasons, to nominate men who had the confidence of the people and could be elected. It accepted instead a ticket practically dictated by the Tammany leaders. Of course a great party could not be trifled with in this way forever. The crisis was precipitated in 1893, when, in the face of a great Republican victory throughout the State, Tammany rolled up a larger vote than ever in this city, demonstrating beyond question the treacherous character of the Republican machine.

A reformation was immediately demanded on all sides. Two attempts were made, one through what was known as the anti-machine movement, the other through the Committee of Thirty. The anti-machine people, profiting by the example of the County Democracy on one point, insisted upon an entirely new organization. Their plan combined the best features of the Assembly district and the Election district systems. Unfortunately this movement was prejudiced in the minds of many people, owing to the pretended support of it by the leader of the Republican machine. It was commended, but not officially endorsed, by the State Committee which he controlled. It has remained a protesting power in the Republican politics of the city and State.

No less than eight months was spent by the Committee of Thirty in perfecting their plan of organization, which was essentially the same as that devised by the County Democracy, except in one important point—they declined to throw the old district bosses overboard. Instead they were actually entrusted to carry out the plan, which, if honestly executed, would, presumably, have made an end of the old machine. Subsequent events prove that none of them had attained political Nirvana nor reached the high line of self-abnegation. When the enrolment was held the old leaders, aided by their faithful ally, Tammany Hall, made it to suit themselves. Their resumption of control was complete. They threw the reformers overboard and stepped forward more strongly entrenched than ever. The experience of the Committee of Eighteen was repeated, except that the last stage of the old organization is the worst in history.

In confirmation of this statement it is only necessary to refer to the results of the investigations made a year ago by the Committee of Twenty-five, of which Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss was chairman. That committee was composed of leading citizens.

Many of them had been identified with the Committee of Thirty, but they did not hesitate to expose the deplorable workings of their own plan of organization. It was indisputably shown that the local enrolment was from fifteen to forty-five per cent. bogus; that the organization was utterly fraudulent, and, in the opinion of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, without any legal status whatever. If the results of this evil-doing had been confined entirely to New York, they might not have seemed so serious. The aim, however, was not local, but national. In these frauds was laid the foundation for control of the State at a time when the State was expected to be a determining factor in a national Republican convention.

It is a sad confession to make, that after all the efforts expended to purify the primaries here, in Chicago, and in most of the large cities of the country, they are to-day more dangerously corrupt than ever before in history. Mr. William Brookfield, who has been repeatedly Chairman of the Republican State, and also of the Republican County, Committee, expresses an absolute conviction when he declares that New York politics were never upon such a low level as to-day. There is really no limit to the rascality. It is as bold as any in which Tammany ever engaged at the general elections. Nor is there any relief in the courts. Primaries and nominating conventions are practically without the pale of the law. There are several legal requirements in reference to them, and there are certain penalties under the penal code for their violation; but, substantially, party organizations are a law unto themselves. Their constitutions and by-laws are considered the law of the State and so construed whenever factional contests come up for judicial review. This has been repeatedly demonstrated. Attempts to right primary wrongs by such appeals are barren of results; not because of any lack of sympathy on the part of the judges, but because they recognize that the laws of the State do not cover party work beyond the general elections.

Why this vitally important department of political action should be left practically to mob rule, with an occasional spasmodic outburst of indignant corrective effort, is one of the oddities of our national existence. Good citizens are vehemently urged to attend the primaries, but they do not heed the appeal, and it must be confessed that they show much practical sense in

not doing so. It is not from a lack of courage, for there are thousands and thousands of citizens who would be willing to put up with the disorderly scrambles incidental to this practical work if their vote was going to be effectual. But they do not like to waste time and energy in a futile striving after that which would be denied them even if they earned it fairly.

This leads to a consideration of the remedy. There is one, and only one, and the sooner it is applied the better. It is simple, complete, effective, and the only wonder is that it has not passed into general practice long ago. It is not an experiment but an accomplished result, with five years' successful working behind it. Reorganizations, new organizations, Election district plans, Assembly district plans, new enrolments and re-enrolments, are at best insufficient so long as human nature remains in its present imperfect state, and a code of ethics is permitted to exist in politics that would not be tolerated at the card-tables of gentlemen or in the counting-rooms of merchants calling themselves respectable. It is a curious fact that a business man, who would reject with scorn a dishonest proposition in his financial affairs, will wink and smile at a packed caucus or the devious devices of an ordinary convention. The eminently respectable corporation officials who vote ten thousand dollars to buy members of the Legislature smile and say it is Politics. An hour afterward they are intensely shocked at seeing one loafer make an end of another's life, equally as useless to the community as his own, but they fail to see that their crime is infinitely more dangerous to the Republic than the murderous onslaught on their brutal fellow-being. What is the meaning of it? Simply that there is a moral perversion about politics as there is among the Mohammedan subjects of Abdul Hamid, and because there is it is unsafe to entrust reform to the ordinary sense of justice among those who are immersed in practical politics and dependent on it for a living.

But what is the remedy? We must do exactly as the people of Kentucky have done. We must put the primary elections, the caucuses, and the conventions as completely under the law as are the general elections. This is the only solution of the question, and until this is done we shall have, as in New York, party enrolments one-half fraudulent, caucuses controlled by the worst elements of the party, candidates that are utterly unworthy of

the suffrage of their constituencies, public officers who thrive by blackmailing corporations, debauch public morals, shatter the wholesome youthful ideals of public life, present false standards of official action and disgrace the good name of the American people. Kentucky has been a synonym with many people for lawlessness and disorder, but it has furnished the most complete election code existing in the United States. Its law on this subject represents the joint effort of both political parties. As a piece of reform legislation it is a model in its way.

All primary elections there by the various political parties are held and conducted in the same form and manner and under the same requirements as are the regular State elections*. Any act or deed denounced as an offence by the general laws of the State concerning elections is also an offence in all primary elections, and punished in the same form and manner as is provided for the punishment of similar offences by the general laws; and all the penalties and provisions of the general laws apply in such cases with equal force. The provisions are simple and easily comprehended. Whenever the governing authority of any political party desires to hold a primary election in Kentucky it must, forty days prior to such election, give public notice thereof by posting such notice at the Court House door and at least twenty other public places in the County or district. The notice must state the day of the proposed primary election, the hours between which it will be held, the offices for which candidates are to be nominated and the places at which polls will be open.†

The system of registration is perfect. All persons who are legal voters have a right to participate in the primaries, but in order that none but Republicans shall take part in Republican primaries and only Democrats vote at Democratic primaries, a system of registration is in force the salient points of which can best be given by quoting in substance the sixth section of the law. In all cities and towns of whatever class in which a registration law is in force under the provisions of the general law governing regular State elections, there must be set aside, on the regular registration books, space for the registration of all persons who may desire to take part in any primary election held by any political party. Such space must be provided on the

* Sec. 7, Art. 12, Chap. 65, Kentucky Election Law.
† Sec. 4, Art. 12, Chap. 65, State Laws.

regular State registration books immediately following the last perpendicularly ruled column in such books and must be headed "Party Affiliation." It is the duty of the judges of such regular State registration to ask each person who applies to be registered the question: "With which political party do you desire to affiliate?" And the name of the political party given by the applicant is recorded in the column provided in the books of registration for that purpose. If the applicant does not desire to state his party affiliation or identify himself with its activities, he is not, of course, required to do so, nor does his failure in this respect act as a bar to his registration for voting at the general election. The lists thus made up of Democrats, Republicans, Independents, Socialists, Prohibitionists, and any other political creeds, are posted and allowed to be copied by any person authorized to do so by the governing authority of any political party. These lists constitute the basis of the various party organizations and remain as such throughout the year.

Tampering with the rolls thus made up is a serious matter.

"The person or persons who shall add any name or names to the list of names contained in such book or books or shall erase therefrom any name or names, or who shall otherwise mutilate such book or books, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon an indictment and conviction in the Circuit Court, be fined not less than one hundred or more than five hundred dollars and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than sixty days or more than one year."

The same penalty applies to any party official who wilfully refuses to copy any name or names entitled to be so copied from the regular State registration book or books into the primary registration book or books. In the country districts where no registration is held all legal electors have the right to vote at any primary election if they conform to the conditions and qualifications prescribed by the committee or governing authority of the party to which they claim allegiance. This is sufficient, because as a rule the country caucus is fairly conducted.

The primary election inspectors are sworn in the same way as the inspectors of the general election, and any act or deed denounced by the general law as an offence in the case of officers of the regular State election is also an offence in the case of officers of such primary elections and punished accordingly. To tamper with the returns of the primary election is as bad in the eyes of the Kentucky law as tampering with the returns from a

State election. This is as it should be. The expenses of primary elections are paid for by the party organizations and the ballots are printed by order of the governing authority of the political parties. But they must be printed in accordance with the general law governing the printing of ballots in State elections. The penalties against election frauds are severe. To remove or attempt to remove a ballot from the election room, or to have in one's possession outside the election room any ballot either genuine or counterfeit during the election, is considered a felony punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for from two to five years. No electioneering is permitted within fifty feet of the polls and any one who attempts to vote without the right to do so is liable upon conviction to be fined from twenty to five hundred dollars and to be imprisoned for from ten days to six months or both. Any attempt at ballot marking is punishable by imprisonment for from two to five years, and false impersonation by a fine of two hundred dollars and six months in jail. Disobedience of the lawful command of an election officer is punishable by a fine of twenty-five to five hundred dollars, and any public officer who fails to perform his duty as prescribed by the election law is liable to a fine of fifty dollars and two months' imprisonment. Withholding a certificate of election or the returns of an election is punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars, forfeiture of office, and disqualification from ever holding public position. Bribery is fined by from five to five hundred dollars and exclusion from office and suffrage. And bribe or bribery means in Kentucky "any reward, benefit, or advantage, present or future, to the party influenced or intended to be influenced or another at his instance, or the promise of such reward, benefit, or advantage." To break up, or attempt to break up, a primary election, or interfere with any qualified voter's exercises of his right, involves a fine of fifty to five hundred dollars and also imprisonment for a year. Perjury at the polls is punishable by confinement in the penitentiary for from one to five years. As if all this were not sufficient, Section 26 provides that this chapter shall be "liberally construed," so as to prevent any evasion of its prohibitions or penalties by shift or device.

For five years this law has been in operation in Kentucky to the complete satisfaction of both parties. Mr.

William E. Riley, Secretary of the Republican State Committee, declares that it works "charmingly," and his opinion, I understand, is echoed by Governor Bradley and such well-known Democrats as Senator Blackburn, who was largely instrumental in formulating the statute, Secretary Carlisle and ex-Governor Buckner. It should be the law of every other State, and when it is American politics will enter upon a new, healthful era of existence. Election reform will be complete and the purification of politics accomplished, so far as such things can be done in this world of splendid failures. Under the Australian ballot law the voter has absolute freedom of choice at the general election ; when he has the same freedom in his party caucus or primary the end of bossism and machine rule will have come.

JOHN E. MILHOLLAND.

MR. BRYAN THE CONJURER.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

"RICHARD'S himself again! His soul in arms and eager for the fray!" Surely the horse of Scripture never ha-ha-ed so loudly or smelt the battle, so very far off.

Mr. Bryan's exhausting personal campaign, one of the most remarkable feats of physical endurance upon record, has left its inevitable mark. Hereafter life in inglorious ease becomes impossible; he must continue whirling about at high pressure, and seek excitement. While other leaders are taking their armor off, he appears in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, armed *cap-à-pie*, and begins a new campaign.

There is such evidence here of indomitable pluck that we cannot help admiring, much as we find ourselves admiring Milton's Satan, strive as we may against such deadly sin.

> "What though the field be lost
> All is not lost: the unconquerable will
> And courage never to submit or yield."

But as we read Mr. Bryan's new order of battle our admiration halts. Milton's hero fought it out upon the same line to the end. We expected like courage in Mr. Bryan, and our disappointment is great. Our chastened champion falls into a type quite inconsistent with the heroic. From Satan's pluck to Falstaff's caution is a great change, but in one sense we cannot help being glad that he has made it, and concluded like the fat wight that after all "the better part of valor is discretion."

The vital issues of the Chicago platform are dropped; of the plank denouncing the Supreme Court as constituted, no trace is left; of that denouncing Federal interference to quell riot, there is not one word; of the socialistic issue and the fomenting of

strife between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots," there is no mention. Yet compared with these issues the question of the money standard, important as that always must be, was as nothing.

The country could undergo the loss and misery certain to flow from a dangerous experiment with money, but the triumph of these revolutionary issues would have been fatal to its life as a nation founded upon law. Mr. Bryan's discard of the anarchistic planks of the Chicago platform at the first opportunity need, however, create no surprise, because he very clearly indicated more than once during the campaign his dislike of these features of the platform, every word of which he was forced officially to accept. Thus, although his platform denounced the Supreme Court as constituted, yet he declared that he was not opposed to such life appointments as the Constitution prescribed.

Upon another occasion when treating of Federal power to quell riot or rebellion, he resented with much spirit the charge that he would not "enforce the laws," saying "my opponents know better." It should not be forgotten that he also notified the Populists that "he did not agree with them upon some points." The writer believes the popular instinct to be sound, which differentiated Mr. Bryan personally from his associates, whom, however, it seemed probable, if elected, he could not shake off, and who must necessarily form his Cabinet. Had Mr. Bryan not created a more favorable impression personally, than his leaders, the majority against him would have been infinitely greater. Assurances were not wanting from those who knew Mr. Bryan that he was even younger in some other ways, than in years, and still a dweller in Wonderland, believing to be real the phantoms he saw, and that he was inherently honest in the views he expressed; but no one intimated this of the men whose somewhat guileless tool he was forced to become. We have only to put the nominal and the real leader in juxtaposition to understand the difference: Altgeld—Bryan.

Accepting the view indicated of Mr. Bryan's nature and character, we understand his failure to pay attention to facts, or to human experience, or to the arguments of his opponents, and his tendency merely to assert and declaim, making things convertible which are inherently different, and using terms in different senses until he has become the victim of self-deception, and ap-

pears before us as a Conjurer, making that so, which is not, and that not so, which is.

Conjurers perform many of their feats by the adroit use of duplicate receptacles which can be substituted or pressed into each other. Mr. Bryan seems to attempt a few in the REVIEW, for each of which these appliances are indispensable. That the performer is honest and takes matters seriously and is unconscious of any trick is not doubted. This is what makes the entertainment so interesting.

The first is the well-known "Bimetallic-Free-silver" trick. For this two thimbles are needed, one labelled "Bimetallism," the other "Free Silver."

The first line of his article announces: "The battle between bimetallism and the gold standard is on." "Bimetallism," thimble No. 1.

Before the bottom of the page is reached it is: "The free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation," which challenges the gold standard. "Free Silver," thimble No. 2.

The trick is to fuse these two thimbles, which is successfully done by pressing No. 2 thimble over No. 1, thus keeping in sight only one thimble, "Free-silver Coinage."

Bimetallism has then vanished. Bimetallism and free silver have become convertible terms; so clever!

A difficulty arises, however, by one refusing to fit into the other. The two thimbles are found not only to be different, but antagonistic. Bimetallism does not mean the "Free coinage of silver by the United States at 16 to 1," and "Free coinage" does not mean "Bimetallism."

No party has denounced the attempt to confound the one with the other so strenuously as the bimetallic; no men so influential in defence of bimetallism as Professor Walker and President Andrews; none more indignant at Mr. Bryan's attempt to confound the newcomer, "Free silver at 16 to 1," with the old "Bimetallism." The bimetallists of England, France, Germany, and other European countries also refuse to

President Andrews, although opposed to free coinage by the United States alone, concluded, however, to support Mr. Bryan. Professor Walker naturally was found more consistent. He has opposed free coinage since 1878 as fatal to bimetallism.

sanction the proposed merger. This was to have been expected, since the only bimetallic league ever formed was that among European nations, which fixed the ratio between silver and gold at the market value of each metal at the time, and when the market value of silver fell, all promptly ceased to coin it.

The reason why honest believers in bimetallism denounce Mr. Bryan for his attempted jugglery is because bimetallism means the use of silver and gold freely as money; the so-called double standard, and free-silver coinage at double its market value means monometallism, a single standard. The standard in that case lies between the two metals; it is gold, or it is silver. If compelled to choose either, bimetallists prefer gold. They will not favor any measure that can possibly drive gold from circulation as money, and they believe that the free coinage of silver by the United States alone at a ratio of 16 to 1 would certainly do this. Hence as bimetallists they denounce free coinage of silver as fatal to a double standard.

It is too bad that "Bimetallic" thimble No. 1 refuses even to co-operate, much less to be obscured by, "Free-silver" thimble No. 2, and thus prevents Mr. Bryan's repetition of the trick, which he is said to have performed several times before wondering crowds during his flying canvass, when there was no opportunity for the bimetallists to expose his unfounded assumption. Nevertheless, several times in his article Mr. Bryan still insists upon the two thimbles being convertible terms; but No. 1 knows not No. 2. They stand apart, and so the trick fails. It cannot be performed any more. Mr. Bryan cannot fail sooner or later, as an honest man, to realize just what is involved in representing these different policies as identical or even harmonious.

Mr. Bryan's experience in his so-far vain efforts to find congenial company and a fixed abode has rarely been equalled in the life of one so young. We see how the bimetallists disown him and deny the alliance which he so strangely asserts. The official as well as the non-official leaders of the Democratic party parted company with him not long since, and he was driven to seek a home among the Populists; but here also he brought trouble to his kind hosts, and a large section of that party, naturally viewing him with suspicion, since he has expressed his non-concurrence with them in some points, has failed to give him the heartiest of welcomes. He flies about

and nowhere finds rest. Let us hope the wanderer may yet rest somewhere when he learns wisdom by sad experience, and begin a useful career, for he should be capable of great things. One thing is sure; he must soon either drop "free coinage" or "bimetallism," for no man can consistently advocate both; and who knows but that the study of "Money" may bring him to the knowledge of the fact which history teaches—that the gold standard alone brings great and permanent prosperity to a nation.

Feat No. 2 is known as the "East and West" trick, and, like No. 1, requires two thimbles, No. 1 labelled "Farmer, Fifty Cent Dollars," No. 2 labelled "Wage-Earner, Hundred-Cent Dollars." These being produced, Mr. Bryan proceeds to address Western audiences, and shows thimble No. 1, "Fifty-cent dollars," saying (page 708), "The advocates of free coinage insist that falling prices are but an evidence that gold is rising, and they assert that the rise in the purchasing power of an ounce of gold is due to legislation, which has increased the demand for gold."

The value of dollars is, therefore, to be reduced by legislation—the free coinage of silver, to give less purchasing power to the dollars in which wage-earners are now paid. Mr. Bryan says present dollars are doubly over-valued, and when cut down to one-half of their purchasing power, justice will be done; the farmers are to have these cheaper dollars to which they are justly entitled in which to pay their debts and their laborers.

Addressing Eastern audiences, thimble No. 1 is slipped aside, and No. 2 "One-hundred-cent dollars" is produced. He then declares that he "believes that under free coinage silver would rise to 1.29 par with gold"—thus keeping dollars at their present gold value and cheating the farmers of the West out of the cheap dollars he has promised them from the free coinage of silver.

Now, to perform this feat successfully, it is necessary that the East and the West should not hear what the performer says to both. It was partially accomplished as long as the performer remained in the West and used only thimble No. 1, "Fifty-cent dollars," but in an evil hour he was tempted to visit the East and to believe that he could safely drop thimble No. 1 and perform there with thimble No. 2, provided by his Eastern managers, "Hundred-cent dollars," and that this would capture the Eastern wage-earner.

Thimble No. 2 was therefore produced in the East, but the substitute for No. 1 was instantly detected and No. 1 was enquired about. Then upon Mr. Bryan's return to the West thimble No. 2 used in the East was enquired about there, and ex-President Harrison was promptly pressing for explanation; and soon a thousand orators and newspapers East and West thundered of the discordance between thimble No. 1 and thimble No. 2. The result was fatal. The people East and West revolted. New Jersey, an Eastern Democratic State, 85,000, and Illinois, a close Western State, 140,000 majority, and similar results elsewhere, was the answer to what seemed an attempt to delude either the East or the West, by one aspiring to the highest political office upon earth. So fell trick No. 2, never to be again successfully attempted, and also fell the candidacy of Mr. Bryan.

It was too bad for these wicked newspapers and orators to spoil the trick by showing the Eastern thimble in the West and the Western thimble in the East, when they knew very well each was intended by the Conjuror only for its own section.

Readers will feel that the writer cannot easily reconcile the part here attributed to Mr. Bryan with the belief he expresses in Mr. Bryan's inherent honesty of purpose. This is true. Let us recognize this as one serious lapse, of which let us hope Mr. Bryan long since began to repent, and for which he still continues most sincerely to pray for forgiveness. Perhaps he has some theory which reconciles the statements to his own satisfaction; it is even possible that he had not thought of the fact that cheaper dollars meant reduced earnings to the vast majority of his countrymen and the confiscation of one-half the savings and life insurance of that most precious class, the industrious, sober, workers. Such a discovery was calculated to alarm the conscience and confuse the brain.

Feat No. 3 is that of "Money and Prices." Mr. Bryan says:

"When we determine kind and quantity of money we determine the level of prices, and the level of prices concerns every family in the land."

As quoted before, he also says:

"Falling prices are but an evidence that gold is rising."

This is a very pretty trick, and we bespeak the careful attention of readers. Three thimbles are used, because the term "Money," as used by Mr. Bryan, is made to include two differ-

ent kinds, with one of which only is it possible to produce the optical delusion necessary for the performance of the trick. Thimble No. 1 represents "Sound money, gold"; No. 2, "Debased silver or Fiat paper money"; No. 3, "Prices."

"Thimble No. 1, sound money." It is not correct to say that "kind and quantity of money" fix the level of prices, provided the money is Sound Money; thus, "kind and quantity of money" remained the same during Mr. Bryan's canvass, and yet in the level (average) of prices, such startling changes took place as wheat rising 40 per cent., cotton about 20 per cent., while stocks fell 17 per cent., and silver fell six per cent., and prices of other commodities varied, some rising, some falling.

If the United States government doubled its supply of standard money—gold—from its surplus revenue, there would be no great advance in prices; but only such slight advance as might be caused by the greater confidence inspired by such splendid evidence of the financial power and wealth of the country. The surplus gold not required to settle balances or for exchange of commodities with foreign lands would stagnate in the vaults, and that in use throughout the country would circulate more slowly, and thus absorb part of the surplus; we have no inflation of prices to fear from too much gold.

Gold has never been found except in small quantities and with less variation in amount and cost than any other metal suitable for use as money. But just because silver in recent years has been found in enormously greater quantities than before, and is produced at very much less cost, civilized nations, one after the other, have discarded it for use as money, as they would promptly discard gold for the same cause if any other metal suitable for the standard became less variable in supply and cost.

Genuine money is an article of intrinsic value, the metal in every coin being worth in the market the amount stamped upon its face as money. Variations in the supply but very slightly affect prices for several reasons, the chief one being that for 95 per cent. of all business the "standard" never comes into action. It is only held in reserve to act as a medium for settling foreign "balances," now and then, and for redemption of notes based upon gold payment, which is seldom required if the finances are so managed as to inspire confidence that the existing stand-

ard will be maintained. It cannot be true that it is the rising price of gold which has caused falling prices, because if the standard metal had affected prices one way or the other its effect must have been uniform. Prices of all the principal commodities would have felt the influence equally. Now by far the greatest user of money in the country is labor. More money is paid for labor than for anything else, and the proportion paid in actual "money" is vastly higher than in any other branch of affairs. Labor has not fallen; it has actually risen 27 per cent. since "the crime of '73." Wheat has fallen seriously, but it has just risen again from 65 cents to a dollar; so has steel fallen greatly, even more than wheat and it remains at the lowest, but meat and Indian corn have not fallen correspondingly. One untimely blast of frost, or a little too much or too little rain, changes the level of prices of all the products of the soil more in a night than the gold standard has done in a thousand years. One invention made, or one mine discovered, brings down manufactured articles to one-half their former prices. Mr. Bryan's revolutionary platform caused prices to vary more in three months than the "appreciation" of gold has done since silver was the dearer metal at 15½ to 1, seventy years ago. Silver-standard countries show just the same startling changes in prices of commodities. "Free silver" does not—can not—stop them. The "standard," whether gold or silver, has no more power "to fix the level of prices" than to regulate the tides.

Mr. Bryan besides complaining of the appreciation of gold, denounces as outrageous the extortionate rates of interest exacted by the "gold bug conspirators," but where are the rates of interest highest? In gold-standard or in silver-standard countries? The foremost apostle of the gold standard is Great Britain, which is the cheapest market for money; it has gone begging there at two per cent. for a long time—the very rate at which the Grangers think the government of the United States should lend money. The writer knows that the principal manufacturing and commercial concerns of Great Britain have not paid so high as two per cent. for money advanced them by the gold banks. In France and Germany interest rates are low. In our own country manufacturers have been offered money by these calumniated institutions within a year under three per cent. per annum, even to-day it is offered at four per cent. per annum

and declined. The "silver bugs" in silver-standard countries obtain double and even three times the interest "exacted" by gold bugs under the gold standard. Mr. Bryan should really ponder over this. Capital is as powerless to extort high interest for its use as to increase the purchasing power of gold.

Thimble No. 2, "Fiat paper or debased silver money," is now produced. Here is debased money, which has less intrinsic value as metal than the stamp proclaims, and here is also fiat money, which is only "paper promises to pay money," issued sometimes by governments in distress upon their own account. It is upon these two kinds of "Money" Mr. Bryan relies to produce the optical delusion necessary to persuade people that the "kind and quantity of money fixes prices." Thus the Confederate government issued "promises to pay money," until a pair of boots cost $700. Mr. Bryan's statement to the farmer, based upon such "Money," seems correct; the more promises to pay money, or debased money issued, the more the purchasing power of the dollar is reduced, the greater the apparent rise in prices, the greater the paying power of the dollar, and the easier for debtors to pay debts which may have been contracted under genuine money. This kind of "Money" seems to fix the average of "prices," since the rise in prices is contemporaneous with its issue, but not, as Mr. Bryan would have people believe, owing to the appreciation of gold, but to the depreciation in the value of the "promises to pay," or the debasement of the coin. Cost in gold of the pair of boots, which in Confederate "money" cost $700, remained just what it was before the issue of the Confederate "money." No appreciation or depreciation of gold occurred; a gold dollar would always buy a dollar's worth of anything substantially upon the former average of prices. The "fiat money" might jump up or down, as silver money does, three times in one day, sometimes, in silver-standard countries, but gold never. It knows neither appreciation nor depreciation beyond a range so narrow as to be of no practical account, differing therein from every other form or kind of "Money," hence its superiority as a measure of value. When Mr. Bryan talks of falling prices being "only an evidence of the rise in value of gold," he is in the plight of the unfortunate man who explained his battered face to the policeman, when picked up. "The wicked pavement had risen and struck him

hard." When Mr. Bryan finds leisure, a short study of the history of "Money" will soon prove to him that one of the invariable troubles with the kind of money he has recently been so anxious to inflict upon his country is liability to this very attack of the solid gold, which sooner or later brings debased money to a reckoning. Mr. Bryan's "kind of money" soon becomes unsteady when sent forth, and never ceases to stagger until it reaches its level and lies prone upon the standard gold pavement below. The pavement does not rise, as Mr. Bryan supposes. Mr. Bryan sees the sun rise and set, refuses to reject this evidence of his senses, and insists with Parson Jones that the sun moves round the earth.

The trick is successful only when he persuades his audience to accept these optical delusions as scientific facts.

Bimetallists believe in the quantitative theory—"More 'Money,' lower prices; less 'Money,' higher prices." Hence their advocacy of restoring even erratic and unsuitable silver as "Money" "at some ratio to be fixed by civilized nations after careful study of all the conditions."

Mr. Bryan also stands by the quantitative theory—but how students must smile at his amusing belief in the desire or ability of the great financiers to "corner" the standard. Page 706 he says:

"The advocates of free coinage have asserted that the gold standard is a conspiracy organized by the great financiers of the world to lessen the volume of the world's standard money for the double purpose, first, *of raising the purchasing power of a given quantity of money*, and, second, of making it easier to corner the supply of standard money."

The rapid increase of gold must soon give these people pause. The writer has reason to know that more than one of the best-informed bimetallic leaders are already discussing the point whether or not the divergence in value between gold and silver has become too great to be bridged; and, further, whether the greatly increased supply of gold already secured, and likely to be annually augmented, is not solving the question of the money standard in the best possible manner. We are apt to forget that gold is as clearly an American product as silver. No country produces so much gold as the United States; indeed, the annual product now exceeds in value that of the less valuable metal.

Gold last year was mined to the extent of 213 millions, equal to five per cent. of the world's stock; the population of

the world increases upon the average just about one per cent. per annum. Here we have an increase per capita of four times the quantity required to prevent the appreciation—and which must cause depreciation—of gold, according to both bimetallic and free-coinage doctrine, and this surplus supply has been going on for several years, with every indication that this and future years are to find it annually increased. Should even the present supply be maintained, advocates of a change from the gold standard—should any survive until another campaign—will have to meet the contention of those who may admit the quantitative theory, but yet ask if the remedy is not being applied quite fast enough through the increased supply of gold. Four years hence they will be able to point to 16 per cent. increase in the total stock of gold beyond the increase of the population then, and of 20 per cent. increase based upon present population. Besides this, the financial centres of the world are now connected by cable, the total gold reserve can be transferred to any point in a few minutes, so that one ounce of gold now does the former work of ten as the standard. For these and other reasons the writer predicts that when the next President is to be chosen, bimetallists and free-silver coinage advocates will be almost unknown. From their point of view gold will not only have ceased to appreciate, but will have by that time "depreciated" so much that the supply of the almost ideal metal for the standard of value has fortunately become abundant, in their opinion, not only to keep values steady, but rapidly and steadily to reduce the purchasing power of the dollar.

The writer will not be understood as attaching importance to bimetallism; he does not believe in the quantitative theory and is certain that no "International Ratio" is either possible or desirable unless based upon the market value of silver and gold as metals, as all money should be and all sound money is. The members of the Senate Committee charged with obtaining another conference upon the subject are to him objects of pity. The wonder is how men can be found willing to play the part; but he rejoices that the basis of the demand of Bimetallists and Free Coinists alike for a change of standard—viz., the lack of gold—is being most effectually swept away.

Mr. Bryan's new platform consisting of one plank, "the

free coinage of silver, 16 to 1," thus promises to be as obsolete in 1900 as the unlimited issue of "greenbacks" was in 1896. The Republic will have passed that stage in its career during which financial vagaries have power to delude, and decided that the test of sound "money" is whether every coin contains the value as "metal" in the markets of the world which is stamped upon it as "money"; and when paper is used in preference to coin, that the paper must be redeemable upon presentation in coins which stand that test.

Since these lines were penned we have the address of the Chairman of the Bimetallic League to his fellows, than which nothing can more clearly show the different views of Mr. Bryan, as a Free Coinage man, and the Bimetallic League. The one begins another crusade, the other counsels acquiescence in the verdict recently rendered by the people until the party elected to power should have a fair chance to prove the soundness of its policy in maintaining the gold standard.

It need not be assumed that with the passing of Mr. Bryan's new platform there comes also the passing of Mr. Bryan himself; on the contrary, it is far from improbable that he may yet play a great part.

He is evidently earnest and sympathetic, with a thorough belief that he has a mission. Of his powers it is unnecessary to speak. He is an interesting individuality, whom one cannot help wishing to follow and study.

The discovery of such a couple, and such a home as that of Mr. and Mrs. Bryan—for she seems almost equally remarkable with her husband—is something at which our country may well be pleased, and may be pointed to as the product of Triumphant Democracy. Both models of purity in their simple lives, wholly free from ostentation, kind neighbors, and earnest in their desire to do their part toward making the world a little better; and, to crown all, ardent lovers, devoted heart and soul to each other, the wife standing nobly at her husband's side throughout all his trials. It is a beautiful picture, difficult to equal, impossible to excel in other lands. That they are grievously at fault in regard to human society and its complex problems—not as to its ills, but as to their cure, or what is far better than cure, their prevention—is only what we should expect. What young, inexperienced, generous heart has not begun by being in-

dignant at the contrasts, the sufferings, and imagined wrongs of humanity, and lent itself to the advocacy of nostrums for their cure, the adoption of which would only spread and aggravate the very ills it would so fondly extirpate. Yet these are the characters which in after life often learn to substitute evolution for revolution, and do most genuine good, because, upon investigation, they find that human society is not, as they at first supposed, composed of warring elements, but that each of its parts is mutually dependent upon the permanent prosperity of all. The country cannot cease to retain kindly interest in Mr. and Mrs. Bryan, nor to expect to hear of them in the future; nor can the American people as a whole, without regard to party, fail to be deeply touched by the sweet, humble, loving home—the true palace of all the virtues—which the political campaign has revealed to the world, nor to pray that for many long, happy years to come it may be preserved.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CAN WE DO AWAY WITH FOG?

"NEW YORK, November 7.—For forty consecutive hours the fog has had uninterrupted and impenetrable reign over the city, bays and rivers for fifty miles around. Navigation is fraught with great danger, and travel by rail is delayed one-half to two hours. Transatlantic steamers are greatly delayed, and no European mail has been delivered in the city since Monday. The Fall River line steamer "Priscilla," which left Newport last night, had not reached her pier up to 10 o'clock this morning. Several hundred passengers are on board. Several collisions occurred in the rivers and harbors, but none serious in results."

"Forty-eight hours later, one of the largest Sound steamers went ashore in the fog, on the north side of Great Gull Island."

Items like the above probably pass from the mind of the average reader a few minutes after the time of reading. The traveller, however, who has hung 'twixt sea and land, knowing himself to be almost within touching distance of the latter, has a livelier memory of the fog and the danger in which he was placed. Within a pier's length of their dock, when a dense fog prevails, our ferry-boats and river steamers bump about and feel their way inch by inch, to the imminent peril of the passengers.

Fog in its right setting—the upper air—fog is both pleasing and significant; but resting close to earth, it is "an unmitigated nuisance." It was so characterized by the English university professor, to whose work reference is made below; and with neither hesitation nor reservation will most travellers join in the frank and forcible declaration. Granted, then, that a cloud out of place, in other words a fog, is both a nuisance and a menace, are there any ways or means by which the undesired condition can be modified?

Three years ago the attention of the community was directed to the question of the artificial production of rain. The principle upon which rain was to be made, as it was commonly stated, viz., concussion of the air, was neither countenanced nor accepted by meteorologists. The results of the experiments were exactly such as were forecasted by men who knew the worthlessness of the claims then made, and yet fully realized that rain-making was nevertheless a scientific possibility. The rain engineer will some day be enrolled among the professional occupations. He will be one who has closely followed and clearly comprehends the physical processes of cloudy condensation. He must be something of the physicist, chemist and meteorologist combined. Problems such as Hertz solved in his graphic methods of following adiabatic changes in moist air, or von Helmholtz discussed in his papers on "billow" cloud formation will be appropriate work for him. The changes which a cubic foot of air charged with a given amount of vapor goes through as it moves from place to place in the atmosphere he will understand and control. Air at sea level at a temperature of eighty degrees Fahrenheit, half-filled with moisture, has eleven grams of water vapor in

each kilogram of air. If the pressure is suddenly changed from 750 millimetres to 687 millimetres, the temperature lowered about fifteen degrees, certain conditions result. The air is in the condition of a soaked sponge, and has all the water vapor it can hold. If the mixed air and vapor can be lifted about four thousand feet the rain engineer can ordinarily form a cloud or fog. Conversely if he can increase the pressure and supply the requisite amount of heat he can alter conditions so that no fog forms or if it has formed, cause it to disappear. Provided we can control the thermodynamic conditions we can condense the invisible vapor of the air into visible cloud and, on the other hand, change the visible fog into invisible vapor.

Fog formation suggests fog dissipation; and the questions which we propose to discuss in this paper are, therefore, first: What fog is, how it is formed, and how we can do away with it.

Fog may form in at least three different ways; first, where the air is cooled by rapid radiation; second, where the cooling results from a mixture of different air currents, and third, where the cooling has been caused by an upward motion of the air. The first is the most common cause of fog formation, especially the so-called ground fogs. Radiation fog is formed most generally over surfaces nearly level when warm air comes in contact with the cold ground. Sea fogs occur when there is a marked difference between the temperature of the water and the air or when two currents of water of different temperatures are contiguous. Coast fogs and these are the most annoying and dangerous, are formed when inflowing moist air from the sea passes over a chilled land. In some localities, *e. g.* San Francisco, it happens that a mass of air warmed over the land is pushed seaward, absorbing a large amount of moisture. When a sea-breeze in turn pushes the air toward the coast the air is chilled from the rear, fog forms over the water and is carried landward.

Clear and quiet weather is favorable to the formation of fog; and the growth is generally from the ground upward. There are also differences in the constitution of fogs. Clement Ley, perhaps the keenest cloud observer that we have, divides fog generally into wet fog and dust fog. Of the former he says: "When the particles are large enough to be precipitated rather rapidly to the earth and yet not large enough to be called rain, we have '*nebula stillans*' or wet fog. On the other hand, a town fog is more apt to be a dust fog . . . the great cause of the persistence and opacity of town fog is the presence of carbon, which determines the conversion of vapor into fog particles . . . the name '*nebula pulverea*' is given to this class of fog." John Aitken has shown us within the past five years by means of a very sensitive dust counter, just how many dust particles there are in a cubic centimeter of air in different localities and in the same locality at different times. At Cannes, for example, he found 1,550 dust particles per cubic centimetre when the wind was from the mountains, and 150,000 when the wind was from the town. He has also shown us how close is the relationship between fog, cloud, haze, and the *number* of dust particles. If there are few dust particles there are few nuclei for condensation.

Without stopping longer on these questions, we pass to the work of Dr. Oliver Lodge, Professor of Physics at University College, Liverpool, to whom we made reference above. In a lecture before the British Association at the Montreal Meeting, in summing up the various ways of removing dust from air, Lodge mentions the following:

1. Filtration through cotton wool and glycerine.
2. Allowing the air to settle.
3. Condensing the vapor in the air several times.
4. By keeping a hot body in the air for some time. This is what Tyndall calls "calcining" the air.
5. Discharging electricity into the air from a point.

The last named process is the one most effective and in our judgment one containing great possibilities when applied to fog dissipation. If we discharge electricity into dusty air we can remove the dust from the air, and removing the dust means control of fog. The writer has shown in public how wonderfully rapid and effective electrical discharges of very high potential are in scattering smoke and clarifying dust-laden atmospheres. Much might be said of certain experiments but for the present we will use Lodge's words to describe some of the curious effects of a brush discharge in dusty air, inasmuch as the experiments were original with him.

"A bell-jar of illuminated magnesium smoke was connected with one pole of a Vose machine. A potential able to give quarter-inch or even tenth-inch spark is ample and better than a higher one. The smoke particles very quickly aggregate into long filaments, which point along the lines of force, and which drop by their own weight when the electrification is removed. A higher potential tears them asunder and drives them against the sides of the jar. A knob polarizes the particles as well as a point, but does not clear the air of them so soon. If the bell-jar be filled with steam, electrification rapidly aggregates the particles or globules into Scotch mist and fine rain."

Dr. Lodge goes on to show how a small cellar may be cleared of thick turpentine smoke by a point discharge. There can be no doubt that air is speedily cleansed of its solid particles by a continued electrical discharge. Many practical applications of the principle suggest themselves, such as purifying the air of smoking-rooms, theatre galleries, and disinfecting the air of hospital wards. In fog dissipation the problem is simply an increase in the size of the dust nuclei of condensation, under gentle electrification until these settle, or, under powerful electrification, to cause a rapid scattering and deposition of the electrified drops.

Lodge wrote in 1887, "coming to this country, we lay for some hours outside the Straits of Belle Isle in the midst of icebergs and fog. Icebergs alone are not dangerous but beautiful. Fog is an unmitigated nuisance. Electric light is powerless to penetrate it, and as we lay there idle, it was impossible not to be struck with the advisability of dissipating it. It is rash to predict what can be done. It is still rasher to predict what cannot be done. I would merely point out that on board a steamer are donkey engines, and that these can drive a very powerful Holtz or Wimshurst machine, one pole of which may be led to points on the masts. When electricity is discharged into fog on a small scale, the fog coagulates into globules and falls as rain. Perhaps it will on a large scale too."

Less than ten years have passed since the suggestion was thus casually made of the possibility of fog dissipation, and in that time great changes have been made in electrical apparatus. All ships and steamboats of any size are now provided with dynamos, and the generation of a high potential current is a very easy matter. The insulation properties of various materials, such as mica and quartz, which were not in use ten years ago, make them available for use with high potentials. It is a comparatively easy and inexpensive matter by means of proper transformers in series to run up to a potential of forty or fifty thousand volts. Then with a suitable arrangement of terminals a network of fiery discharges might be made to stream out into the fog either from the mastheads or from suitable poles, and the electrification of the air be thus widely effected. Within a reasonable distance such discharges would certainly dissipate the fog and clarify the air.

Of course, the supply of fog may be such that there would be no apparent diminution. But such cases are probably exceptional. It is to be remembered that, as a rule, strong winds do not prevail during fog, and that in most places the fog has well-marked limits and is localized. The task of dissipating the fog of a channel like that between the Hudson and East rivers at the Battery is not more formidable, provided every vessel passing kept its fog dispellers at work, than the removal of the snowfall of a single storm from Broadway by means of numberless carts and horses. We are at great expense and trouble to remove the snow or solid vapor of the air: surely we will not grudge effort nor count expense to do away with fog. Upon warships, ferry-boats, and at all terminal points and crowded localities, fog dissipators would save life and property. Perhaps the following scrap of history of our own metropolis, and not London, will give point to what has been said above:

"November 19.—A dense fog settled over the city and vicinity at daylight this morning, greatly delaying traffic. A serious accident occurred on Brooklyn bridge shortly before eight o'clock, directly due to the fog. While on the way to Brooklyn station the train was forced to stop about 200 yards from the station. The train behind came along at a rapid rate and a serious collision resulted. A brakeman had both legs cut off and cannot recover. The accident caused an immediate stoppage of traffic on the great structure."

Consider then, if fog can be dispelled, are we not criminally indifferent, if we make no effort to dispel it?

ALEXANDER MCADIE.

THE RAILWAY VOTE IN THE CAMPAIGN.

MORE than three years ago, in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW,* I called attention to the influence which the "Railway Vote" might exert in national politics. The proposition then under discussion was the possibility of organizing a new political party by combination of the various interests which are dependent on the prosperity of the railway companies. These interests include four classes, viz., (1) the railway employees themselves; (2) the holders of railway securities; (3) those engaged in allied trades and industries which are supported by patronage of the railways, and (4) such others, as tradesmen, boarding-house keepers, etc., as derive their living from the railway employees or the employees of the other trades and industries already referred to. The number of voters in this last category is, of course, impossible of accurate ascertainment. The other three classes, however, if united, would give a massed voting strength of over three millions.

"It is not, then, surprising," it was said at that time, "that enthusiasts should declare that it would not be necessary to do more than go through the mere form of organization—to call a meeting or two and issue a few pronunciamentos—for the leaders of the new party to be able to dictate a presidential nominee and the outlines of a policy to either of the two great parties."

The probability of such a movement at that time was confessedly very remote: although considerably less remote than was assumed by most of the critics who subsequently discussed the subject in the daily and weekly press. That the probability is still remote is not because the railway inter-

* *A Railway Party in Politics*, by Harry P. Robinson, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1893.

ests have not grievances enough to justify almost any lawful form of organization for the defence of their rights; but a larger issue has arisen. In the late election it was the commercial prosperity of the nation that was at stake.

The immense majority of the railway vote was this year cast for McKinley. In the Eastern and Middle Western States, as well as in the States of the Pacific Coast, it is certain that not less than 80 per cent., and probably over 90 per cent., of the railway employees voted for the Republican presidential electors, in spite of the fact that not less than 50 per cent. of the number have heretofore been, and still are, Democrats. It is not necessary here to discuss what the effect of that vote was on the result of the election. Let it suffice to say that in at least seven States which are in the Republican column, the Republican majority was less than the number of railway votes which were cast for the Republican ticket.

It should be distinctly borne in mind, moreover, that these men voted as they did avowedly as railway men. Their movement in support of the Republican ticket was quite apart from and independent of the general movement of the Sound Money Democracy. To the motives which impelled the better element of the Democracy in other walks of life to vote for sound money, whether their motives were those of patriotism or of dislike of the individual planks in the free silver platforms, there was added in the case of the railway employees the conviction that the triumph of Mr. Bryan would mean above all else the prostration of the railway interests, and a consequent reduction in the pay-rolls of the companies, while what remained of the pay-rolls would be paid in a depreciated dollar.

We have now to reckon with an entirely new factor in American politics. The votes of certain races—the German vote, the Irish vote, the negro vote, the Scandinavian vote, etc.—have long been recognized as distinct entities in the political world. There has also been the agricultural vote, and the mining vote has had great power in certain States. Outside of these few grand divisions, politicians have heretofore lumped all the wage-earning classes together in one conglomerate "labor vote." That can never be done again. In this election the so-called "labor vote" has split within itself, and the immediate and most important result of that cleavage is the emergence of the Railway Vote. This fact in itself is of considerable importance; for, as has already been indicated, the railway employees as a political factor are of great strategic value. They cast directly some 800,000 votes* without any reckoning of their indirect influence: but the number of the votes is less important than their geographical distribution. They are scattered, with comparative impartiality, over the whole country. In all except some seven or eight States, they are numerous enough, by concerted action, to overcome the majority of either party in any normal election. They are relatively equally powerful in every congressional district and almost every county.

All this, however, which appears on the surface—any question of the actual direct influence which the railway men may have exerted in this

* The Interstate Commerce Commission gives the number of persons employed by the railways last year as less than 800,000, from which would have to be deducted a considerable allowance for minors, aliens, etc. But the figures of the Commission include only the employees of the railway companies themselves are enable to the Interstate Law. As a political entity the railway vote is of wider scope, including the employees of innumerable sleeping car, bridge, terminal and depot companies, as well as of fast freight lines and traffic associations, e.c. The estimate of 800,000 votes, after making all allowances, is probably a conservative one.

election, or which they may exert in the future—is of trivial importance compared to the deeper significance of the movement itself.

The Railway men's movement began very early in the campaign. The first "call" to railway men to organize was prepared on the evening of the day on which Bryan was nominated in Chicago. When the free silver campaign organization got to work, some weeks later, one of the first announcements which it issued was to the effect that "the working men are for Bryan." There were already at that time about 200 railway men's sound money clubs in existence, with a membership of approximately 100,000 votes, and the movement was travelling with a momentum against which no vociferousness of appeal or protest could make head. It is true that Altgeld with all that he stood for was for Bryan, and Debs with all that he stood for was for Bryan also; but Altgeld and Debs do not represent the workingmen of the United States. Few facts in this campaign have been more encouraging than the demonstration of the utter powerlessness of Debs, not only over workingmen in general, but over the railway men themselves.

To understand the situation it is necessary to go back two years. Before the American Railway Union, under Debs, in 1894, declared war against the railway interests of the country and, later, against the authority of the government, it had already put itself in an attitude of antagonism towards the older established labor orders in the railway service. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen—these organizations had no sympathy with Debs in his fight and felt no regret at his defeat. Since then his influence has been steadily declining; and when in this campaign he appeared as a champion of free silver the railway men of the country were glad of the opportunity of publicly repudiating him; and the fact that the nation has cause to rejoice over is that in repudiating him, the railway employees of the United States have, once and forever, repudiated all that he represents.

Herein lies the great significance of the railway movement in this campaign. It was loudly proclaimed by every orator on the free silver side, from Mr. Bryan down to Debs, that this was a war of the classes against the masses. The railway employees took them at their word and they chose their side; and that was the side of the classes.

It was a war between all the forces of discontent on the one side and of law and order and respect for established institutions on the other. The railway employees deliberately declared that their part is the part of law and order and that their welfare rests on the maintenance of our institutions.

What was true of the railway men was true of all the better classes of workingmen in shops and mills and factories. Never has any issue been more clearly presented to any people. Never has the decision been more emphatic. Hereafter whenever the forces of Socialism rise turbulently to the surface—whenever Anarchy raises its head against the government—whenever again sectionalism and Communism and discontent unite together in conspiracy against constituted society—the American people can rest assured that the best brain and sinew of the workingmen of the country are on the side of righteousness. Hereafter if any Populist or Socialist ventures to draw a line through the American people and say, "Those above this line are plutocrats and upholders of the existing order," and "Those below this line are ready to join with us in working for a peaceful

revolution," he must draw that line *below* the mass of the workingmen, *below* the employees of the railways.

The fact of Major McKinley's election—regarding him as the emblem of what he represented in this campaign—is cause for rejoicing enough. Still finer is the fact that his election was by the greatest popular majority ever given to a presidential candidate. But incomparably more glorious yet is the fact that in this fight employer and employee stood side by side, that the attempt to array mass against class has failed, and that we know now that when the crisis arises there can never be a solid "labor vote" on the side of discontent, but that the better element of the workingmen are a fixed bulwark against the flood of rebelliousness and unrest. And so long as that bulwark stands the republic is safe.

HARRY P. ROBINSON.

BOSS RULE IN OLD ENGLISH MUNICIPALITIES.

ENGLISH peers, for the first time since the Reform Act of 1832, are again in municipal politics. Last year there were eleven mayors of provincial towns and cities who were of the House of Lords. The number in 1897 it seven. This revived interest of peers in municipal politics began at Carlisle three years ago, when the Earl of Lonsdale became mayor. The next year it showed itself at Sheffield, where the Duke of Norfolk was chosen mayor by the Town Council in anticipation of a Royal visit. The Duke of Norfolk signified his willingness to take office months before the annual municipal elections in November, with the result that the fad of choosing peers quickly spread to other towns, and has been one of the features of the two last municpal elections.

The present connection of members of the House of Lords with provincial municipal politics has been described as a revived interest. It is really a revival; for, prior to 1832, peers and men of the landed class who were ambitious to become peers took a keen interest in municipal politics in many of the old Parliamentary boroughs. They had been taking this interest for three centuries prior to the Reform of sixty years ago; from the time, in fact, when seats in the House of Commons began to be in demand, and when it became of importance to a peer to be able to control Parliamentary elections in a borough or two. This interest of peers and of wealthy commoners working their way to a peerage by the aid of borough interest can be traced as far back as the time of Henry VIII. Cromwell took an interest in the municipal affairs of York; and in the succeeding reigns of the Tudor dynasty numerous cities and boroughs came under the protecting care of courtiers and aristocrats working with an eye to securing the nomination of members to the House of Commons.

Managing a borough with this aim in view was a comparatively easy undertaking in the first half of the sixteenth century. All that the manager, or, as he would be called in this country, the boss, had to do to introduce himself was to find men who were willing to serve in Parliament without wages. Wages were then paid by the constituency. From the first they had been hard to collect, and if a peer or a courtier suggested that he be allowed to name the two local members of the House of Commons, he generally had his way when his request was accompanied by the intimation that his candidates would put the borough to no charges. Occasionally the local recorder, who, like most of the lawyers of those days, was eager to be of the

Parliament, offered to serve without pay rather than lose his seat. Sometimes also peers and courtiers making these requests were referred to the Act of Parliament which provided that members must be residents of the places they represented. But as a general thing, in the early days of the Tudors, boroughs easily succumbed when they were thus approached by peers; and on the easiest terms peers obtained the privilege of nominating members and thus established the interest of their order in municipal politics.

As time went on, and as seats in the House of Commons became increasingly in demand, peers were compelled to take a closer interest in the municipal affairs of the boroughs of which they were the patrons, and in various ways to do more for the local bosses in order to maintain their hold upon the nomination of members. Much evidence of this bossing of municipalities in order to control the Parliamentary elections is to be found in the letters and diaries and in the municipal literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the days of the unreformed House of Commons, when there was no uniformity in the electoral franchise, the Parliamentary boroughs in the control of the peerage and the landed aristocracy could be divided into three classes. There were those in which only the burgage holders voted; those in which the freemen elected the members of Parliament; and those in which the members were chosen by the corporations or the town councils. A burgage borough could usually be manipulated by its boss without much interference in municipal politics. If the patron, as he was euphemistically termed, did not own all the burgage lands and tenements, he made his bargain with the other owners individually. Nearly every burgage holder had his price. Sometimes it was a government appointment; sometimes it was a large sum cash down; occasionally it was a small annuity on terms duly set out in a written agreement. But in any case, except in a few instances, burgage owners were not a numerous electorate in any borough and a smart attorney could handle the burgage voters with ease.

In the freemen and corporation boroughs it was different. In those places the patron was almost compelled to be active himself and frequently on the scene in order to take care of his Parliamentary interests. He had to be ready at times to serve as mayor or recorder, and to go post haste from London to attend council meetings, when these officers or when aldermen or town clerks were to be elected. In the freemen boroughs the patron had to keep a sharp watch on the making of freemen to prevent his interest being swamped by hostile outsiders. To this end it was necessary that he should have the mayor and town clerk on his side. Unless they were with him, his interest was in danger. This was so alike in freemen and corporation boroughs. In a corporation borough the patron was compelled to keep on the right side of the aldermen, and to give close attention when aldermen were being elected. In these boroughs, the peer in control had usually a steward or an attorney, occasionally a parson, watching his interest. The bossing of the borough, however, could not be managed entirely by deputy, and a peer who had two or three of the old municipalities under his control had to be continuously on the alert.

Whether at his seat in the country, or in London, the patron had usually something to do with a view to maintaining his borough interest. In London, minor civil offices had to be procured for the local politicians and their relatives and friends. In those days, to the victors went the spoils in every

department of public life. The appointment of a local postmaster, or a collector of customs, or of inland revenue, occasioned the boss much correspondence and much running about from one State Department to another. After the Restoration, when parsons began to vote and to take an active interest in local politics, the rector or the vicar who was zealous in the interest of the local patron had to be taken care of when church preferments were being given out.

The prizes attending borough control and borough ownership were certainly great. They included offices at court, occasionally places in the administration, commissions in the naval and military services, contracts and loans, and peerages and promotions in the peerage. Yet, in reading the correspondence of public men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one wonders that any one thought it worth while to go seriously in boroughmongering, especially into that branch of it which involved a close connection with the sordidness of the eighteenth century municipal politics. As things stood, from the Restoration to 1832, dabbling in burgages was a gentlemanly kind of interest. What was objectionable in the business—such as juggling with title deeds, bargaining with grasping burgage-owners, and seeing to the due registration of burgage voters—could be relegated to attorneys. A century and a half of burgage-broking developed a race of attorneys who were experts in this work.

No one, however, will assert that managing a corporation or a freemen borough was a gentlemanly pastime. Much of the disagreeable work incidental to it was personal to the patron, and there was rarely complete rest from it. In London, as has been shown, the patron was not out of reach of the smaller bosses of his borough. They were always wanting recognition. It was the same when the patron got back to his estate at the end of the Parliamentary session. He was then brought into personal contact with his henchmen. If his home was in the neighborhood of his borough, he was expected to keep open house at some seasons of the year, and to wear a pleasant face whenever a group of aldermen invited themselves to dinner. When the shooting season came round part of the bag had to find its way to the tables of the local politicians. During the Pensioner Parliament, which assembled after the Restoration, Halifax partly bossed the newly-enfranchised town of Newark. His brother, Henry Saville, was one of the members; and while away in Paris he wrote Halifax not to forget to send a buck to Newark for the feast at the election of the new mayor on Michaelmas Day.

These mayoral feasts made large demands on the purses and the patience of both patrons and members. The diaries of the statesmen of the eighteenth century are freely interspersed with entries expressive of disgust at attending them—at drinking indifferent wine, and coming down for an evening to the social level of the aldermen and their wives. Patrons of boroughs had to undergo as much of this kind of social endurance as the members they nominated. Often a patron had to endure even more, because he was thrown more continuously with the local politicians than were the local members. Members of the House of Commons at this period were not expected to address their constituents on current political affairs. This claim of a constituency on its members disappeared with the cessation of the payment of wages, and it was not reasserted until the early years of this century. If a member nominated by a patron appeared at the Parliamentary election and at the recurring mayor's feasts, he was held to have discharged all his local claims. The patron did not desire that the member

should appear more frequently, for he was often nervous lest the member might seek to set up an interest of his own and become independent of his patron.

The peer who bossed a municipality had to take office as mayor, when his interest demanded it, and to be on the watch at other times to secure the election of mayors who would protect his claims. How, as far back as the time of Charles II., these elections were brought about can be learned, among other sources, from the letters of Humphrey Prideaux. Writing from Oxford, he tells a friend that Lord Lovelace "hath been very busy making mayors at Woodstock and Wallingford." To carry his candidate in Woodstock, Lord Lovelace had been "drunk for three days with all the rag-tag" of the borough. Thirty years later, in Queen Anne's time, Lord Radnor reported to the Treasury how he was maintaining his interest in the boroughs of Bodmin and Lostwithiel. "The corporation of Bodmin," he wrote, "dines with me next Friday. I expect about four hundred persons that day. I had that number last time, and there did not go home five sober of the whole number."

The Reform Acts of 1832 and 1835 put an end to this kind of interference on the part of the aristocracy in municipal politics. There is not the slightest danger of the present fad of electing peers as mayors having a corrupting influence on English local public life. Still the practice of choosing peers is not without its disadvantages. Usually before a man is elected mayor by the town council he has served a long apprenticeship to municipal work as a member of the council. He has worked his way up to the mayor's chair by hard and gratuitous service on the various committees and given much of his time to the municipal business. His election as mayor, with its attendant honors and the place on the bench of borough magistrates that goes with it, comes as a reward for all this work. Almost every man who gives himself up to municipal service hopes, before his career comes to an end, to serve a term as mayor. When a peer is chosen as mayor, he has usually had no experience of municipal work. He has no record of municipal service behind him, and is pitchforked into the position over the heads of men who have been working their way towards this honorable and much coveted office. Peers also are seldom residents in the boroughs for which they are chosen mayors. It is true they are often the ground landlords of the towns; but they are not inhabitants in the old English meaning of the word, and are only technically eligible. Usually they do not discharge all the duties of the office. It is doubtful whether, in the face of the standing order of the House of Commons regarding peers and elections, peers who are mayors can act as returning officers at Parliamentary elections. For this and other reasons when a peer is elected mayor, there has to be a deputy, upon whom falls more work than is the lot of a deputy mayor when a commoner of municipal experience is chosen.

EDWARD PORRITT.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXIII.

FEBRUARY, 1897.

POWERS OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

THE representative system of government is the invention of the Teutonic nations, and England only among those nations has been able to perpetuate it from the barbarian epoch to the present time. In that way she has become "the mother of parliaments," the teacher of the science of representative government to all the world. Every representative assembly now existing in the old world or the new is a mere reproduction of the English parliamentary idea modified and adapted to the special circumstances of the country in which it has been reproduced. All such reproductions may be divided into two classes: first, those in which the executive power is republican; second, those in which the executive power is monarchical.

The English colonies in America were the first to reproduce the parliamentary system of the mother country in the assemblies of their several provincial states, which sprang up, not as the result of conscious imitation, but as the predestined product of a natural process of reproduction. Rejecting nobility and kingship as unsuited to their condition, these states simply continued the English two-chamber system, with such modifications as were necessary to adapt it to a republican form of government,

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in which the chief magistracy was elective and not hereditary. The highest development of that idea was reached in the making of the present constitution of the United States, by which an elective President with a fixed term of four years was clothed, as nearly as possible, with the constitutional powers at that moment exercised by the King of England. It is all important to remember, in view of what will be said hereafter, that the makers of the American Constitution "had before them not a generalized English king nor an abstract constitutional monarch; it was no anticipation of Queen Victoria, but George III. himself, whom they took for their model." This fact is important, because the constitutional powers and status of George III. were utterly different from those of Queen Victoria, for the reason that at the time of the making of the American Constitution the modern English cabinet, which now exercises the royal functions, did not exist, or, if it did exist, "it was so unmature that its true nature had not been perceived." Taking as their model an English king, who both reigned and governed, the American framers constructed the presidential office upon that basis; and that creation, which has been in successful operation for more than a century, has been copied by all the Spanish-American republics from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. The experiment of a republican president, modelled after the English sovereign of to-day, whose constitutional functions are exercised by a cabinet council, whose existence may end at any moment at the bidding of a popular assembly, has never been tried in the new world. In France only has that novel experiment been made, and after an experience of a quarter of a century she is now in a position to estimate its practical value.

The English parliamentary system was never accepted by any of the continental nations until after it had been popularized by its American experience, and commended to Europe, largely upon that basis, by that school of French thinkers, who at the end of the last century began to advocate its adoption. According to Guizot's famous canon this great idea had to pass through France before it received general acceptance. Thus it was that within less than a century representative assemblies after the English model have been set up in France, in Spain and Portugal, in Holland and Belgium, in Germany, Italy and Austria—in all the European nations, in fact, except Russia and Turkey. The great

feature which distinguishes all of these European reproductions is embodied in the fact that along with the English bicameral system has been accepted the English idea of ministerial responsibility in the form in which it exists at the present day. Amongst the European nations who have thus attempted a conscious reproduction of the English polity, France alone is republican; but when that has been said, the fact remains that her present constitution is the closest approach ever made to the English original. So far as central political organization is concerned, the existing constitution of France was made strictly after the British model. As in the English system, the supreme powers are vested in two chambers, which have the right to change the constitution without limit when acting jointly as a national assembly. There is no tribunal like the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the validity of national laws; the only body competent to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation is the Legislature itself. In constructing the executive power the makers of the present French constitution took as their model the English sovereignty as it existed in 1875, just as the makers of the American constitution took as their model the same sovereignty as it existed in 1787. The divergence in the result thus attained in the construction of these two greatest republican executives is as wide as the difference which divides the two originals from each other. After a century of experience the executive power in the United States stands out as the most successful part, perhaps, of the whole federal system. It has been a firm, stable, and moderating influence in the midst of purely democratic institutions with which it has perfectly harmonized. After a quarter of a century of experience, the executive power as now constituted in France stands out as the one great failure in a constitution which has otherwise been France's most permanent and successful republican experiment. It may be truly said that the old kings of France reigned and governed; that a constitutional monarch now reigns in England, but does not govern; that the President of the United States governs, but does not reign; while the President of the French Republic neither reigns nor governs. In that way France has been deprived of stable and continuous executive leadership at a critical period in her history. The President from the very constitution of his office cannot supply it; and experience has demonstrated that ministries

appointed by him under the existing system cannot supply it.

That charge is capable of mathematical demonstration. Not long ago the *Figaro* made a statement of all the ministries that have existed in France since February, 1871, and of their relative duration. From that it appears that within that time there have been thirty-four (to which three more must now be added), with an average life of scarcely eight months; and, including those persons who have gone out of office when partial changes were made, that during the same period there have been more than 200 different ministers in office. President MacMahon governed with eight cabinets, Grévy with twelve, Carnot with ten, and certainly no improvement has taken place under the two presidents who have succeeded since that time. The French presidency, which is a solecism in the history of republican institutions, may therefore be said to have broken down under the test of actual experience for the reason that it has failed to attain even approximately the results produced by the English original after which it was modelled. A simple comparison of the actual workings of the two systems during substantially the same period of time will put that statement beyond question. During the last twenty-eight years, there have been in England but nine ministries, as follows: Dec. 9, 1868, Gladstone; Feb. 21, 1874, Beaconsfield; April 28, 1880, Gladstone; June 24, 1885, Salisbury; Feb. 6, 1886, Gladstone; Aug. 3, 1886, Salisbury; Aug. 18, 1892, Gladstone; March 3, 1894, Rosebery; July 2, 1895, Salisbury. It thus appears that there have been but nine English ministries within a period of twenty-eight years with an average life of more than three years against at least thirty-seven French ministries within twenty-five years with an average life of scarcely eight months. And worst of all, this utterly inefficient executive system which is now depriving France of the benefits of a coherent and continuous policy manifests a tendency to become still more unstable every day. The natural result of the uncertainty and unrest arising out of this unfortunate condition of things is a continual cry for constitutional revision which must inevitably take place in the near future. The mighty problem which France must solve when that revision is made is this: Shall the present constitution be weakened by changes which will only intensify the present instability of the executive

power; or shall it be perfected and strengthened by a reconstruction of the executive upon a basis supported by all modern republican experience.

French republicans have every reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of their present constitution considered as a whole when the immense difficulties attending its construction have been justly estimated. The growth of monarchy in France gradually crushed the life out of all the older forms of popular government, both central and local, which had sprung from the institutions of earlier times. By the sixteenth century in France, as in the rest of continental Europe, every effort made to establish representative government had come to an end. Then it was that the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon were overthrown by Charles V. and Philip II.; then it was that the States-General of France met for the last time (1614) prior to their final meeting upon the eve of the French Revolution. The statesmen of the Revolution thus removed by nearly two centuries from actual experience of representative government, and misled by the impracticable theories of Rousseau and Sieyès, undertook for the first time in the world's history the impossible task of constructing *a priori* constitutions founded on speculative assumptions unsupported by historical precedents. The utter and hopeless failure of all such experiments served a good purpose, however, in convincing Europe in general and France in particular that viable constitutions cannot be made in that way. Under the influence of that conviction a reaction set in about 1814 and 1815, which has gradually impelled Europe to re-establish representative government upon the basis of the English system embodied in an historical constitution which has been gradually developed through a long period of stormy experience. Upon that sure and conservative basis French statesmen constructed in 1875 the present constitution, which went into effect in the following year.

That work of adaptation was in some respects far more delicate and difficult than that undertaken by the framers of the American constitution in 1787, for three reasons: first, because there was no community of race; second, because there was no community of law as a basis of individual right; third, because France did not possess a system of naturally organized self-governing communities as a congenial basis upon which to erect the central parlia-

mentary system. What the French Revolution did not destroy was the system of centralized administration which the monarchy had developed ; the legislators of the Revolution attempted to do no more than reorganize and simplify that system. The Constituent Assembly simply gave order and symmetry to local administration, when in December, 1789, it carved out of the old provinces of France the eighty-six existing departments now divided into arrondissements, each arrondissement being subdivided into cantons, and each canton into communes. Upon that artificial and bureaucratic substructure, with no historical connection with the traditions of the older freedom, have been superimposed the several systems of popular government that have followed each other in France since the great upheaval which substituted the absolute sovereignty of the people for the indefensible sovereignty of the King. And yet the chief difficulty in the practical operation of the existing system has not arisen, as might have been expected, out of a lack of cohesion between the parliament at Paris and the local communities from which its life is drawn. The one great difficulty disclosed by experience has arisen out of the impossible attempt to put a republican president into the shoes of a modern constitutional monarch whose functions are exercised by a ministry which in France is the servant of two popular assemblies. In making that dangerous experiment the French statesmen of 1875 marred their work by departing from the firm basis of historical experience into the unknown realm of abstract speculation, and what inevitably happens in all such cases has taken place. Nobody had ever attempted such a thing before, and no one has been bold enough to attempt such a thing since.

A careful student of the English constitution who clearly comprehends the subtilty of that part of its mysterious organization which regulates the relations of the crown with the chambers, and the chambers wth each other, through a set of unrecorded conventions, can understand in a moment why that part of its intricate machinery cannot be adapted to a republic with a written and dogmatic fundamental law. In the first place the fiction is that the English sovereign really governs as of old ; the fact is that she does not govern at all. The fiction is that the two chambers are co-ordinate and co-equal ; the fact is that the real sovereignty resides in the

House of Commons. In the French, as in all other republican constitutions, the two chambers are really co-ordinate and co-equal, and therefore capable of conflict, and that of itself is sufficient to derange the entire mechanism as demonstrated by a very recent experience fresh in the minds of everybody. To that difficulty must also be added the fact that a republican president taken from the ranks of the people cannot be clothed with the mysterious awe and dignity with which time alone can robe a king. But no matter what the reasons may be, the fact remains that this subtile monarchical organism has never been successfully grafted upon a republican system, nd the fate of the attempt in France conclusively proves, certainly so far as she is concerned, that the undertaking is impracticable. To her it has given an executive power so unstable and precarious that any policy, internal or external, that may be inaugurated is broken up on an average every eight months, and the evil is increasing every day. The genius of no statesman can overcome difficulties inherent in a fatally defective system, and since the inauguration of the present regime nearly all of France's great political chiefs have been discredited generally without any fault of their own. If the evil is continued without remedy the inevitable result will be to discredit the republican plan as a whole, and its enemies will cry out that it is incapable of leading France safely along the difficult and dangerous path which she must certainly tread for a long time to come.

But the fact that the present constitution has proved defective in a vital part is no cause whatever for discouragement, certainly not in view of its great success as a whole. The English and American rule has ever been to test constitutions by time and experience, and then, holding on to what has proved successful, to substitute for the part that has failed some new measure suggested by the failure itself. What France has ascertained from experience is that her executive power, as now constituted upon *a priori* principles, unsupported by any historical precedent, has proved in practice far too unstable to satisfy the end for which it was constituted. It has failed to produce even approximately the good results which flow from a similar expedient, as now employed in England's monarchical system. The remedy is at once plain and unspeculative. Not long ago France, ever generous to and appreciative of the United States, sent her

as a gift a great work of art in which the republic beyond the sea is made to personify upon her own shores "Liberty enlightening the world." The best return that America can make to France for her splendid gift is her experience of a hundred years with the Presidential office, which has been the most successful part, perhaps, of her present constitution. All that the French Republic now requires is such a firm, stable, and continuous policy as the reproduction of the American presidency would surely impart. During its long and and prosperous history its capabilities have been fully tested in the crucibles of peace and war, and it has been copied into every important republican constitution with the exception of that of France alone. Upon the present French system it could easily be engrafted without any change whatever in the machinery by which French presidents are now chosen—by the joint ballot of the chambers—machinery which has stood the test of experience.

The great end to be attained is the substitution of an executive thus chosen for a four-years' term with a permanent ministry after the American model, for an executive with a seven-years' term with an ever-changing ministry after the English model. Why should it be difficult for France to accept a system which has always been sufficiently democratic for the United States when its adoption will surely bring to her the stable executive power so necessary for her welfare? Such a change could not fail to have a happy effect upon her internal development, disturbed as it now is by her ever-changing ministries. But the greatest advantage would result from the certain improvement in her foreign policy now so lacking in continuity. No one can look upon the vast and splendid armaments by which the Republic has surrounded itself and be unmindful of the fact that her supreme thought is preparedness for war. No part of that wise system of preparation is more important than that which embraces the making of alliances, and alliances can only be made firm and enduring by a strong and stable executive. All who are well informed as to international politics perfectly understand the interest and anxiety with which France's great ally now looks to the effects upon her foreign policy of the existing system. And then, last and most of all, when the trying moment comes for which all this preparation has been made, what can France expect from an institution which labors with difficulty even in the calm

waters of peace and prosperity. Nothing is to be more appre hended than the probability that when the crisis comes France will prove to be weakest where she should be strongest. In the adoption of the American presidency she would be safe in the possession of an executive power which under the severest trials has proven itself to be equal to the storm and stress of war, both foreign and domestic.

The gravest objection that will be made in France to a reproduction of the American presidential system will be based, no doubt, upon the idea that under that system the executive power is too far removed from the chambers and too little subject to their domination and control. Such an objection will, however, lose very much of its force when the fact is remembered that under the system of committee organization as it exists in the French chambers, the chambers themselves have long ago assumed control of the supreme political question involved in the subject of national finance. While other committees simply consider and report upon ministerial measures, the Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, composed of thirty-three members, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, composed of eighteen members, by revising and transforming ministerial proposals, really shape the financial policy of France to a greater extent than like committees now control the finances of the government at Washington. By simply continuing such control the French Chambers could still overshadow the executive in the one vital particular in which they naturally desire to be supreme. With the same end in view, it would, no doubt, be well to continue that provision of the present constitution which, while denying to the French President the right to veto legislation, puts it in his power to demand of the Houses the reconsideration of any measure which in his judgment has been unwisely enacted. It would not be necessary to change the constitution of the Council of Ministers considered as an administrative body, appointed by the President, and as such subject to his direction and control. It would only be necessary to abolish that aspect of the Council in which its members appear as the political body known as the Cabinet, and as such responsible to the Chambers not by virtue of any positive law, but by virtue of an unrecorded understanding, as in England. The Council of Ministers as an administrative body is recognized by

law ; the Cabinet, a political body composed of the same persons, is not. By simply shortening the term of the President with the understanding that he should no longer be controlled by the Chambers through the Council of Ministers acting in their political capacity as a Cabinet, the end in view could be attained by simply changing one positive law. In order to preserve the close inter-communication now existing between the executive and the Chambers—a particular in which the American constitution is deficient—that provision could be advantageously continued, which now permits the French Ministers, whether members of the Houses or not, to attend their sessions and to take a privileged part in the debates. In that way could also be continued the right of interpellation in that narrower form which permits any member of either house, after due notice, to require of any Minister to answer as to any affair of state as to which an answer can be given without detriment to the public interest. Of course with the extinction of the Cabinet as a political body directly responsible to the Chambers, would end that broader method of interpellation now employed to challenge its policy upon such serious questions as are expected to end in a vote of confidence or want of confidence. The day upon which republican France is delivered from that kind of agitating procedure will be the most fortunate in her history. And here let the fact be emphasized that it is not a necessary condition of parliamentary government that Ministers who carry on the work of administration should be subject to dismissal at any moment by one or both Chambers. While the power of a representative Chamber to dismiss ministers at will may be tolerable or even desirable in a country like monarchical England, where it is exercised on an average not oftener than once in three years, it is certainly intolerable in republican France, where it is exercised on an average every eight months. When the time for revision comes, those who wish to discredit and destroy the Republic will strive to abolish the Senate and thus render the executive power still more unstable by making it the servant of a single popular assembly, while those who wish to give it a new lease of life will unite in reconstructing the executive power upon the model so successfully employed by the United States for more than a century.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

THE NEW EPOCH AND THE CURRENCY.

BY GEORGE S. MORISON, A. M., PAST PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CIVIL ENGINEERS.

NOT every one realizes how different are the conditions in which we live from those under which the Republic was born. The difference in the conditions is largely due to the work of the engineer during the century which is now drawing to a close. Perhaps an engineer can explain their meaning in a way which may help to dispel some of the clouds in which the horizon is now enveloped.

A little more than a century ago an event occurred which marked the beginning of a change in the world's history exceeding anything which had preceded it; up to that time, however great the intellectual, artistic, or military achievements which man had accomplished, his capacity had always been limited to his own strength and that of the animals he could control. The change came when he learned to *manufacture power*. It is to this capacity that all the great advances of the nineteenth century must be ascribed; I use the words advisedly. Creation, whether of substance or force, is not given to man; manufacture is not creation, but to change inert matter from one form to another in such a way as to generate power is to manufacture power, and this we can do.

The manufacture of power means practically unlimited power; whatever the measure of a single tool, that tool can be used to make a greater one. We are no longer limited by animal units, by locations of water-powers, nor by the force of wind and tide; power can be had where it is needed and when it is needed. The power generated in a modern steamship in a single voyage across the Atlantic is more than enough to raise from the Nile and set in place every stone of the great Egyptian pyramid.

The manufacture of power has barely begun. The steam engine is almost the sole representative; the great advances in electricity have been in conveying power already manufactured, though transmutation and conveyance of power are closely allied to its manufacture. New forms of manufactured power may come at any time, but the great change came with the capacity to manufacture power at all; the method is a secondary thing. The manufacture of power has made the physical development of the nineteenth century exceed that of the whole previous life of the world. When future generations record the history of our times they may select the date when man began to manufacture power as the division between the ancient and the modern, between the ages of ignorance and of intelligence, between the early barbarous periods and the new civilization which has not yet received a name.

Hitherto different races have existed simultaneously in every period of development, but the new epoch must from its very nature become universal. The manufacture of power has given the means of traversing the entire globe with a speed which brings all races together. It will gradually substitute the natural boundaries of convenient government for accidental tribal divisions. It will finally make the human race a single whole working for ends which we cannot yet foresee.

It is easy to understand that, when the manufacture of power is fully developed, all physical work may be dependent on inanimate force. It is easy to see that this means the concentration of enormous masses of power where power never could be had before; that it means the subdivision of power into units of minuteness hard to conceive; that it means the unravelling of mysteries which have never been solved; that it means the construction of works of a magnitude before which the greatest monuments of antiquity become insignificant. The fighting ship of to-day is a floating machine shop, though its crew of mechanics are confined as completely as the chained rowers of a Roman galley. The battles of the future will not be fought by men or by horses; the camels of the desert will never again confront the elephants of the jungle; fortifications will be factories filled with power. It is easy to recognize that the discoveries already made may be slight in comparison with those which are to come. All this is a matter of physical possibility; it is interesting to speculate

upon it; it is foolish to prophesy about it; the changes already made are enough to consider now; these changes and their effects are before us to-day.

First, then, the manufacture of power has entirely changed all methods of communication; the railroad has replaced the stage coach; the steamship has supplanted the graceful sailing vessel, and the telegraph has supplemented the laggardly mail; all this has been the work of the engineer.

In the early part of the century, to travel at the rate of 100 miles a day was so difficult a thing that few people were willing to undertake it; now 800 miles can be accomplished with little fatigue in 24 hours and even this speed has been materially exceeded. The first President of the Republic spent weeks going from his home in Virginia to take the oath of office in New York; to-day there is no part of our country, except Alaska, from which a citizen cannot reach the national capital in less than six days. If we consider simply the time taken to travel personally, neglecting the other methods of communications, in which much greater speed has been attained, every part of the country has now become nearer the most distant section than Boston was to Richmond one hundred years ago; this is what the railroad has done.

Only sixty years ago the entire business on the ocean was done by sailing vessels; they had improved in size, speed, and model since Columbus crossed in his caravels, but the only power to propel them was still the uncertain action of the wind. A good eastward voyage across the Atlantic consumed twenty days, while the return voyage usually took at least twice that time. This was the quickest method of communication between America and all the rest of the world; it was only under very exceptional conditions that any one could leave an American port and reach some of the nearer ports in Europe and return in as short a time as two months, and this was true not only of men and women, but of mails and every kind of communication. To-day it is possible to cross the Atlantic and return in less than two weeks; the usual time occupied by passenger steamers in a round voyage, including the time which they wait in port on both sides the Atlantic, and including voyages to as distant ports as Bremen and Hamburg, is now four weeks, while the steamers of one of the leading steamship lines are making a round voyage every three weeks. The entire circuit of the globe

can be accomplished in less time than was commonly necessary for a hurried trip to a near European port and return in the early years of the century.

The mails follow the same course as passengers; they are taken on the fastest ships and the fastest railroad trains, but they have the advantage that they are transferred from train to train and from train to ship at the quickest speed, and are free from the delays of inspection and sometimes of quarantine which annoy passengers. The cost of sending a letter to the most distant part of the globe is only one-fifth as much as the cost of sending it from one State to another in the early days of the Republic.

Great as these changes are, from a business point of view the effect of the telegraph is still greater; it has been able to annihilate time in communication between different towns, states and countries; there is no important business centre in any part of the globe to which a message cannot be sent and a reply received within 24 hours, the delays generally being due not to the time occupied in transmission or delivery, but to the fact that the rotation of the earth and the different times of light and darkness make the business day in our continent simultaneous with the silent dark hours of sleep in populous Asia.

The result of this quick communication has been an absolute change in all methods of doing business. Formerly each community was a unit by itself; it handled its own business; its people seldom went outside of its own limit, and such luxuries as were obtained from a distance were brought at long intervals either by their owners or by people specially charged with handling them. The food, dress, and all the habits of each community were dependent on its immediate surroundings. If the soil and climate were adapted to wheat, the white bread of the present day was a common food, but in other regions where corn and rye grew better, wheat bread was seldom seen. Homespun garments were the usual wear; the luxuries of imported fruits were unknown. The merchant in a seaport sent his ship to sea in charge of a supercargo whom he recognized as a capable business man, loaded with a cargo which that officer was to sell, and with the proceeds of which he was to make purchases for the return voyage. The chances were that from the time the ship left till it returned nothing would be heard of it. The capital

invested in the cargo was absolutely locked up, and the merchant knew little or nothing of the success of his venture until the ship, returning from a voyage of perhaps a year, was sighted off the harbor ; it was in those days that people talked of what they would do when their ship came in. To-day any such voyage is absolutely impossible. A commerce, of a tonnage before which that of the old supercargo days becomes insignificant, is done by regular lines of steamers sailing to almost every part of the world on regular schedules, from which they seldom vary more than one or two days, and whose arrival at every port is known at every other port at which they touch, within 24 hours of the time they reach there. The sailing fleet of to-day no longer goes out with ventures under the charge of supercargoes, but the ship takes a load of goods for which freight is paid, and which is consigned to some merchant in the port to which it sails, where the ship again loads for another port ; the captain sails the ship, which is simply a means of transportation ; the business is handled by merchants in the several ports, and every one of these merchants has the means of knowing what goods are in demand, and what prices they will bring in every other port in the world. Commercially the whole earth has already become a single unit, in every part of which business can be directed from every other part.

This is what the manufacture of power has accomplished by its improvement in methods of transportation and communication alone. No nation can live by itself; it is a part of the whole commercial world; it can be politically independent of other countries, but it cannot be independent of the general laws which govern trade and commerce. Even if it desired to do so, it would not be allowed to keep clear of the developments of the nineteenth century. The very system of commercial credits which played so important a part in all international commerce thirty years ago is now passing away; regular steamship lines and telegraph cables have changed the practice; the commercial standing of every firm can be known everywhere and the aid of the few great houses is no longer needed; a course which would impair the standing of any important business house in an inland American city may be felt in Eastern Asia.

The manufacture of power has effected at least an equal change in all varieties of manufactures. Homespun garments

have disappeared, complicated machinery directed by few hands produces nearly every manufactured product which is essential to man. The spinning wheels, which were a necessary part of our great grandmothers' households, are now kept only as curiosities in bric-a-brac decorations, while the housewife who could weave even her own supply of linen would be very hard to find.

It is not necessary to go into the details of this change ; the result has been accomplished by substituting for the muscle of arm and leg, the power which the steam engine or the turbine wheel provides, power which is fed on coal at five cents a bushel instead of power fed on wheat at eighty cents, or which is furnished free in the slopes of rivers.

This is not merely the case with cloths and fabrics ; it is true of every kind of manufacture and every kind of work ; power has so reduced the price of all the little articles which enter into our daily life that no one can afford to make them himself. In the older parts of the country there are old barns the frames of which were so made that the boards could be fastened in without nails ; when they were built the price of nails was more than ten times what it is now, while the value of a workman's time was only about one-third its present value.

The development of iron manufacture shows what has been done. Only twenty years ago nothing typified the strain of human labor more than the row of furnaces in which the puddlers, by muscular effort and in glaring heat, slowly drew together the particles of soft metal into the spongy puddle-ball from which wrought iron was forged and rolled. To-day the Bessemer converter and the open-hearth furnace have spoken the doom of wrought iron, which is disappearing before the less costly steel ; and there is nothing more striking about a great steel-plant than the absence of men ; ingots, blooms, billets, and finished product seem to make themselves, while the few men who stand around appear to police the machinery rather than to labor.

It was common in country districts in the early part of the century to find families who bought almost nothing ; their food was all raised on their farms, while the clothing and all the household linen was of wool or flax raised at home, spun and woven by the mothers and daughters of the family. To-day it is still possible to find places were people live well and where all the food is raised at home, but in the whole United States it is doubtful

whether 100 families can be found who do not buy their clothing and nearly all their household goods.

The results may be very briefly stated; cheap manufactured power does the work, a few intelligent hands direct the machinery and a day's labor expended in other ways will buy ten times as much cloth or any other manufactured articles as the good hands of our capable grandparents could make in a day.

Perhaps the manufacture of power has had less influence in agriculture than in anything else, but even here the effect has been enormous. In the first place it has filled the world with a great variety of agricultural machinery, which has reduced the labors of the farmer to a small fraction of what they formerly were, till the same man can accomplish with these tools four or five times as much as he could do without them. But there is another remarkable change ; the crops of every part of the world have become available for the rest of the world ; a failure of crops in one country is known immediately 10,000 miles away ; a surfeit of crops in one country is known with equal promptness ; prices are regulated not by immediate home demand, but by the supplies and demands of the world modified by cost of transportation and a few other complications which are well understood by dealers everwhere. The farmer of the present day feels all this ; he has ceased to be able to live from his farm alone ; to maintain his family with the luxuries and habits which people now think necessary he must draw upon all parts of the world, and it is only by selling his crops that he can pay for what he so purchases. In the older farming districts this may apply to little more than clothing and a few unnecessary luxuries, but in the newer districts it is otherwise ; on the prairies west of the Missouri the farmer raises little but grain and stock ; everything else, even the fuel to keep him warm in winter blizzards, must be bought.

The general effects already accomplished by the manufacture of power may be briefly stated. Every part of the civilized world now draws its supplies from every other part of the world ; even the savage or barbarous regions, which get nothing from outside their own country, are forced to render their contributions to civilized lands. Prices are fixed by the whole world, not by any one community, the cost of transportation and tariff charges being simply additions to the cost of the article some-

where else. Furthermore, every civilized family must buy a large portion of what it consumes, and practically all but farmers must buy everything they consume. If the price of wheat rises in Liverpool it rises on every farm in the United States; if a great surplus is produced in India or Argentina the price falls in European markets and on every farm in the United States.

It is the glory of the engineering profession that it has reduced the cost of almost every article of important use in modern life; it is the crowning merit of the nineteenth century that it has made cheap so many things which in our fathers' times were dear. The older inhabitants can remember the pinched, underfed look of a large portion of our people in the early days of the century when their wages would not provide them with either adequate food or suitable clothing; such people may still be seen, but there are few of them among the plump, well-clad people of to-day. It is a rarer thing to see children barefoot now than it was to see them with shoes fifty years ago. Let no one find fault with the lowering of prices of those articles which are necessary for the common support of all—of food, of fuel, or of ordinary clothing. It has been the business of the engineering profession to accomplish this result.

The work of the engineer has cheapened all the necessities of life; it has done so by substituting inanimate force for human muscle and strength, and it has done so by rendering the products of every part of the world available in every other. Great as this work is, it is not the whole; the change is elevating mankind and putting him in a better position than he was in before.

The substitution of inanimate power for the animal power on which our race was formerly dependent means a separation of the force which does the work from the intellect which directs it. The power which we make and use is absolutely without sense. All this must come from the human mind. The man who drives a horse has little to do; the horse finds the way and does the work, but the driver of a motor carriage has a senseless machine, and all direction must come from him. Manufactured power demands intelligence to supply the sense which the power lacks. The extreme logical development would be a condition where every kind of physical work is performed by machines, while human effort is reduced to design and care. Such a result will never be reached. So long as men have bodies, the forces placed

in those bodies must be used, but the substitution of manufactured power for human labor is a promotion for man, whose value becomes measured by skill in directing power and not by muscular strength. A man's wages are determined, not by what he can do himself, but by what he can have done. The character of his work has risen; his average pay is better.

One other thing must be observed: the gain is accruing to civilized nations. Savage and barbarous nations are made to contribute their share towards the comforts of the civilized without receiving much return. This cannot continue. Savage and barbarous people disappear before the stronger arms of the more civilized; a few people are elevated, more of them are crushed. It is a constant struggle for supremacy in which the nation which has the greatest resources, the greatest strength, and understands best how to manufacture and use power, always comes out ahead. To do this it must know what every other land is doing; it must use the tools which the engineers of every country have provided; it must avail itself of the work of all. There was a time when nations could shut themselves up within their own limits and do very well. It amounted to little more than excluding some foreign trade, which at best was small; the whole world was nearly stationary; the improvements made in foreign countries amounted to so little that the work done at home was all that was needed. Japan lived in this way for centuries with laws, practices, and currency entirely unlike anything now in the world; gold and silver were kept in circulation together at a valuation in which gold was only four times as high as silver. The manufacture of power has rendered anything like this absolutely impossible. There is no race or people so great that it could afford to shut itself out for ten years from what is going on elsewhere. To use a slang expression, *it would be left;* the simple result would be that after a decade of stagnation it would find itself remanded to a secondary position among the nations of the world and become a servant where it should have been a master.

The lessons of history must be studied as showing the mistakes of the past, not as giving precedents to be followed now. We have already entered on an entirely new epoch in civilization, the epoch created by the manufacture of power; the works and doings of the past are not those of the present. History gives us a record of what has been done, but no more. It would be as

wise to cite the habits of savage life as the ways which civilized nations should follow, as to make the practice of the beginning of this century, before the effect of the manufacture of power had been felt, the standard of the present day.

In the race which we are now in the midst of, which the manufacture of power is opening, new influences, new appliances, new powers and new forms of education appear every day; only by constant effort, constant intercourse, continual study and vigorous achievements can any country use the talents which are now before it. The cry of "America for Americans" may be all right, but if the Americans are to make the best use of their America they must call to their aid the work which the brains of Europe, and before long those of Asia, will contribute to the general benefit of mankind.

There are other laws than those which are enacted by legislative bodies, whether those laws be expressed in constitutional enactments, in judicial decisions, or in that organic law which has come to be called constitutional. In history the laws of religion have perhaps played a greater part than the civil laws of states; many of these religious laws have been the work of designing priests or wild impostors, but the preaching of Peter the Hermit carried the young men of Europe to Syria, and the trumpet of the Prophet spread Islamism over the early home of Christianity. There are the laws of logic and mathematics, which are absolute and fixed; it is beyond any power, either human or supernatural, to set them aside. Not even the Deity can change the sum of two numbers.

The laws of trade are at least as important as legislative enactments; they involve the arguments of logic, the truths of mathematics, and a knowledge of the various natural conditions which have made the trade of the world possible. From their very nature these laws must be international, except in some country which would set itself up alone and sell its nineteenth century birthright. We get our coffee from South America; we must pay for it the same price that is paid in Europe and it must be paid in a coin which will pass current where the European coin does. We get our tea from Asia; we must get it on the same terms that European nations do. We raise a little of our sugar; the rest we must import from the West Indies and pay the same price for it that Europe would pay.

International trade calls for international money, but there is no such thing as an international coin. A coin whose value is determined by legislative enactment loses that value as soon as it passes the national boundary. The only thing recognized in international transactions is the bullion value of the coins. You cannot take a bag of American eagles to London and have them counted out and valued by number; they are put in the scales and their value is the actual weight of gold. You cannot bring a bag of English sovereigns to New York and have them accepted in any way but by weight; each is equivalent to so much gold bullion, nothing more. The same may be said of silver in international transactions; the trade of Asia is conducted in silver, but this silver is handled at its bullion value, not as coins. The Chinese merchant keeps his account in taels. There is no such coin as a tael; it is only a weight of silver. To discharge an obligation he weighs out enough silver, perhaps Mexican dollars, to make the necessary number of taels, and chops up the last dollar to get the exact weight. As soon as any kind of currency leaves the protection of the laws that made it, it loses all value excepting its bullion worth; this is an inherent value which nothing can take from it. Prices may vary, but an ounce of gold is always 480 grains. Any value beyond this is a value made by a local government dependent on local conditions, subject to repeal or change by the law of the land; it is a fiat element and no more. There is no such thing as an international legal tender; it is an impossibility. If all the nations of the world were to unite in making one, it would only be good so long as no treaty obligation was violated.

We were first introduced to legal tenders in the dark days of the war, when the government needed money to sustain its very existence and issued notes which were promises to pay, making them legal tenders in private transactions. Outside of the country they never had a value exceeding the foreign estimate of the promise to pay; even California, a loyal state of the Union, refused to accept them and insisted on recognizing no other money than gold. The present silver dollar owes its present value entirely to the fact that it is exchangeable for gold.

Gresham's law is perfectly simple. With a currency consisting partially of gold and partially of silver, neither exchangeable for the other except at the pleasure of the government which

coins them, but both legal tenders within the United States, we should have two classes of money, both of which could be used in domestic transactions, and only one of which could be used in international transactions. The one which could be used for the two purposes would be more valuable than the one that could be used for one; it would be taken for international transactions and would go abroad; bankers and merchants would buy and keep it for this purpose. The other one, equally legal for domestic transactions, would be the only domestic currency left. No one would take the more valuable money to pay bills for which the other money was equally good. The result would be what it has always been before: the world would value our cheaper legal tender at its bullion value and nothing more; the other money would have its bullion value in the world at large, and the premium which it commanded at home would be measured by the differences in the two bullion values. When the international money had been absorbed, nothing would be left but the domestic silver. One would be abroad, the other at home; one would be used in foreign transactions, the other in domestic; no law of this country could control both; their relations must be determined solely by the bullion values of the two metals, as they would exist on their merits alone.

Trade would, of course, continue to go on, but compared with other nations on the basis of a depreciated currency. The only way in which depreciation could be prevented would be by closing all communications with foreign nations; by giving up our coffee, our tea, with all other necessaries and luxuries which we can only get from abroad; by stopping our communications with other countries; and in these days, when an old Asiatic power, which for centuries shut itself aloof from the world, is trying to become one of the foremost modern nations, we should voluntarily take the isolated position from which our own navy forced Japan forty years ago. This could only be accomplished by sacrificing all that the last hundred years have given us which the engineering profession has made possible through the manufacture of power.

GEORGE S. MORISON.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LADY DILKE.

THE present position of this question, in the United Kingdom, may be described as that of a deadlock, and the prospect of any change in the existing situation cannot be regarded as other than exceedingly remote.

The agitation began in 1867, when household suffrage—so called—was established here as the basis of the franchise. Exceptions were continued at that time in the case of peers—who were otherwise heard in Parliament—aliens, lunatics, idiots, minors, and women. This classification afforded food for much profane jesting at the expense of the last-named on the list and provoked indignant protest, more often than not couched in language the reverse of sober, from women of the more foolish sort. This, indeed, has been the stumbling block in the way of all those questions which may be called "women's questions." Each time that a real and serious grievance has been signalled to public attention, its consideration on its merits has been disturbed and often prevented by the outburst of absurd pretensions which it has, unfortunately, called forth. The more fluent are generally the more foolish, and, whenever sex disqualifications have to be discussed, are wont to embarrass those who value self-control, reticence, right judgment, and weighty speech. Yet I will honestly confess that there is something, to my mind, very pathetic in the wildest statements of those who have been called the "wild women." They have suddenly found a voice for wrongs which have been endured—for the most part in silence—for centuries. "No one knows," said Cardinal Manning to me one day when we were on this subject, "the depth of the sufferings of married women save the doctor and the priest." What wonder that they and their spinster sisters should raise a

strange and conflicting clamor, uncertain as yet whether they most desire to confine men within the narrow border of their own limitations or snatch from them an equal enjoyment of unrestrained liberty.

This determination to ignore any unequal pressure of social obligations and to claim rights precisely similar to those enjoyed by men accompanied even the initial stages of the women's suffrage movement. Even those who could not believe that absolute freedom from all the disabilities of sex was the first condition of an earthly paradise imagined that even the inclusion of a limited number of women would have the effect of remedying certain women's grievances, "the right to vote" being, as I then thought and wrote, "the right without which all others were insecure." We supposed, indeed, that it would be impossible to maintain the exclusion of women if the franchise were to rest on a ratepaying qualification based in theory, if not in fact, on property, and we fondly hoped that the sense of direct responsibility might strengthen in us certain qualities in which our very utterances on the question we had at heart showed the majority of us to be grievously deficient. Yielding to none in our admiration for the courage, force, right thinking, sense of honor, and duty shown by shining examples of English women, we could not shut our eyes to the emotionalism, sentimentality, faddism, and fondness for crooked ways which are the favorite weaknesses of too many amongst our sisters.

At first the advocates of the measure met with a considerable amount of friendly interest, not untinged, perhaps, by a shade of mockery; it was not until the agitation had spread over a considerable section of society—chiefly represented by the professional classes—that opposition was developed and a certain impatience of any discussion of the subject began to show itself, which was the sure sign of gathering hostility. We were curtly told that our claims were "against nature," a male argument paralleled by the assertion "that God did not intend women to learn Greek," with which a brilliant young scholar of his college once met, in my hearing, the eager advocates of a classical education for women.

Meanwhile, a society was formed—the National Society for Women's Suffrage—which started hopefully, encouraged by the fact that the so-called household suffrage actually restored an

analogy which for a long time had ceased to exist between local and imperial suffrage, and by the recollection that in Great Britain women had always enjoyed some forms of this local household suffrage. Early in the Parliament of 1868, under considerations of this order, the municipal franchise was bestowed on women (at the suggestion of Sir Charles Dilke), and Mr. Forster's Education Bill, which had been introduced without School Boards, was altered by the House (also on the motion of Sir Charles Dilke), so as to be administered by the ratepayers, men and women alike. The thin end of the wedge had now, it was supposed, been introduced, and the more eager partisans redoubled their energetic efforts to force on the favorable solution, which they looked upon as certain, by every means in their power.

Other and perhaps more serious grievances from which women especially suffered were taken up concurrently with the suffrage agitation. The zealous and self-sacrificing persistency of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, steadily backed by the increasing numbers of the women suffragists, ensured, in great measure, the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts, which were finally carried through, thanks to the exertions of Mr., now Sir John, Hibbert. To the unwearying efforts of the same lady we were, also, to a large extent, indebted for the success which crowned our endeavors to amend the law in other points in which it was plainly injurious to women and children ; but our triumph in these matters, whilst, on the one hand, it inspired some of the leaders of the movement with fresh courage, caused others to reflect that it was not absolutely necessary to possess a vote in order to obtain a just consideration for our grievances. These asked themselves whether what they had regarded as the most weighty reasons for demanding a great social change had any real existence ; it seemed as if organized and reasonable appeal to public opinion might be a force sufficient to procure such ends as were to be desired, not only in the interest of the individual, the class, or the sex, but in the interest of the state.

Other considerations now arose which pointed in the same direction. It became clear that neither the ultimate resting-place, nor, if regard were had either to logic or justice, the temporary halting-place could be found in a nominal rate-paying franchise. On the principle of this nominal rate-paying franchise, great inroads have been made by the lodger franchise and

again by the service franchise, and the parliamentary franchise had been differentiated by these from the various local franchises. The assimilation of the local and parliamentary franchises had therefore become impossible except by going considerably further in the direction of extension. This has, indeed, recently been done in the case of parish and district council elections, but not in the case either of municipal or county elections.

The parliamentary franchise now consists of freeholders—who may reside anywhere; of certain leaseholders assimilated to freeholders; of separate occupiers of houses and of parliamentary lodgers, who are required to have a separate occupation of their room. This franchise excludes, generally speaking, sons living with their fathers and mothers, and similar cases; except so far as a few, chiefly barristers and clergymen, possess the university franchise as having taken a master's degree and kept their names, by payment, on the books of their college. The service franchise does not, as is often ignorantly supposed, violate the principle of the necessity of a separate occupation by enfranchising servants living with their masters. It is limited to cases where the servants —generally caretakers or coachmen--have a virtual separate occupation. It will be seen, at once, how these franchises, although in most of them no figures of value are named, are meant to have a base of substantiality or respectability. Judge-made law, however, confirmed by an act of 1878, has admitted the poorest of the London poor as occupiers whilst many of the richest people in the country are excluded. The exclusion of these, in the name of the principle of property, whilst—under the present interpretation of Mr. Goschen's act of 1869—the poorest tenement occupiers were included, made the supposed property basis of the franchise ridiculous, and there grew up a sense that a base for the franchise wholly apart from the possession of property or "separate" dwelling-rooms would have to be discovered.

A split next took place amongst the acknowledged leaders of the movement, the able women who had founded and directed the policy of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Careful consideration of the details of proposed schemes for the enfranchisement of widows and unmarried women fulfilling the conditions at present required of men, showed that a good many voters of the most undesirable class would be admitted whilst a great proportion of the best women in the country would be arbi-

trarily excluded from the franchise. This limited bill would, it was felt, apparently make the basis of the franchise more logical and, if it were carried, that fact would be used for years to come as an argument against the admission of married women to the suffrage. It would only be carried—especially in the teeth of opposition certain to be offered to it in the House of Lords—through the strongest pledges being given by its promoters that they or many of its principal movers would rest content with the measure and not attempt to reopen the question. It was further argued that should the bill be carried through the House of Commons without a proviso specially excluding married women, even where the wife and not the husband was the ratepayer, it was certain that such a provision would be put in by the House of Lords, and thus would be created a new and arbitrary distinction.

A second society, bearing the name of the Franchise League, was accordingly formed, and this received the adhesion of many of the more distinguished champions of the original movement—Mrs. Jacob Bright, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy—to whose exertions in the question of the Married Women's Property bill I have already alluded—and Dr. Pankhurst, who had from the first been a capable and consistent advocate of the same practical measure. The centre of their activity is Manchester, but a great amount of work is also done in London and, personally directed by Mrs. Jacob Bright herself, is carried on by the exertions of a large staff of voluntary workers. "Often I have," she says, "as many as fifteen ladies working as unpaid clerks for weeks at my table."

A bill, supported by this society, is now brought in annually by Sir Charles Dilke and backed by Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark and other democratic members of Parliament. It is a measure of adult suffrage, giving the parliamentary and all local franchises to all grown men and women. It also renders women eligible for all elective offices and consequently for membership of Parliament. A certain clause in this bill, which abolishes University representation, is a stumbling block to the officials of the House of Commons, as it appears, at first sight, to be an excrescence and to concern a different subject. On reflection, it will, however, be clear that the effect of a single franchise would necessarily destroy the University constituencies, and, unless their representation were abol-

ished, leave them with the name and forms of representation and without the fact.

What would be the practical results of such a measure in these islands it is not easy to foresee, but it is interesting to note, in this connection, that Sir Charles Dilke's bill became law, last year, in the colony of South Australia, and a general election has been held under it in which, curiously enough, although almost as many women as men voted, no woman became a candidate. In New Zealand adult suffrage has been carried and an election held under it, but women are not there eligible. In both colonies it has been observed that, contrary to expectation, the effect of the admission of great numbers of women to the franchise has been to increase liberal, radical, and labor forces, and to diminish the strength of the church, chapel, and conservative forces.

It may also be noted, in contrast to these results, that not long ago a test canvass was made in a borough in the north of Scotland of all the women who would have been enfranchised by one of the more moderate measures embodied in the bills recently introduced by the Conservative Members of Parliament who now have charge of the schemes of the old National Society. These bills are usually drawn to give women, for parliamentary purposes, the franchise which some of them now enjoy in municipal and county elections. This would exclude the freeholders and other ownership voters and the lodger, and, unless a clause were put in similar to that inserted in the last Local Government act with regard to parish and district elections, would also exclude the married woman ratepayer. On this basis, the canvass in question was made by competent persons, under the strict supervision of the sitting member. It gave results which were practically the same as those which had been obtained by the men's votes cast at the polls in a recent election and showed that as far as the borough in question was concerned, no political change would ensue from the proposed limited extension of the franchise to unmarried women and widows.

On this point it may be as well here to add that this exclusion of the married woman ratepayer from the municipal franchise is but another example of judge-made law and was not intended by the House of Commons when it gave the municipal franchise to women in 1869. The exclusion is not, however, fully operative. For example, women separated from their

husbands and keeping shops are numerous in the great towns; and the overseers put on, without inquiry, nearly all women rate-payers, leaving the political parties to object to them on the ground of marriage. Political parties often shrink from the odium of the inquiries involved, and in cities like Manchester great numbers of women, who are in fact married women, remain on the municipal register and exercise the franchise.

Here we touch on one of the chief objections maintained against proposals thus limited. Such proposals have not only failed to satisfy the more advanced group, now led by the Franchise League, but are also opposed by others, who object to them precisely on the ground that, by leaving married women unenfranchised, they leave unenfranchised those who, in all probability, are the best informed on subjects of national importance.

In 1889, attention was drawn to this point by an "Appeal against Female Suffrage," which appeared in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century* and was signed by many women of mark and distinction. They did full justice to the excellent services rendered to the State by women in various branches of domestic policy, such as fall to the lot of guardians, of members of school boards, etc., and then went on to say that "when it comes to questions of foreign or colonial policy or of grave constitutional change, then we maintain that the necessary and normal experience of women—generally speaking and in the mass—does not and never can provide them with such materials for sound judgment as are open to men." To say that what never has been never can be was, as I wrote at the time—in an article called "The Next Extension of the Franchise," which appeared in the *Universal Review*—a bold assertion even for a chorus of a hundred ladies. There was, however, no doubt that their statement, if limited to our present experience, was absolutely correct, and since, whatever may be the future organization of labor, there will probably always be some labor which suits men best, we may admit the fact that women in the mass are not likely to be in possession of experience equally valuable in the formation of a sound judgment on certain questions, where the habitual employment of men in civil and military capacities brings them, in the natural course of things, the fullest possible materials for opinion and decision. That this is so, at the present day, is proved not only by the extreme poverty of the materials

(with rare exceptions), which we observe in the public utterances of women on subjects of this class, but by the deterioration in width of interest, if not in breadth and sanity of judgment, in the widows of men who were of great eminence and distinction. The death of the husband often reveals the source whence "materials for judgment" were drawn. Of a friend of my own, a woman of extraordinary grasp and power, the wife of one of the most distinguished men of our day, we used to say, "She is the better man of the two." But, when he was gone, we all felt, in her, a strange loss of weight and power, which she herself realized, saying to me, "It is not only the loss of my life companion; it is the loss of half my brain and the richest source of my intellectual life. I can no longer keep my place in the current of things, since I am cut off by his death from so much knowledge that could only be mine through him."

The class of facts, from which my friend found herself cut off, were exactly those which enable women to judge soundly and vote wisely on "questions of foreign or colonial policy, or of grave constitutional importance," and at present only a limited class have within their reach even vicarious knowledge. This consideration explains the widespread dissatisfaction with which many view the measures which have been pressed so persistently by the National Society on the House of Commons and the public for some time past. It is felt that they exclude exactly that class which, with rare exceptions, possesses "materials for a sound judgment" of political questions. This policy—generally defended as prudent—has undoubtedly tended to alienate many of the oldest supporters of women's suffrage and their alienation has not, as far as I can see, been compensated by any great accession of fresh strength from other quarters. The same names as have been long familiar to the observer continue to occupy the same positions of prominence both in the subscription lists of the National Society and in the reports of its public meetings. One of their chief representatives has, however, recently written in a most hopeful strain of the immediate future, basing her prognostics on the good effect produced by the tranquil exercise of the vote by women in local elections; on their increasing political activity, and, thirdly, on the encouraging example lately set by our colonies. She does not, though, take note of the fact that the colonies, having invariably rejected all limited measures, finally

carried, in the two instances to which allusion has already been made, a bill for adult suffrage.

At home I think it must be admitted that there is no strong popular desire for a great extension of the franchise, such as might give the wider measure, approved by the Franchise League and adopted by South Australia, even a chance of serious consideration. Until such a popular wave of feeling arises in the country it seems unlikely that the question will be touched. We have to deal not only with the habitual conservatism of the English mind, but with the fact that the various opponents of the more limited measures seem strong enough at present to prevent them from becoming law, whilst the advocates of adult franchise, on the other hand, are not within measurable distance of the attainment of their aims—aims which are regarded as being at this moment outside the sphere of practical politics. I return, therefore, to the assertion with which I set out at the beginning of this article, and declare that the present situation as regards women's suffrage in Great Britain and Ireland is simply a deadlock.

We seem, indeed, to be so far from any practical solution, that it may appear foolish even to hazard a conjecture as to the future prospects of the question. There are, nevertheless, strange turns in the affairs of men, and should popular sentiment—irritated by the ludicrous anomalies of our franchise—declare itself, at some no very distant date, in favor of manhood suffrage, it may be that the partisans of women's suffrage would find themselves, in an unexpected way, the masters of the situation. Those who are, at present, divided by the details of the measure which they have at heart would coalesce in the common cause and would probably find themselves powerful enough to bar the passage of any bill in favor of manhood suffrage, except on their own terms. Those terms would be, of course, dictated by the progressive and democratic body which calls itself "The Franchise League." We might, in short, suddenly find ourselves—whether married or single—not only free to exercise the parliamentary and local franchises, but also eligible for all elective offices and consequently free from any legal bar to a seat in the House of Commons.

EMILIA F. S. DILKE.

MEDICAL EXPERTS AND THE HOMICIDE.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

UNDER existing conditions, expert testimony in criminal trials is to be regarded, according to the point of view, as a farce or a tragedy. The expert witness presents us the humiliating spectacle of the alleged scientist turned advocate, mountebank, and trickster. He appears as a professed partisan—for hire. He hides his true opinions behind equivocal or evasive answers —for a consideration. He expresses by implication views he does not really hold—that he may seem to earn his fee. In a word, he sacrifices his mistress Science at the shrine of Mammon.

At all events, he is openly accused of all of this, and much more in kind. He is railed at, scoffed at, jeered. The most charitable of popular opinions as to his character seems to be that which regards him as an unmitigated joke. And meantime he is placed in such a position that it is impossible for him to defend himself against these allegations. He may be a true scientist, learned, honest, conscientious, but under existing methods he cannot prove that he is such. The populace will judge him by his company, and, as matters stand, some portions of his company are pretty certain to be bad. Whatever his real character, the fate of poor Tray awaits him.

The spirit of the law is said to be common sense. But its letter has certainly permitted a wide departure from this alleged standard. The attempt to add to the communal weal by utilizing the knowledge of experts has culminated in something not far removed from total failure. What should be a most serious function has passed into a joke; and by common consent the joke has gone far enough. So it chances that in many different directions the entire subject of expert testimony is under discussion. The desirability of changes in existing laws bearing on

the matter is admitted. The only question at issue concerns the nature of these changes. Such being the case, a common-sense discussion of the subject seems in order; and it is this that I mean to attempt. Viewed in its entirety (and including, so to speak, its obverse side), the subject seems to me to present three distinct questions for consideration, as follows:

I. How shall the medical expert be secured?

II. How shall his services be utilized?

III. What shall be done with the insane law-breaker?

I shall consider each of these phases in some detail. To give tangibility to my suggestions, I shall refer specifically to the laws of the State of New York. But if these suggestions really have the warrant of common sense, their applicability will not be restricted by State boundaries. The general bearings of the subject are the same everywhere, and the needs of New York are, details aside, the needs also of Maine, Iowa, or California.

I.

The famous rule for baking a fish begins by directing one to secure the fish. Our criminal laws are not so logical in the matter of expert testimony. They assume the medical expert, but they do not define him. He must, of course, be "competent," but we are given no sufficient official test of his competency. To be sure, he is put through all manner of verbal paces before the jury in the matter of alleged qualifications. He has studied in Europe under this and that eminent teacher; he has read such and such books, and doubtless written a few others himself; he is consulting physician to sundry hospitals and asylums, and so on *ad nauseam*. But while all this may be supposed to have a certain effect upon the jury, it by no means determines the actual status of the pretended expert, who may, despite all this verbiage, be commonly recognized by his professional brethren as a blatant impostor. Indeed, under existing methods it is an open secret that the alleged expert is not infrequently selected rather because of his imposing "presence" or his known capacity to keep his wits about him under the fire of cross examination, than because of his actual knowledge.

Such being the case, common sense suggests the desirability of a change in existing methods. The law should at least make the effort to discriminate between the real and the pseudo-expert.

But how may this be done? What standard should be adopted by which to put the matter to a rational test?

Before making specific suggestions it must be recalled that experts, as usually consulted in criminal cases, are of two classes. The one class comprises chemists and pathologists, who are asked to make chemical or microscopical examination of bodies or parts of bodies of persons dying under suspicious circumstances, with a view to determine the cause of death. The other class comprises alienists, who are asked to determine a question of fact as to the mental condition of an accused person. It is clear that quite different kinds of technical knowledge are required by the members of these two classes of experts. It is equally clear that mere average medical knowledge does not supply proper qualifications for either class. A physician may have the best professional training and the highest standing in his profession, and yet be utterly incapable of making a thorough microscopical or chemical examination, or of forming a really competent judgment as to the mental condition of an obscure case of alleged insanity. Clearly, then, a man should not be permitted to qualify as an expert simply because he has good professional standing as a physician. He must have such standing, but he must also have something more.

Up to this point there is no difference of opinion among those competent to judge. But now come difficulties. Just what qualifications shall be considered sufficient, and by whom shall these be adjudged? These questions have been variously answered. It has been suggested, for example, that the various State medical societies shall select from among their members some names to be presented to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, who shall appoint experts from this list. The plan is not without its good features; yet, on the whole, it can hardly commend itself to anyone who views the field widely. Membership in these medical organizations does not in itself imply special qualifications of the kind demanded, and there is an unfortunate but quite undeniable tendency of our medical societies to fashion after political machine methods, so that it is by no means certain that selections from their midst would always be made with that freedom from prejudice which is required. Indeed, this objection may be urged against any appointive power whatever that is not placed under very circumspect restrictions.

Fortunately, however, it is possible to suggest a far more promising method of selection—a method not open to the charge of being a crude and radical departure from precedent. The mention of a single phrase will suffice to clear the atmosphere about this question wondrously. That phrase is Civil Service Reform. Put the position of medical expert on some such basis as the medical positions in our State hospitals for the insane have been upon for some years, and a host of difficulties disappears. No one can secure a position as physician in our State hospitals who has not shown certain qualifications as to education, general and special, and moral standing in the community; and in addition passed an examination prepared especially to test his particular qualifications for the peculiar work on which he desires to enter. The system has worked admirably, removing our hospital appointments from the domain of politics, and insuring competent men for the positions, instead of the political heelers who secure these places as political spoils in some other States.

Suppose then, that in order to qualify for the position of medical expert the physician must make application to a properly organized Civil Service Board, which shall first determine his eligibility to take the examination, and subsequently test his special knowledge by actual examination. Then and not otherwise, so far as I can judge, should we be provided with a list of experts who are really possessed of qualifications such as the law contemplates.

The exact prerequisites to eligibility would, of course, be determined by the Civil Service Board, as also the exact method of examination. These need not, therefore, be dwelt on at length here. Common sense would suggest, however, that the preliminary qualifications should include (in addition to thorough special education), in the case of the chemist and pathologist, practical working experience in connection with some recognized laboratory; and in case of the alienist, actual experience as a resident physician in an asylum for the insane for a period of not less than three years. These restrictions alone would bar out from eligibility for examination even a large proportion of the pseudo-experts who have made expert testimony a jest and a reproach.

As to the civil service examination itself, the second step necessary to qualification as an expert, it should, I think, be in

part at least verbal, enabling the examiners to judge of the judicial temperament of the applicant, as well as of his special knowledge, one of these points being quite as important as the other, but only one being brought out in a written examination. But, as I said before, these are details for the Commission to determine. The province of legislation is to establish the Civil Service Commission, and my present purpose looks to legislation only.

I am perfectly aware that these suggestions will not meet the approval of many alleged experts who have been accustomed to secure from $100 to $300 or perhaps more per day, sometimes for many days or even weeks together, for services based on fictitious pretensions, and who would at once be barred out from these opportunities by such a law. But I doubt whether any truly unprejudiced person, qualified to judge, will dispute that to put the medical expert on some such tangible basis as to qualifications as I have just proposed would be a long step in advance of present methods. Space will not permit me to defend the thesis at length; but I am convinced, after very full and extended consideration of the subject in all its phases, that common sense sanctions the plan proposed. Moreover, it is a plan clearly capable of being acted on; whereas some of the schemes proposed (including one suggested last year by a committee of a State medical society) have been declared unconstitutional, and hence are foredoomed to failure.

II.

But assuming now, for the sake of argument, that our properly qualified expert has displaced the pseudo-expert, how are we to avail ourselves of his services? Our expert is at hand; what shall we do with him? Shall we have him called to the witness stand to mystify the jury with his technical learning? have him describe in detail the technique of all the scientific manœuvres he has followed in dealing with the case? ask him to answer categorically a question an hour long which he himself has framed with such delicate shadings of tenuous meaning as to appear to say by implication what he does not wish to say clearly? and shall we then sit by and listen with delight to the sword-play of technical words between him and the opposing counsel? No, a thousand times no! If common sense is to be our arbiter, we shall do none of these things.

And why not? Because with all due respect to existing laws, common sense does not recognize the medical expert as a witness in the ordinary sense, to be subjected to the methods which are used in dealing with the ordinary witness. The ordinary witness is a usually prejudiced observer of some matter of fact in relation to the alleged crime. The fact that he is prejudiced does not in any way bar him from appearing. He is placed before the jury to enlighten them as to the facts of his observation. He is sworn to tell the truth, but he is very generally understood to be a partisan of one side or the other, and his intention to conceal part of his knowledge, or evade telling it if he can, is perfectly understood. Hence the examination and cross-examination, the badgering and brow-beating, the quarrelling and quibbling of counsel.

But what relation has all this to the case of the medical expert? His position is essentially that of a judge or juror. He must be absolutely unprejudiced, else he is no true expert. He has presented to him for determination certain matters concerning a subject of which he has unusual knowledge. Having reached an opinion concerning them, he desires nothing but to present that opinion fully and freely and, so to speak, impersonally. In the case of the chemical expert, he may never have seen or heard the name of the alleged victim or the accused criminal, or anyone else having direct connection with the case. Often he need not even know the bearings of his facts in their relation to the criminality or otherwise of any individual. The case as he sees it is an impersonal scientific problem. Having tested this problem to the best of his ability, and recorded his results, he has no further interest in it, as an expert.

Is there any reason why this scientific expert should be asked to take the witness stand and turn the court-room into an experimental laboratory? Is there any reason why he should spend hours holding technical discussions there, in terms which the jury cannot possibly comprehend? Is it probable that anything the lawyers can say will alter his opinion as to what chemical he found or did not find in the "exhibit"? In short, will any useful purpose whatever have been subserved that could not be secured by merely presenting the result of the finding, in the form of a sworn statement, delivered to the trial judge, and by him submitted to the jury?

What, then, would common sense suggest as the *modus operandi* of utilizing the knowledge of the chemical or pathological expert in a specific case? The question is not difficult. From the list of qualified experts, as provided to the court by the Civil Service Board, a suitable number (perhaps three) should be selected to act as a commission, and subject the "exhibits," furnished usually by the coroner, to examination or analysis. Having reached a decision, a sworn statement is made by the commission to the proper authorities; and expert knowledge has then, as a rule, done all it can toward promoting those communal interests which in legal phraseology are spoken of as the "ends of justice."

The commission here referred to should be named by a judge, and the finding should be delivered to the judge, not directly to the district attorney.

The cases in which an expert alienist may aid the law are somewhat different in character from those just considered. Here a particular individual stands accused of a crime, and the alienist must, of course, consider the individual; but his position in this regard is not different from that of judge and jury. As before, the experts should serve in the capacity of a judicial commission, not as witnesses in the ordinary sense. Appointment should, of course, be made by the judge. The commission should be empowered to summon witnesses, using all legitimate means to get at the facts. Arrived at a decision, they should make a sworn statement to the court and be discharged. In an exceptional case, the spokesman of either commission might be called to the witness stand, to be further questioned by the court, for its own enlightenment or that of the jury; and questions submitted by the counsel might, at the judge's option, be asked by him; but in no case should any direct question from either counsel be allowed, which might seem to indicate that the commission is acting for either side, or is anything other than an absolutely impartial body, called to aid in the determination of a matter of scientific fact. That the commission is called by the State and paid by the State, no more militates against its impartiality than do the same conditions militate against the impartiality of judge and petit jury. The commission, like judge and jury, is as much for as against the accused; in short, it is altogether divorced from partisanship of any kind.

The plan here proposed is substantially that in use in Germany. In contrast with current American methods—by which experts are put on the witness stand to play the part of Kilkenny cats—it may seem a very wide departure. Yet a very trifling alteration of the existing law would suffice to make it operative. In fact, surprising as it may seem to any one not familiar with our existing laws, it is nevertheless true that a change of no more than three words in a single section of our criminal code would accomplish all that is here suggested; a fact which goes to show that our laws sometimes have closer affinity with common sense than they are credited with having. Chapter V., Section 658, of the Code reads as follows: "When a defendant pleads insanity, as prescribed in Section 336, the court in which the indictment is pending, instead of proceeding with the trial of the indictment *may* [shall] appoint a commission of not more than three *disinterested persons* [qualified experts] to examine him, and report to the court as to his sanity at the time of commission of the crime," etc. After specifying the method of procedure for the commission, the section provides that, "If the commission find the defendant insane, the trial or judgment must be suspended until he becomes sane," etc.

Here, plainly enough, the substitution of the three words I have introduced in brackets for those I have italicised would effect all the changes suggested above as desirable in connection with the alleged insane criminal and the testimony of the alienist (the status of "qualified experts" having been previously defined). Then we should be spared the humiliating exhibitions by pseudo-experts to which we have so often been subjected, and at the same time we should escape the present absurd practice of asking the ordinary juror to determine a question of mental responsibility, which, in the nature of the case, he cannot be competent to determine wisely.

It is true that the opportunity would still be open, for the defence in a case in which the commission reported the accused sane, to introduce experts on the witness stand in contradiction of this finding.

But the jury would usually have no difficulty in deciding between the unprejudiced verdict of the one set of official experts and the biased testimony of the alleged experts who appeared as partisans under pay of the defendant.

III.

The phrase "insanity dodge" has passed into current speech, voicing a prevalent impression, as indicating that the plea of insanity is often made as a mere subterfuge in murder cases. Doubtless this does sometimes occur, but far less frequently than is imagined. It much more often happens that an insane homicide is convicted of murder than that a sane homicide is acquitted on the ground of insanity. Dr. Henry E. Allison, Medical Superintendent of the Matteawan State Hospital (New York's official asylum for insane criminals), informs me that there are at present confined in that institution more than seventeen per cent. of all the life convicts in the State; and this takes no note of about ten per cent. more who were formerly there, but, having become harmless through dementia, have been pardoned and removed to other asylums. None of these, it will be understood, was recognized as insane until after conviction of the crime of murder, yet many of them were unquestionably insane at the time of conviction.

The actual number of these insane life convicts confined at Matteawan at present is forty-one. But in addition to these murderers, there are forty more homicides who are classed as "court cases," having been sent to the asylum without trial, under the provision of the law which I quoted in the previous section, or another provision of similar import not necessary to be specified here. All these offenders are undoubtedly insane, else they would not be retained at Matteawan. More than that, nearly all of them are chronic and incurable cases. Thus it appears—and the computation is certainly a startling one—that of the homicides confined for life in the State of New York, more than forty per cent. have been officially and correctly adjudged insane. When it is added that, in addition to all these actual homicides, there are at Matteawan sixty-seven cases charged with assault in the first degree, which is an attempted homicide (and not logically different from actual homicide, even though legally distinct) something like a correct idea may be formed of the relationship between insanity and homicide.

In the light of these statistics, the question of the disposal of the insane homicide assumes striking importance. What shall we do with him? Fortunately a clew is again furnished us here

by the provisions of the existing Code of Criminal Procedure, Section 659 of which reads as follows: "If the commission [appointed to inquire into the mental condition of a person under indictment] find the defendant insane, the trial or judgment must be suspended, until he becomes sane; and the court, *if it deem his discharge dangerous to the public,* must order that he be, in the meantime, committed by the sheriff to *a lunatic asylum,* and that *upon his becoming sane* he be re-delivered by the superintendent of the asylum to the sheriff."

Here the italics, of course, are mine. They are introduced to indicate points concerning which modification of the law is desirable. The phrase, "if it deem his discharge dangerous to the public," should simply be omitted: the fact that the insane person is under indictment has proved that he *is* "dangerous to the public," so that point need not be further considered (for the defence of insanity will seldom be advanced unless the criminal act *de facto* is admitted). Secondly, the phrase "a lunatic asylum" is not sufficiently distinctive: officially there is no such institution as that in the State of New York to-day, the aforetime "lunatic asylums" having become officially "hospitals for the insane." But that quibble aside, there is one particular "hospital" to which the insane delinquent should be sent, and one only; that being, of course, a hospital especially provided for insane criminals, such as that at Matteawan, already referred to. Here he must remain until he "becomes sane," which means, in the case of the homicide, usually as long as he lives: for with rare exceptions the insane person who commits a homicide is the victim of chronic delusional insanity, of an incurable type.

Some provision must, however, be made for the few residual cases in which recovery may take place; and it has been suggested to me by Dr. Allison himself that the superintendent of the asylum should not be asked to take the sole responsibility of determining the condition of such cases. It is always well that responsibility of this grade should be divided, for the good of all concerned. To this end, a clause might be appended to the revised section to the effect that whenever a "court case" of the kind under discussion shall appear to the superintendent to have recovered his sanity, the court shall be notified, and shall appoint a commission, from the list of eligible experts, to confer

with the superintendent, and examine the patient, and render to the court a final decision in the matter.

With these slight emendations, which deal with technicalities rather than with essentials, the Criminal Code would make satisfactory provision for the vast majority of insane offenders against the law. A strong feature of this plan, not hitherto referred to, is that it provides for the possible contingency of a case in which an accused person shams insanity successfully, deceiving the expert commission. In such a case the dissembler will, of course, under the law as proposed, be sent to the asylum for criminals, where his true condition is sure to be revealed presently, and as the indictment against him is still pending, he can without further ado be returned to the court, and "dealt with according to law," it being within the province of the court, if it so elect, when pronouncing sentence, to take into consideration the prisoner's conduct in shamming insanity. The case of the dissembler, therefore, presents no difficulties. A case in which the commission could not reach a unanimous agreement might be treated in the same way.

There remains to be considered, however, the highly exceptional yet possible case of the offender who has been adjudged sane and responsible by the preliminary commission of experts, yet subsequently, when brought to trial, has been acquitted by the jury on the ground of insanity. Such a condition of things would be impossible if the verdict of the commission were made final; but it is said that this would be a violation of the "constitutional rights" of the accused. If such be really the case (and here of course common sense must bow to authority), then there is no practicable way of guarding against a possible miscarriage of justice. A slight change of the present law would make it obligatory to send the person thus acquitted to the hospital for insane criminals, but if he were not really insane he could not be retained there; and as *ex hypothesi* he has already been declared sane by the expert commission (who surely are far more likely to be right than the jury) his early discharge from the asylum would in many cases follow as a matter of course.

The suggestion has, indeed, been made that under such circumstances a sentence of determinate length should be pronounced (a minimum of ten years and a maximum of twenty has been mentioned where homicide is the offence). But aside from the

fact that such a provision must be of doubtful constitutionality, I have high authority, in addition to my own opinion, for asserting that it would be illogical and calculated rather to defeat than to promote the ends it aims at. It would be illogical, because it would ostensibly immure an innocent (*i. e.*, acquitted) person on account of his mental abnormality solely, yet would keep him confined at least ten years even were he to completely recover long before the expiration of that time. It would sometimes defeat the end it aimed at, because in some cases the jury might be right, the accused person being actually a homicidal lunatic, and remaining such at the close of the maximum period of sentence; at which time, nevertheless, it would be obligatory to release him. More than one homicide at the Matteawan Hospital has been in confinement over twenty years, yet is still a dangerous lunatic; indeed, as already stated, most insane homicides are incurable, and are likely to continue dangerous as long as they live.

All things considered, then, it seems impossible to avoid the consequences of an occasional mistaken verdict—unless, indeed, that Utopian day shall come when we are wise enough to pronounce indeterminate sentence on all violators of the law, regardless of their mental condition. But we are at least justified in hoping, I believe, that the instances would be very exceptional and rare in which, on the one hand, a commission of experts would fail to recognize actual insanity; or, on the other hand, in which a jury would be seized with an uncontrollable impulse to set its judgment against that of the commission as to this technical point. The very exceptional instances in which the latter did occur must be set down as illustrations of imperfections inherent in the jury system; they cannot properly be charged against the method of utilizing expert knowledge above proposed.

IV.

In conclusion, let me briefly recapitulate the essence of the foregoing suggestions. In attempting to determine how we shall get our medical expert, I have urged that the real expert should be sifted from the pseudo-expert by the processes of searching civil service regulations. As to the proper function of the expert, once he is secured, I have urged that he should act as an advisory commissioner or referee, not as a witness under fire before

the jury. In the third place, I have urged that the insane delinquent should be confined in an asylum especially provided for insane criminals, for a period determinate only upon his complete restoration to mental health.

I have shown that in the State of New York a very trifling change of the existing Criminal Code (in substance, the making mandatory of provisions that now are optional) would effect these ends, and in the great majority of cases tend to promote the communal interests. The laws of most other States are not very different and could with equal ease be adapted to the proposed forms of procedure.

I have made my suggestions specific because I wish them to be entirely practical. That the plan I have outlined is not ideal I am fully aware. Had I chosen, I could easily have made it much more nearly so, in a single sentence, by saying: Let every violator of the laws be visited with an indeterminate sentence, regardless of the mental condition of the individual. But I am far too little of a visionary not to recognize the utter inutility of such a suggestion as this at the present stage of our social evolution. We shall come to it some day, of course—some day when the old puritanical "eye for eye" dogma, which still so largely informs the law, has been outgrown. That may happen fifty or a hundred years from now. But meantime, waiving all such twentieth-century doctrines, I offer the above suggestions to persons interested in medical jurisprudence everywhere, and particularly to legislators, as common-sense suggestions, capable of being made practicable at once—ideals for the future, practicality for the present. Half a loaf is better than no bread.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

THE CUBA OF THE FAR EAST.

BY THE HON. JOHN BARRETT, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

CUBA has a remarkable counterpart in the Asian-Pacific. The Philippine Islands, now the scene of rebellion, bear a striking resemblance to that home of revolution in the Atlantic. Both are Spanish possessions. Cuba is the richest island in the West Indies; the Philippines are the most resourceful of the East Indies. They lie respectively to the southeast of the continents of North America and Asia, with which they maintain close commercial relations. Both are located in the tropical zone and both have like products. After the famous Manila hemp, the greatest wealth of the Philippines is in sugar, as is that of Cuba. While Cuban tobacco in the shape of fragrant Havanas rules the market of the new world, the Manila cigars supply the demand of the old world. The United States buys the major portion of Cuba's exports and a goodly portion of those of the Philippines. Both possess inexhaustible and varied resources, which at present are only partially developed.

Cuba in her proximity to the United States will always be closely studied in America, but the Philippines are deserving of more attention than they now receive. The lack of general knowledge in America regarding this Asiatic group is to be regretted when we consider that, according to the best authorities, it forms the richest archipelago in the world. Were a person skeptical concerning this assertion, a visit to its ports and inland territory, and a cruise through the labyrinth of large and small islands, would remove all doubts. No less than 1,900 islands constitute this wonderful dependency of Spain.

A few figures will assist in giving an accurate idea of the Philippines. The area of the entire group nearly equals that of California or Japan, being variously estimated from 120,000 to

160,000 square miles. The principal island, Luzon, is approximately equal in area to Illinois, or about 56,000 square miles. The total population is slightly in excess of that of New York State, and now numbers 7,000,000. In this connection it can be noted that Luzon alone exceeds Cuba in area by 14,000 square miles, and has over double the population. The second largest island is Mindanao. This is to the south, and occupies nearly the same area as West Virginia, or 24,000 square miles.

The Philippines hold a prominent position on the map of the Far East. Even a glance attests this contention. Manila, the capital, is easy of access from Hong Kong. Three days' steaming by a regular line of cargo carriers over a 600 miles route brings one to the home of tobacco and typhoons. Communication with Singapore is intermittent and usually by the way of Saranak and British North Borneo, over a 1,400 miles course. If the traveler does not meet a typhoon, which was my unlucky experience, he will find the sea trip to Manila agreeable. But it must be remembered—and will be well remembered if one is in the least squeamish or unnerved by tempestuous seas—that the Philippines are the birthplace, cradle, and nursery of typhoons of every description. Nor is that all. Nature in showering riches unnumbered upon Luzon did not forget to provide her with an ever-ready supply of earthquakes which are brought out to startle new comers with suddenness and frequency. Japan is free from earthquakes compared to the Philippines. A man may be conscious of a slight motion in Yokohama, but in Manila his very bones seem to rattle. In Japan you are gently swayed; in Luzon you are racked. San Francisco, which enjoys a slight tremor now and then, would think that her foundations were of dynamite if she experienced one of the dozen shocks Manila has known in the last three decades. Indeed, the study of earthquakes past and present is a worthy excuse for visiting the Philippines. No less an authority than Sir John Bowring says, in describing these seismic effects: "They have overturned mountains; they have filled up valleys, they have desolated extensive plains; they have opened passages from the sea into the interior, and from the lake into the sea."

Are they not, then, a fit land for rebellion and insurrection? The spirits of air and earth alike nurture unrest. As I see again, as it were, those cavernous cracks in cathedrals and walls, those

tottering spires and towers, those mountains where Pelion has veritably been piled on Ossa, insurrection seems the logical result of the surroundings and associations.

Romance is closely woven in the annals of the Philippines. Hither came the Spanish galleon, that craft whose name alone suggests adventure. From here it sailed away sunk to the gunwales with golden profits and tribute. Those were the times when the mariner sailed from Spain a pauper and returned a prince, when the kings and queens of Europe dismissed their jesters and sat enthralled by the stories of inexhaustible riches which were told.

It was the great Magellan that discovered the Philippines in 1520, and raised there the colors of King Charles I. of Spain. They were the scene of his triumph and of his death. Wounded while fighting with the natives in the island of Zebu, he never lived to receive the blessings and honors of the King who had despatched him on his historic sail around the world.

An inexhaustible source of enrichment to Spain, this colony has never been a source of comfort except during short periods of its history. In the early days the Chinese, who had traded with the islands for unknown ages, were loath to give way to the Spaniards, and strove to exterminate the invaders. Legaspi, the founder of Manila, placated them for the time being, but later they swept down from the north with vast piratical fleets, manned by tens of thousands, unheralded and unexpected, only to return when they had harassed the strangers to their satisfaction, and nearly expelled them from the islands. Dr. Von Moellendorff, the German Consul at Manila, has in his possession a Chinese publication written in the 13th century, which graphically describes the land, people, principal places and resources of the islands, and shows the customs and habits of the natives to have been much the same then as now.

The Dutch, too, were envious of Spain's conquest, and on one occasion a desperate naval battle was fought to defend Manila from their attack. When England and Spain were at war in the middle of the last century Manila was captured by the British and occupied for two years. Spain promised a ransom of $5,000,000, and the city was evacuated, but through the conditions prevailing in both Europe and the Orient England did not exact payment. The enthusiastic British advocate of colonial

expansion now looks at this land of incalculable wealth and berates the statesmen of those days for surrendering such a prize. If the bystander desires to further irritate him he will indulge in mild references to the time when Java also was a British possession.

Were I asked to name the chief characteristic of the Philippine Islands—after earthquakes and typhoons—I would at once suggest the power and hold of the ecclesiastics. This makes the first and last impression on the visitor; it is before him wherever he travels; it visibly predominates in the government and even extends into commerce; it is an all-controlling influence in the Philippine group. If at first one is prejudiced against it the feeling in a measure vanishes and even turns into admiration.

The church and state are practically one, though nominally not identical. If there is evil in this ecclesiastic sway it is assuredly more than counterbalanced by the good it accomplishes for the natives or common people. The majority appear happy and content. The restless, uneasy class, among whom the present insurrection has its followers, are the half-castes(Mestizos), descended from Chinese fathers and native mothers, who represent a small proportion of the entire population, though strong enough to organize a rebellion. They care little for either church or state.

A marked result of the influence of the church is that the inhabitants of the Philippines are Christian—a condition which stands out in decided contrast to that of other lands of Asia. From one end of Luzon to the other, few, if any, Pagan temples can be seen lifting their pagodas and pinnacles to the sky.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Philippines are the home of barbaric, uncivilized tribes. Manila was the seat of colleges, observatories, and technical schools before Chicago was founded; roads to all points of the compass had been constructed by the friars in Luzon before there was a paved street in the vicinity of the site of Franklin Square in New York City; and devoted padres had carried the gospel to the heart of the tropical jungle before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock.

Except in wild portions of the interior and in distant unexploited islands a considerable proportion of the inhabitants can read and write. Spanish is the language of the more advanced

classes, while a "pidgin" Spanish is spoken by the uneducated. There is no one native tongue, but a variety of dialects, of which the principal are the Tagalese and Visayan. The schools are exclusively in the hands of the church, and appear to be well conducted. In Manila are colleges with advanced curriculums and modern facilities. Of the several millions of people in Luzon, not over half a million are beyond the absolute control of the priests, whose efforts to preserve order are so respected that lawlessness is seldom displayed within the sphere of their influence. Numbering nearly 3,000, they include many men of great ability, noble character, and wide knowledge; the majority are faithful to their vows, and the few who backslide are usually of mixed blood, or natives.

The ecclesiastics of the Philippines represent the leading orders. The Augustinians, who were the pioneers, were closely followed by the Franciscans, after whom in turn came the Dominican Fathers, the Religious Devotees, the Society of Jesus and the Capuchins. With headquarters in Manila, they have divided up in some remarkable but satisfactory way the provinces and villages, so that their work goes on with little friction. They, at least, have demonstrated that missionary work can succeed among Asiatics.

Looking more closely at the natives, we find them gentle, polite, and hospitable. They are not ambitious beyond owning a little home and having sufficient rice for the family. Thirty-five dollars will provide a man with abundant food and clothing for a year. Although inclined to be lazy, as are all tropical people, they are exceedingly fond of amusements. Every village has its band, and on the slightest provocation the band will play and the dancers gather. Let some one cry out, however, that a cock-fight is to take place, and the music and dancing will stop as suddenly as they began. The women, more than the men, are the supporters of the family, and, as in Siam and the Malay States, they do most of the marketing and petty trading. Still more to their credit, be it recorded that they have strict regard for family ties.

Cock-fighting might be called the national sport, as bull-fighting is in Madrid. Not a town is without a cock-pit. In Manila thousands witness the contests. The noise and excitement exceed the confusion of an American baseball game when

the home team scores a winning run in the last inning. The right to have, or rent, cock pits is sold to the highest bidder and the state revenue from this source amounts to several hundred thousand dollars a year.

The government of the Philippines reposes in a Governor-General, who is appointed by the Sovereign of Spain. He resides in Manila and is assisted by a Council of State. The islands, with separate governors, are divided into provinces, which are subdivided into districts, communes, and parishes, with appropriate officials. There is also a Council of State for the Philippines, which sits in Madrid and advises the Minister of Colonies. The present Governor-General is Blanco y Erenas, a man of considerable experience and high standing in Spanish official circles. The regular military force does not much exceed 10,000 men, of which number about one-third are native infantry. Now that a rebellion has broken out, the number of troops is being augmented by every steamer that arrives. A fleet of small gunboats and two or three cruisers make Manila their headquarters, but it is plain that the city is not protected with reference to defence against a foreign power. It could be easily razed to the ground by a half dozen modern gunboats—but that is true of most of our American seaports. The state, army and navy officials one meets in Manila are an agreeable set of men, particularly the latter. The police force of the Philippines is worthy of special mention. It is better than would be expected. The rank and file is composed of natives, but the officers belong to the army. Strict discipline is maintained and few complaints are registered on account of neglect of duty.

In material wealth the Philippines are lavishly blessed. Hemp, sugar, and tobacco are three products that bring enormous profits, and coffee bids fair to soon rival them. In 1894 the hemp marketed was valued in gold at $7,693,860; sugar, $5,816,848; tobacco, $1,674,094. The total foreign trade this year will probably exceed $35,000,000. There is a heavy tax on imports, which, with other customs' dues, direct taxes, monopolies, and lotteries, bring in an annual revenue of $8,000,000, or about one-fourth of the valuation of the foreign commerce.

The prodigality of nature impresses the traveller wherever he journeys. In the forest he sees ebony, logwood, iron wood, sapan wood, gum trees, and cedar; between the forests and the gardens

the fruiting trees, orange, mango, tamarind, guava, and cocoanut; in the cultivated area, sugar cane, tobacco, rice, hemp, coffee, cotton, bananas, vanilla, cassia, ginger, pepper, indigo, cocoa, pine apples, wheat, and corn. The minerals include gold, copper, iron, coal, quicksilver, sulphur, and saltpetre. From the sea, mother of pearl, coral, tortoise shell, and amber are derived. And these are by no means the only resources—they are nothing more than a casual list noted down as each plant or product came under my observation. The animal kingdom keeps pace with the vegetable and mineral. To say nothing of the water buffalo, the most useful beast in the tropics, goats, sheep, swine, and the tough little ponies, which take part in the domestic life of the people, the jungle swarms with fauna of such variety that the naturalist finds here a paradise. Snakes and lizards, spiders and ants, tarantulas and crocodiles abound. Apparently strange to relate, there are few beasts of prey, if any, worthy of note—but this is not strange when it is remembered that the Philippines are islands far distant from the main land. The flora of the country is no less rich than the fauna.

The physical conformation of Luzon is conducive to extensive cultivation and large population. The high mountain range in the interior gradually lowers toward the sea, making beautiful valleys, rolling hills, upland and lowland, forest and field, drained with numerous rivers and dotted here and there with lakes. The coast line is irregular, and bays and bayous extend far inland.

Before saying good-bye to the Philippines we must take a final glance at Manila—one of the great cities of the Far East, concerning which the world at large knows so little. With a population of 300,000, it is growing more rapidly than many of our own cities. It is a combination of the ancient and the modern. The first impression is that of a mediæval town, but a closer inspection discloses railroads, street cars, telephones, electric light, boulevards, parks, clubs, suburbs, and all the advantages —and vices—of the nineteenth century. Manila rests on low ground, and with few high buildings does not make a remarkable skyline as seen from the steamer entering port. Massive new docks and jetties in course of construction show the modern commercial spirit of the town, while back of these the walled city, with battlements and fortresses, reminds one of the eventful

past. The steamer anchors half a mile from the mouth of the narrow River Pasig, which flows from east to west through the heart of the city. This stream is alive with small craft, and is crossed by handsome bridges. On the south side is the old walled Manila proper; on the north, the newer and business portion. Further up the river, to the east, are handsome homes of merchants. The English and German community, numbering 300 or more, support excellent clubs in addition to those maintained by the European Spaniards, of whom there are, approximately, 5,000. The social side of life is also kept up by theatres, musical societies, and lawn tennis, golf, gun, cycling, and jockey clubs. Trade and shipping are guarded by a chamber of commerce; charity and benevolence are represented in hospitals, homes and asylums; education by colleges and schools of law, theology, medicine, pharmacy, and manual training; fine arts and science by museums, rare collections, and observatories; manufacturing by immense cigar, cigarette and rope factories, and religion by cathedrals, monasteries, nunneries, and convents without limit.

The present insurrection first gave signs of life in the early summer of this year and troubles began in August. The capture of Manila was set for September 18, but was frustrated by the discovery of the plot on August 30. There is no such organization, strength, leadership, and equipment among the insurgents as in Cuba, and it would appear to be only a question of a few months before the flame of revolution is reduced to a spark.

JOHN BARRETT.

THE FRENCH NAVY.

BY M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

At this epoch, when the whole world is in a fever and arming to the utmost, public opinion has good reason to heed the points gained by all those nations which are of some account as military powers, and which, within twenty-four hours, may find themselves in a struggle.

The European powers to be considered in connection with this particular subject are six in number: England, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Russia. Leaving aside the various land forces, the value of which is about equal, I will treat especially of the sea forces which have more particularly occupied the attention of public writers during recent years.

What do we find at the time of my writing? On one side, Germany, Austria, and Italy, grouped in a geographical unit, cemented by the triple alliance. On the other side, France and Russia, which, while far removed from each other, seem to be bound to act together. Lastly, isolated from all, but free in every motion, England appears to us as the arbiter of all contests, ready as she is to cause the scales to deflect on the side to which she will bring the strength of her fleet, of her manufacturing resources, and of her credit.

France is placed in a rather peculiar position. On the continent she must concentrate her defensive forces against the steady danger from Germany, without, however, neglecting Italy, which is to be feared above all from the sea. Besides, on account of the position of her coast, she finds herself, so to speak, within range of England's guns, and therefore obliged to anticipate the interference of this last power, under the penalty of falling at any moment into a position almost desperate if attacked by all.

The French navy may play a more important part in the next war than many people are willing to imagine. At the outset, the French fleet appears in the Mediterranean as the right flank of the French army, this latter presenting a front, from the Vosges to the Maritime Alps, against an Italo German invasion. It represents meanwhile, in the North Sea and the Baltic, the left flank of that immense strategic deploy, which, overflowing the continents, extends the battlefields beyond the coasts.

But the mere conception of such an extension of the French naval forces necessarily implies an English neutrality. If this neutrality should fail—if, as she did a century ago, England should join the continental coalition—France would find herself suddenly thrown into such peril that there would appear to be no hope of her ultimate success.

The armies of the French Revolution vanquished the strongest armies of monarchical Europe. Napoleon pursuing and outdoing the military achievements of the Republic seemed to have crushed the last resistance of the allied sovereigns. Yet even he was finally forced to resign the struggle in the face of England.

"In spite of all appearances, it is not in Moscow ablaze that Napoleon's luck disappeared; it was engulfed in the waters of Trafalgar. In vain victories followed victories. All the triumphs on land will not save him. The hero is wounded to death, although the wound is a hidden one. . . . England's vessels have vanquished at Waterloo. There would never have been a Blücher had there not been a Nelson."*

France has thus a pre-eminent interest in making sure of English neutrality in case of a contest with the Triple Alliance. Is she capable of forcing this neutrality on her enemy of centuries? That is a question which, as the case stands, it is difficult to answer. It is, however, the primary condition of success, and if it is lacking, no amount of bravery can make up for the deficiency in our means of defence. Friends or foes may admire the heroic deeds of our brave marines, just as King William did at Sedan; but the issue of the contest will nevertheless be settled beforehand. The question is not how the French will fight; but what will be their chances of victory, within the limits of human foresight.

Now what a temptation for England—always so eager to guard her own interests—to take advantage of the opportu-

*Admiral Réveillère: Preface to "*Les Guerres Navales de Demain*," by the Commandant Z. and H. Montéchant.

nity, when Europe will be annihilating herself with her own hands, to interfere without any risk in the contest and seize the greatest profits. To refuse to recognize this eventuality, as French strategists have systematically been doing until now, is pure folly, the more inexplicable from the fact that England could not allow us to beat Italy on the sea, without by the same blow losing her most powerful means of action against us in the Mediterranean Sea.

Under those conditions, while we have the utmost interest in avoiding at this very moment a conflict between France and England, how is it possible for us to divert the chance of British intervention if not by threatening our neighbors with a warfare of cruise and privateering, which would be so disastrous to them, instead of stupidly offering, as we do, the antiquated contest by squadron in which they have every reason to feel assured of victory. We have, in fact, sacrificed to the pompous conception of the squadron contest, and to its foremost implement, the ironclad, the defense of our harbors and coasts, and our surest means of offensive action, the privateering or mercantile war, of which the case of the "Alabama" alone is sufficient to recall the dreadful results. Without a rational organization of our seaboard by means of a fleet of cruisers supported by a strongly protected and provided base-line, we cannot by any means check England. To elude the difficulty, our Admiralty has found nothing better than to refuse to consider the hypothesis of a war with Great Britain, which is designedly discarded from its plans. I admit that its task is thus rendered much easier, though at the same time it is to be regretted that it entirely fails in its duty toward the country.

Thus rid of all cares on the side of their most dangerous adversaries, our admirals have limited themselves to preparation for a squadron fight with the Triple Alliance, as is proved by the resolutions of the "Grand Council of the Navy," inserted in the report by Mons. Pelletan of the Ways and Means Committee for 1896. These resolutions, the importance of which does not seem to have impressed either the government or the Houses, read as follows:

"The Grand Council of the navy, regretting the impossibility, on account of material difficulties in the work, of building a number of ironclads equal to that commanded by the Triple Alliance, has fixed twenty-

four as the number of battleships of this kind which shall be in readiness in 1904."

Nothing more clear. The admission is even so plain that to risk it there must have been complete confidence in the want of information of our representatives. We shall see where the judgment of our Admiralty leads us when we make a comparison between the French navy and those of our rivals.

We already know enough to perceive how wrong are the tendencies of the French navy, and how they might, if left to persevere in that direction, bring us to disaster, which can still be averted by an average amount of prudence. The motive of such a monstrous error is plainly the lack of rational leading ideas and neglect of the scientific principles and methods set forth some fifty years ago by a parliamentary inquiry, practically forgotten, which it appears to me the time has now arrived to recall.

The evil from which the French navy is suffering dates from far in the past, as the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, notwithstanding a few glorious encounters,* bear testimony.

The National Assembly of 1848, in sympathy with a movement of renovation which stirred all minds and disposed them towards the immense task of general reconstruction, brought its attention to bear upon the navy. After an exceedingly hot debate, at the termination of which Mons. de Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, tendered his resignation, the Assembly decided "that an inquiry should be instituted regarding the organization and workings of all the departments of the navy." (Law of October 31, 1849.) The committee appointed during public sittings held on the 7th, 8th and 9th of November, 1849, was composed of the following members: MM. Collas, Daru, Admiral Hernoux, Admiral Charner, Jules de Lasteyrie, Benoît d'Azy, Dufaure, Lanjuinais, Admiral Laîné, Fournier, Lacrosse, Dahirel, Ch. Dupin, de Montebello and Maissiat.

Mons. Dufaure was elected chairman. From November 12, 1849, the date of its first meeting, until November 19, 1851, the committee held altogether two hundred and three sittings, either in Paris or in the seaports, and took down eighty-nine depositions from officers and functionaries of all grades.

* An officious writer has contended that the inferiority of the French navy at that epoch of our history was mostly caused by the emigration which had taken away its best officers. The plea is preposterous, for the same remark applies equally as well to the army, which, as every one knows, distinguished itself by incomparable victories.

It must be borne in mind that the committee deemed it advisable not to limit its control to the workings of the naval service, but that its province should be, as well, to lay down the principles and to point out the necessary policy of the French maritime power. Consequently, it decided that, once the inquiry concluded, it would open the general report with a preamble in which there should be resolved the following question: "Why does France require any ships?"

The debate on this fundamental question began on the 24th of January, 1851, following the conclusion of the taking of the evidence, and on the eve of the commitment of the general report which Chairman Dufaure had agreed to write.

Considering the contingencies of war, Admiral Hernoux, a committeeman, stated that, both on the ocean and in the Indian and Chinese seas, all that the French navy could do was "to ruin English commerce, and to accomplish this, the only requirements were swift ships and coaling stations."

As for the European seas, Admiral Hernoux declared with great force against the squadron contest.

"In the inner seas of Europe, would a squadron encounter be possible? The progress of artillery would render them quite different from what they were in the past. In 1704, the Count of Toulouse, after four days' cannonading, was able to retire from the fight with a few men killed and a few ships damaged in their riggings, and yet this battle was not without importance in the eye of combined European powers. In our days, however, two squadrons, equally well equipped and commanded, would in all probability present nothing but wreck and ruin at the termination of a serious encounter.*

"The two belligerent powers would be in command of the same proportion of strength as before the battle, save for the fact that they would each be a squadron short, and France could not replace hers as easily as England. She must, therefore, on principle abandon the squadron contest, and only accept a regular battle when it is forced upon her, in which predicament she will often find herself, if the great factor of speed is not on her side."

Admiral Laîné contends that the aim of a navy is "to cooperate in the protection of the national territory through the defence of the sea-coast." Like Admiral Hernoux, he insists on the advantages of superior speed.

*How strong this remark actually is in view of the increasing intricacy of the modern war vessel, the manifest progress of artillery, the appearance of the torpedo on the scene of war, and the replacing of the antiquated gun-powder by the most modern explosives!

The advantages of speed are set forth by Commandant Maissiat in a most forcible manner. He says:

"It would be perfection itself to combine great power with great speed and a broad field of action; but we cannot secure at once these three elements, each of which calls for so great a weight and incumbrance when brought to its maximum, that, to unite them on board the same ship is impracticable."

It therefore devolves upon us to make a selection, and give to our ships either extreme power or extreme speed. Commandant Maissiat does not hesitate to give preference to extreme speed, and the reasons which he cites cannot be gainsaid.

"With a maximum of speed it is possible to defy the threats of a very powerful man-of-war by avoiding an engagement, and carrying the attack elsewhere; while at best there is always the alternative to shirk an unequal battle and spare the forces of the country until less disadvantageous circumstances arise.

"Strength is thus only a means of victory in the face of an adversary powerfully equipped, and is of no avail whatever against a fleeter enemy.

"Speed is a means of leaving a port, even while in the midst of strong foes; it is a means of a *coup de main*, and finally a means of self preservation. Therefore it is the most natural means of a sudden attack against an adversary who possesses greater power, but is vulnerable in more points. Therefore, it is the natural, the indispensable, weapon of that nation which, though the weaker and less rich upon the seas, is yet the most fearless by national character, and is thus by all means the genuine weapon of France."*

Admiral Charner also shares the opinion so strongly supported by Commandant Maissiat. He adds:

"France cannot endeavor to put to sea as many vessels as England—a power which should always be taken into consideration when speaking of a maritime war. The defence of our colonies in the event of such a war becomes impossible. Our ships, therefore, require not so much the capacity to carry large quantities of provisions on long cruises, as a great speed. It is by this means alone that, avoiding battles when their lesser strength will put them at a disadvantage, they will attack the adversary at a given point under more opportune circumstances."

Admiral Charner concludes by summing up his remarks in these words: "I persist in thinking that speed is the most important element of a naval force."

Among the officers called upon to testify by the committee was the illustrious Admiral Baudin, from whose deposition I quote the following:

"The protection of our coasts appears to me the most important and material point. It must lead all others. We must commence by protecting

* Minutes of the sitting of February 1, 1851.

the maritime interests of our coasts, by rendering it impossible for the foe to burn the ports, or to abuse or injure the citizens who dwell upon our shores. This need of coast protection is the first and most indispensable of all.

"Undoubtedly the next maritime war will differ entirely from those of the past, the use of steam as a power not only working a radical change in the manner of carrying on hostilities, but in the aim of the war as well.

"Undoubtedly, should our antagonist in the next war be England, situated as she is, so conveniently opposite our seaports, and having at her command a momentous steam power, easily transportable, and capable of surmounting difficulties to which the old sail-craft, at the mercy of the wind, the calm, and the tide, were obliged to submit, England would from the outset adopt a system of agression that would be fatal to us.

"In the actual state of our coasts, they stand almost defenceless. I know they are considering the fortification of Havre. I have studied the question myself. I have carefully gone over the plan of the seven attacks directed against that city by way of the sea since the time of Louis XIV to the time of Napoleon. None of these attacks had any decisive result, merely because they had at their command neither steam nor the powerful means of action now at the disposal of naval artillery. Besides, Havre is only one point of the seaboard, and everywhere the English could burn our maritime cities, if we do not secure a very strong plan of defence.

"So I believe that the need of protecting the coasts is paramount.

"Necessarily the protection of our coasts demands both standing and movable defences, the latter of which have still to be built.

"In France everything is done in so conservative a manner, that we can not be in too much haste to commence and build a powerful navy, propelled by steam, which, when our coasts are attacked, will repair rapidly from one point to another, and shelter them from the incursions of the enemy."

To sum up, the parliamentary inquiry stated as principles the three leading ideas:

1st. It is against the most redoubtable foe on sea that the French Admiralty has the duty of preparing for a struggle.

2d. The first necessary step to be taken is to assure movable defence for the harbors and coasts.

3d. The dominating quality of the French fleet must be a maximum of speed.

Mons. Dufaure, the Chairman, had almost completed his report when the *coup de état* of December 2, 1851, took place, as well as the breaking up of the National Assembly. Naval reforms were then out of the question. We had started on the road to Sedan.

The first earnest attempt at reorganization, as we have seen, did not result in anything definite during the eighteen years that the Empire lasted. We were never entangled in a serious naval war. Our fleet took part in the Crimean war and in a few Colo-

nial expeditions. In the Baltic the Russian fleet did not leave the harbors ; at Sebastopol it sank its own vessels to obstruct the channels. We proceeded in this way as late as the Franco-German war, which also did not present any real naval battle, although we might cite the insignificant encounter of the German dispatch-boat, "Meteor," with the French boat, "Le Bouvet," in the waters of Havana. After running foul of each other once they were so damaged that they re-entered port, and remained side by side until peace was declared.

Another naval feat more worthy of relation is the following. In December, 1870, our fleet, master of the high seas, unchallenged by the little Prussian squadron, was, nevertheless, completely powerless. Until Sedan, our ships cruised in the North Sea and in the Baltic, without attempting any attack on the harbors of the adversary.* In return we had the vexation of seeing the light packet sloop-of-war "Augusta," fitted out as a privateer, shoot out of Wilhemshafen under the guns of our vessels, cross without inconvenience the Straits of Dover and the English Channel, sail into the Bay of Biscay and establish itself at the mouth of the Gironde, where it captured successively two merchant-men, the "St. Marc," and the "Pierre-Adolphe." It even entered the river, with the idea, undoubtedly, of putting Bordeaux under ransom, but the formidable aspect of Fort "Pâté"† made the Captain reconsider the advisability of such a course, and it turned back.

Then the commander of the "Augusta" sailed up to the anchorage of the Isle "d'Aix," opposite the harbor of Rochefort, occupied for a few hours Fort Boyard, at that time without a garrison, and carried off from the roadstead a small tug belonging to the state. Then lacking coal, he repaired to Vigo, whence our consular agent reported its presence. Two of our warships were ordered there, and anchored at last in the Spanish harbor next to the "Augusta," and remained in this position until the end of the war.

What would have happened if the Captain of the "Augusta" had been still more daring? What if he had been akin to the

*On account of the approach to the coast of Germany, and the long distance between her war harbors and commercial ports and the open sea, we may safely contend that the ironclads of our squadron with their deep draught, were entirely unfit for service on the seas where they should have fought. Has this condition of things been altered after twenty-five years?

†At that time Fort Pâté had not a serviceable gun, nor any garrison whatever.

blockade runners of the Secession War? What if he had procured his supplies out at sea? What if he had had followers, and Prussia had granted letters of marque?*

Would it have been possible to continue the fight on the "Loire"? Would not the cost of freight from the States to the French ports have increased tenfold?

"We should not forget that if, in 1871, France was able to resist longer, and save by this delay, if not her territory, at least her honor, it was due to her freedom of action on the side of the sea.

"Having intercourse through her ports with the whole world, she found in the ocean an inexhaustible source of life. In the critical position of a man whose one lung does not work, she still breathed through the other, and lived in this way until the enemy crushed her heart.

"If the Germans had been masters of the sea, France—compressed as in a vice—would have instantly perished from suffocation." †

Our navy was able to render active service in the national defence only from the moment when its men were landed.

*Armed privateers. It is a fact that Germany had forfeited this right since the "Declaration of Paris" (April 16, 1856) annexed to the Treaty of Paris (March, 1856). Section 1. of this instrument is worded as follows: "Privateering is and shall remain abolished." To this Mexico, Spain, and the United States, as we know, declined their adherence. In his letter of July 28, 1856, Secretary of State Marcy explained the refusal of the United States, stating that the new arrangements would particularly favor those nations which, having both a large maritime traffic and a strong navy, would then be able, in all security, to concentrate their forces for attack, and this without being exposed to any retaliation against their trade—which would be so tempting to the adversary. That is what made Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston say at Westminster: "England is the one most benefited by the change."

The cause why England accepted arbitration in the "Alabama claims," and why in the late Venezuelan conflict she retained such a friendly attitude toward the United States, despite the unwelcome messages which came to her from the other side, may largely be found in the fear of a contest with privateers.

Lieutenant Mizon relates that in 1885, at the time of the first French expedition against Madagascar, some Hispano-American adventurers applied to the Court of Emyrne to be granted a certain number of letters of marque in blank. They boasted that they would be able to fit out a few ships, which, under the Hovan flag, would run down the French merchant vessels in the Indian Sea. Among other plans, they proposed to cruise around the outlet of the Red Sea, in the latitude of the Gulf of Aden, and there to stop all troopships and steamers of the "Messageries Maritime Company" bound to or from the Far East. We may fancy the ruin the French traffic would have undergone if we realize that the ships they offered to equip had a speed superior to that of the most rapid French cruiser of the time. And Lieutenant Mizon adds, it happened to be the English government which, with all its might, influenced the Court of Emyrne and dissuaded it from entering on a course which other nations would certainly have imitated.

However, England, while benefiting for the present by the privileged situation she has secured through the "Declaration of 1856," has not overlooked the advantages she could derive from the re-establishment of privateering in case of a contest with certain powers, the maritime trade of which has some importance, say, for example, the United States. This is why in 1876, on the other side of the channel, we were entertained by the strange spectacle of an agitation in favor of restoring the privateers.

I will cite as an example, the pamphlet of Mr. John Paget, a lawyer, entitled "Naval Powers and Their Policy," another by Admiral Hall, "Our National Defences," and I should also mention a lecture by an English officer, Mr. Ross, of Bladensburg, to the Royal United Service Institution. Each of these writings is a plea in favor of the restoration of privateering.

Thus, even in England, the question is not regarded as definitely settled. So much more is it neceesary for France if she start to organize her navy in anticipation of a mercantile war, to begin as an initial step to denounce the end of the "Declaration of Paris."

†Admiral Réveillère: Préface to "*Les Guerres Navales de Demain.*"

Then our gallant marines had an opportunity to show their courage, and it is known how they fought near Paris and in the Army of the Loire. However, the utter inadequacy of our battleships is sufficient to illustrate that the hundreds of millions of francs wasted during the Empire, in spite of the precious directions furnished by the Committee of Inquiry of 1849–1851, had resulted in nothing but a magnificent organization of impotency.

At the conclusion of the war of 1870, our navy was, as Mons. Etienne Lamy puts it, "more popular, but more unknown than ever" The navy was, of course, included in the re-organization of our forces, as was planned by the various governments which succeeded each other following the treaty of Frankfort. In a general way, we may say that our land forces and our sea forces were entrusted, except for purely formal control, to the same chiefs who had just shown their complete inability to make use of them. Nevertheless, the Parliament, on several occasions, made some efforts to obtain an account of the true state of our national forces; but their attempts, without system, without "*esprit de suite*," have always clashed with the official optimism, which, under the Republic, as under the Empire, after Sedan as before, affirms imperturbably, to the plaudits of the parliamentary rabble, that everything is the best in an organization whose leaders are entirely satisfied with themselves.

As for the navy, Mons. Etienne Lamy, Secretary of the Committee of the Budget for that department in the year 1879, was one of the first to give the alarm.

"After the war of 1870, the navy was not impoverished. It had, still untouched, a fleet of four hundred ships, estimated at 400,000,000 francs. This naval wealth, far from demanding new sacrifices, seemed too considerable for the new position of France. It was resolved to limit the forces to what would be indispensable.

"In the plans of 1872, this force amounted to 210 vessels, estimated at 400,000,000 francs. To execute this, it seemed that the fleet should merely be decreased, and as was said at the time, a reduced fleet picked out from the old superabundant one.

"Unfortunately, that was a great mistake. In 1873, there were not found over 228 ships, having cost 228,000,000 francs, with which to compose a regular fleet. At the same time, it was figured that the plan of 1872 would cost, in order to be put into effect, over 600,000,000 francs."

This double error, too high an estimation of the existing material, and too low a one of the coming outlay, is a character-

istic of our navy department. Without having lost anything through the war, it did not cease to claim extraordinary supplies to reconstitute its material. The problem was to realize the programme of 1872, a plan sentimental, unelaborated, which it was far from being possible to execute, in spite of the promises given the Parliament which had granted the credits.

Mons. Etienne Lamy tried to state precisely the new ideas, and to outline our naval reforms. He said :

"To have a navy is to have a fleet—that is, to have vessels and marines. What is the number and the strength of these vessels? What are the number and service of the men?

"Everything is combined in the navy for a decisive action, yet, nevertheless, during half a century such an action has never shown itself. Such persistent shortcoming denotes permanent defects, and incriminates the administration of the department.

"The French navy has retained, in the midst of reforms which took place in all other departments, the same old establishments; and the maintenance of the past, which should have excluded all reasons for extraordinary expenses, is on the contrary the very cause which explains them.

"The normal proportion between the material and the hands with which to man it, does not exist in our navy.

"The French fleet is, of all others, the one most expensive to support. To build a small number of vessels at a time, a few shipyards only suffice; but in order to build them rapidly, these shipyards must have powerful means at their command. In France, the fear of bringing to ruin cities supported only by their military establishments, together with a thousand private interests always ready to work against the general welfare, and even, in some proportion, public interest itself, prevented the closing of any port. . . .

"Thus, since 1870, foreign navies have always produced new samples of battleships in a shorter time than the French navy. As long as progress proceeds so fast and the construction so slowly, parts of the fleet in the shipyard will be worthless before even having touched the water. It may be stated as a general rule that, for identical constructions, the state shipyards spend at least one-third more time and labor than those of private industry. . . .

"Not half of the credits for the department are spent on the navy—that is, on the vessels and those who man them. . . .

"Just as the actual number of marines vanishes when compared to the number of extra employees, the fleet itself is but an annex of the various departments on land.

After having proved the evils and pointed out their cause, Mons. Etienne Lamy tells us of the remedy :

"Public sentiment demands from the best wisdom of the House a navy in which the fleet is the principal object, the staffs reduced in numbers but well compensated, kept in activity by constant labor; the implements on such a scale as to render strong and fast building possible; where nothing is lost in complications, where everything is plain, orderly and powerful."

After this report of Mons. Etienne Lamy, we might have expected that the work of the Dufaure Commission would have been taken up and brought to a fulfilment. But again events were going to disappoint this expectation. Mons. Etienne Lamy was not re-elected, and until 1881 the peace of the palace of the "Rue Royale" remained undisturbed by any adverse reports.

G. CLEMENCEAU.

(*To be continued.*)

WILL THE SOUTH BE SOLID AGAIN?

BY MARION L. DAWSON.

In the recent presidential campaign the issues which were dominant in the past were relegated to a place of minor importance, or were altogether disregarded. The influences which have been heretofore successfully exerted on the rank and file of both the Republican and Democratic parties to hold them in line were found to have lost their power. They were no longer potential factors; all issues were made subservient to the money question.

The Republican party which had before rallied its followers around the standard of protection and had proclaimed for a strong central government, and had not hesitated to defend the doctrine of federal interference in state affairs, now hoisted an ensign upon the folds of which were emblazoned the magic words "sound money" and "national honor." With this new ensign for its battle flag and these words for its war cry, it threw down the gauge to the Democrats.

The Democratic party, though it had, in the past, in all of its platforms declared, *first*, for tariff reform, States' rights, equal privileges to all and special favors to none, readily accepted the challenge and hurriedly prepared to reorganize its demoralized followers to meet the enemy. The issue was thus made. It was well defined, clear cut and radically different from the issues which had been before fought out on national political battle fields.

The victorious party not only held in line those States which are usually relied upon to give Republican majorities, but it carried also the so-called doubtful States of the Middle West, California, North Dakota, and Oregon of the Far West,

together with the doubtful States of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. More significant still, it invaded the Solid South, and bore off West Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky; caused North Carolina to tremble in the balance and reduced Democratic majorities in the following States: Alabama, 39,000; Arkansas, 29,000; Florida, 6,000; Georgia, 49,000; Louisiana, 33,000; South Carolina, 6,000, and Texas, 29,000. These facts, taken together with the great land-slide of 1894 and 1895, which swept Missouri and Tennessee, Maryland and Kentucky over into the country of the enemy, have caused Southern statesmen to seriously consider whether the so-called Solid South is not now a thing of past history; whether "new issues have not made new conditions," and whether that fraternal union which has heretofore solidly cemented all of the Southern States has not been effectually dissolved. The recent election certainly severed the tie. The debatable question, therefore, is not whether the Solid South has been dissolved—that is a demonstrated fact—but whether in future elections these States will re-unite and again cast a solid vote for the nominee of the Democratic party.

To determine this question satisfactorily it is important to consider briefly the nature, past and present, of the Republican party, the chief political opponent of Democracy; the causes which have heretofore influenced the Southern States, since the war, to cast a solid electoral vote in all national elections in opposition to that party; and the questions which will continue to be live and dominant issues in the future.

The principles which were declared for in the first Republican Convention which assembled at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, when Jno. C. Fremont, of California, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, were nominated, were directly opposed to the welfare and the prosperity of the South from a Southern point of view. She, the South, believed in slavery and had defended the system for a hundred years, and the threat was then openly made by the leaders in the slave States that if Fremont was elected these States would secede. The same threat was still more openly and loudly proclaimed when Lincoln was nominated at Chicago, May 16, 1860, on practically the same platform. It may be safely asserted, however, that neither Mr. Lincoln, nor any of the other leaders of the Republican party, ever seriously considered allowing the Union to be thus dismembered, even if it required

the arbitrament of war to decide the right of secession and to prevent the South from taking a step so suicidal to herself and so fatal to the existence of the Union. Lincoln was elected; the slave States left the Union; the war came. The South was laid waste with fire and sword in many regions so effectually "that a crow flying over those regions had to carry his rations." How gallantly she bore herself in that terrific struggle in the defence of rights which she believed, and which many still believe, were originally guaranteed to each sovereign State by the Constitution, is well known to history. It was predestined by a power superior to that of man, however, that the Union should stand. It did stand. The cause of the South went down in defeat, but its end was a glorious one. It accepted the result in good faith, and when Lee delivered up his sword at Appomattox the war was ended.

Then came the mighty upheaval of Southern society and the dark days of reconstruction. The methods resorted to by a Republican Congress during this trying period, when the South was still smarting under defeat, outraged her sensitive pride. State after State gradually came back into the Union. They brought with them only patriotism and loyalty; none would sooner preserve the old flag from the stain of dishonor or defend the Union against her enemies.

The effort which was made by the Republicans to change, in a day, a densely ignorant, illiterate, and inferior race of slaves into electors and law-makers, and to elevate them to offices of trust and responsibility, and to place in their hands the sceptre of political and civil power over those who had but yesterday been their masters, naturally aroused a united and determined resistance in the South.

But notwithstanding the establishment of a bayonet government, the well-known act of 1870, and the much harsher force bill measure of 1871, which empowered the President to surround the ballot box with Federal troops, the South, influenced by the same ruling spirit, which has characterized the Anglo-Saxon from the beginning of his history to the present day, and which has made him, with no exception, the ruler over every inferior race with which he has come in contact, boldly declared her fixed intention to dethrone the negro and his so-called "carpet-bag" and "scalawag" allies. For this purpose, in her desperation,

she organized that mysterious and dreaded political society known as the Ku-Klux Klan, with its "dens," "ghouls," "giants," "goblins," "titans," "furies," and "dragons." The powerful arm of this masked army reached everywhere; none escaped it. The proudest aristocrat, the most dignified professional man, and staid college professors attended its secret conclaves and joined in midnight raids. They successfully defied the power of the national government and laughed at the troops sent to suppress them. Their spies were in every household; nothing escaped their vigilance, and the reign of terror which they established is yet fresh in the minds of many. With the re-establishment of social order, this society, having performed the task for which it was questionably created, passed away, leaving many to condemn and few to defend it. The order of President Grant to send troops to New Orleans in 1874, a necessary order, considering the then existing conditions, the excitement attending the seating of Kellogg, the Republican nominee for Governor of Louisiana, over his Democratic opponent in 1875, the unseating of Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, the continued waving of the bloody shirt, and the reopening of old wounds with each recurring election, all resulted in strengthening the tie with which the South was solidly united by the enfranchisement of the negro. No mere differences of opinion touching the merits of economic questions could weaken this bond while the South was menaced by federal bayonets, force bill legislation, and the withering curse of negro domination. While these conditions, or any of them, or any relic of them, existed, it was a foregone conclusion that every Southern State would cast its electoral vote for the nominee of the Democratic party in every national election. But now that the last vestige of force bill legislation has been eliminated from the statute books and the Republican leaders show a marked tendency to temper the policy of their party toward the South, it might be thought safe to predict that in future diversified interests would influence Southern States, as they have always influenced other States, to support that party which champions measures most friendly to themselves and best calculated to promote their material prosperity. This would undoubtedly be a safe prediction but for one fact which seems to have been overlooked, or purposely ignored, by those who have publicly discussed this question. It is conceded by all

that the force bill is a dead issue, but many Southern people still believe that by a repeal of this measure the danger of negro domination was only temporarily removed, not permanently destroyed.

To a casual, or superficial observer, this apprehension is not unfounded, because if the white vote of the South divides and the negro vote remains solidly united, the latter race holds the balance of political power. This danger the South has always had to face. The real bond which united her was not of a political nature in the truest acceptation of that term; it was rather a race question. It was whether the negro or the white man should occupy the seat of power; whether the inferior should dominate the superior, and whether ignorance should rule intelligence. When the negro was enfranchised, sympathy and self-protection, two of the strongest motives which influence human conduct, bound the Southern States together for the sole purpose of maintaining, at any cost, Anglo-Saxon ascendency.

No attempt should be made to disguise this fact; no excuse should be offered for it, and no deception should be practised on the public. Deception and evasion are the resorts of the crafty or the cowardly. Honesty in politics, as well as in any other matters, is the best policy; not because it is politic, but because it is right. The world should have been given clearly to understand that the white people of the South, as well as their brothers of the North or the East or the West, always intended to rule, and if there were just cause *now* to believe that the negro would still vote unitedly, and thus menace the South with negro domination, it is safe to assert that these States would remain a "Solid South" to the end of time. History clearly demonstrates this truth, that so long as Anglo-Saxon blood feeds Anglo-Saxon hearts, so long will Anglo-Saxon intellect and Anglo-Saxon will dominate inferior races. We believe, however, that the danger of negro rule now really exists only in the distempered imaginations of political demagogues. No one can produce any array of facts to convince the unbiased observer that the negro vote will be any more united in future elections than the white vote. This race has made wonderful strides in recent years, and they have seized upon every opportunity to better their condition. They have been given the best schools, colleges, and universities, and have not neglected their advantages. Their moral and intellectual improvement has been little less than marvellous. It

is unprecedented in the history of any people. They are fast becoming qualified to act, to think, and to vote for themselves. The time has passed for them to ever again consent to become the mere tools of unscrupulous and designing office seekers. They carefully and conscientiously study the issues which are involved in every political canvass, and in many instances thoroughly understand them. Their leaders read political economy, and neither the tariff nor the currency question is a stranger to them.

The property interests which are possessed by this race in the South already exceed twelve millions of dollars. They have mastered many trades, become proficient in the industrial arts, and sometimes prominent in the professions. They need not now be told that their welfare is inseparable from the welfare of the South, and the time will soon come, if it has not already arrived, when they will support with their suffrage only those measures which their matured judgment convinces them will most certainly promote the prosperity of the section in which an all-wise Providence has cast their lot. They have come to realize that the people who give them employment, who annually pay twenty millions of dollars taxes that their children may be educated, who make it possible for them to live in comfort and ease, and often in luxury and refinement, who labor side by side with them in the field or in the factory, are their best friends. With returning confidence and affection, they will be influenced as the weak are always influenced by the strong, and they will be found supporting the party which their employers support, because they will learn that the interests of the employer and the employee are one.

These facts are now practically conceded by all who profess to be familiar with the existing conditions in the South. As they become more generally understood the fear of negro domination will be gradually dispelled from the Southern mind, and this bond of common interest and self-defense, which has so long united the "solid South," will become less and less a factor in Southern elections. The color line in politics will disappear, normal political conditions will be re-established, and the people will vote as they did before the war, in accordance with the dictates of conscience or self-interest.

MARION L. DAWSON.

THE SPECULATION IN DAMAGE CLAIMS FOR PERSONAL INJURIES.

BY E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

ONE of the most remarkable developments of recent years, a development to which public attention is rarely drawn and which those most interested have naturally endeavored to keep from public view, is the rapid growth of the speculation in damage claims for personal injuries.

This speculation is peculiar to no part of the country, but it thrives most where juries are most liberal and where the courts place least restraint upon them. It is impossible to make any definite comparison in this respect between different portions of the country. For the sake, however, of procuring figures to illustrate the existing situation, and what it promises to become, I have examined the records of the Chicago courts having jurisdiction of these cases and of the courts of appeal throughout the State of Illinois.

The first fact shown from the records of the Chicago courts is that there has been a great increase in the number and size of these suits within the past few years. In 1875 there were altogether about two hundred personal injury suits pending in Cook County. I have not learned the amount of damages claimed in these suits. During the first six months of 1890 the number of these suits brought in Cook County was 346, the total amount of damages claimed being $2,814,860. During the corresponding six months in 1896 the number of such suits begun in Cook County was 893, and the total amount of damages claimed was $13,510,000. It would be reasonable to assume from these figures that there are now pending in Cook County 3,600 of these cases and that the damages claimed are between fifty and sixty millions of dollars.

So much for the claims which are in suit. Everyone of experience in these matters knows that the first effort of defendants in treating these claims is to compromise if possible. For each claim which is brought to suit it is probable that eight or ten claims are settled without suit. Of course, statistics as to settlements cannot be procured, but we are safe in believing that the figures which we get from the records of the courts, enormous as they are, tell not more than half, and probably only a small part, of the story.

The second conspicuous fact disclosed by the records of the trial courts of Cook County is that there has been a rapid increase in the size of the verdicts rendered. During the first six months of 1890 three verdicts were rendered in the state courts of Cook County of $10,000 or over; the sum of these three verdicts amounted to $35,240. During the first six months of 1896, 26 verdicts were rendered in these courts, each for an amount equal to or exceeding $10,000; the sum of the 26 verdicts amounted to $425,000. The same scale of increase which applies to these large verdicts applies also to the smaller verdicts.

Selecting for purposes of convenience six of the prominent railroad companies entering Chicago, which have most trouble of this sort to meet, we find that in 1890 these companies, taken together, lost but four verdicts, the sum of the four verdicts being $5,550. During the first six months of 1896, the same railroad companies lost sixteen verdicts, the sum of these verdicts being $143,500.

Other figures ilustrating the same tendency are found in the case of the street railways.

In the first six months of 1890, the three most prominent street railways in Chicago, taken together, lost five verdicts, the sum of these verdicts being $10,050. During the first six months of 1896 the same companies lost 28 verdicts, of which the total amount was $124,012.

The figures which have been given sufficiently indicate the general tendencies of juries in the matter of damages. Specific instances, easy to find, testify to the same fact in a manner even more emphatic.

It is not long since a verdict for $10,000 was almost unknown, and when one of the earlier of these verdicts reached

the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1875, it was promptly reversed. In commenting upon the amount of the judgment, the Court said:

"Ten thousand dollars is a very large sum of money in the possession of which very few can boast. It is a small fortune which few acquire in a lifetime of incessant labor. This the jury awarded to one whose prospects in life do not extend beyond his wages as a day laborer, and who has not been, by the negligence of the defendants, wholly disabled. It is true the company was at fault, but not so greatly as to aggravate it to wilfulness. Compensatory damages were all the jury were justified in awarding under the evidence. A verdict for $10,000 is so enormous as to justify the inference that the jury were actuated by prejudice and passion, not listening to the dictates of cool judgment."

As matters go to-day, $10,000 is by no means a large verdict. The amounts given by juries in Cook County now run as high as $50,000. Forty thousand dollars has been reached in a number of instances, and verdicts for $30,000 and $20,000 are of frequent occurrence.

The third conspicuous fact that we learn from the records of Cook County is that a personal injury suit is practically indefensible.

For the purpose of getting some figures to show the strength of this well recognized tendency of juries, I have taken all cases which were decided by juries in the courts of Cook County during the first six months of 1896. Altogether, after excluding disagreements and cases which were taken from the jury by the court, we find 117 of these cases actually decided by the jury during the period referred to. Of these cases 100 were decided in favor of the plaintiff. Of cases which lasted one day, there were 26, of which 18 resulted in the plaintiff's favor; 28 cases lasted two days, 26 resulting for the plaintiff; 21 cases lasted three days, 20 resulting for the plaintiff; 13 cases lasted four days, 9 resulting for the plaintiff; 9 cases lasted five days, 8 resulting for the plaintiff; 6 cases lasted seven days, all 6 resulting for the plaintiff; 4 cases lasted nine days, 3 resulting for the plaintiff; 1 case lasted thirteen days, and that also went over to the plaintiff.

What the matter was with the seventeen cases which were decided by the jury in favor of the defendant it would not be difficult to learn. They were doubtless most obvious frauds or they were prosecuted by novices. Of the firms regularly engaged in the business, it is no unfrequent boast that for several years not

a single case of this nature has been lost. This tendency is so well recognized that an English judge in the case of Toomey *vs.* Railway Company, said :

"Every person who has had any experience in courts of justice knows very wel that a case of this sort against a railway company could only be submitted to the jury with one result."*

This remark was quoted with approval by Judge Sanford, of New York, in Davis *vs.* Railway, and characterized by him as having been wisely and truly made. He further said :

"I deem it of special importance that this rule (that a verdict should be set aside when against the manifest justice of the case) should be observed in actions for negligence against corporations. . . . . Its more frequent adoption would substantially promote the cause of justice and tend to suppress, in some degree, the alarming increase in the number of purely speculative litigations which the misplaced sympathy of jurors, or unwholsome dread of responsibility on the part of judges, has done much to foster and encourage."†

So much for the possibilities of defence before a jury. It occasionally happens that a new trial is awarded to a defendant, in which event his chance before a jury is probably as good the second time, as it was the first—no better. It sometimes happens that the trial court will reduce the amount of the verdict, but the relief which is thus obtained is comparatively rare and is only exercised in the most flagrant cases. The verdict of the jury when finally rendered terminates the case.

In the upper courts, the finding of the juries upon the facts is frequently the subject of severe criticism ; but notwithstanding this fact, the judgments of the trial courts are affirmed. The rule that the jury alone can be permitted to judge of the preponderance and weight of testimony, is applied in its strictest form; so that if any construction can be put upon the testimony so favorable to the plaintiff that with this construction it can be considered to support a given proposition, the subject must be submitted to the jury for determination, and their finding upon that proposition is regarded as conclusive both in the trial court and in the courts of appeal.

We can see the results of this rule in the Appellate Court, by taking the last five volumes of the reports of that court. In these volumes we find 112 personal injury cases, of which 94

*3 C. B. N. S., 150. †9 J. & S. (N. Y.), 31-35.

were carried up on the defendants' appeal, while in 18 cases only did the plaintiff appeal. In 8 cases out of the 18 the plaintiff was successful in the Appellate Court, an average of pretty nearly fifty per cent., while the defendant succeeded in 32 cases out of 94, an average of thirty-three per cent. In the Appellate Court of the First District, the District which covers Cook County, there were 54 personal injury suits reported in the five volumes mentioned. Of these cases, 43 were carried into the Appellate Court by the defendant, the plaintiff appealing in 11 cases only. Out of the cases carried up by the plaintiff, five resulted in the plaintiff's favor, while out of the 43 cases carried up by the defendant 23 were affirmed and 14 were reversed.

In the Supreme Court the figures are even worse. Taking the last five volumes of the reports of the Supreme Court of Illinois, we find 31 personal injury cases, of which 29 were appealed by the defendant and only 2 cases were taken up by the plaintiff. Out of these 31 cases, 30 cases were affirmed and 1 was reversed, the defendant being successful in the one reversed case.

To give some idea of the situation in other portions of the country I have examined the last five volumes of the Supreme Court reports of Kansas and Texas, where it has been generally supposed that the personal injury speculation was most successful, and the last five volumes of the reports of the Court of Appeals in New York, which might, perhaps, be taken as fairly representative of other portions of the country.

In the Texas reports examined there are 57 personal injury cases, of which 7 were carried up on the plaintiff's appeal and 50 were carried up on the defendant's appeal. In 24 cases only was the judgment of the lower court sustained, while in 33 cases it was reversed, the defendant procuring a reversal of 31 out of 50 appeals, while the plaintiff procured a reversal in 2 out of 7 appeals.

In the Kansas reports there are 62 personal injury cases, of which 51 were carried up on the defendant's appeal and 11 were carried up on the plaintiff's appeal. The number of affirmances and reversals were equal, 31 cases being affirmed and the same number being reversed. Out of the 51 cases appealed by the defendant there were 24 reversals, while the plaintiff succeeded in 7 out of the 11 cases appealed by him.

In the reports of the New York Court of Appeals, disregarding the cases in which no opinion was written, and in which for this reason we are unable to determine the matter in suit, there are 27 personal injury cases, of which 22 were appealed by the defendant and 5 by the plaintiff. Eighteen cases were reversed, the defendant being successful in 15 out of the 22 cases, while the plaintiff succeeded in procuring 3 reversals out of 5 cases.

Such figures as these indicate the serious nature of the situation of personal injury litigation all through the country, and show that the condition of things in Chicago is worse than it is even in such States as Kansas and Texas.

The important facts which the figures quoted show are, in the first place, that a claim for personal injuries is practically sure to result in favor of the claimant; in the second place, that the damages given by the jury will be large; and in the third place, that the Appellate and Supreme Courts of Illinois, at least, are far more to be feared by the defendant than by the claimant.

Under such circumstances as these, the cause of the rapid multiplication of these claims and the increase between 1890 and 1896 in the amount demanded and recovered, is apparent. The growth is inevitable, and will continue so long as the present state of affairs continues. It must not be thought in this connection that any adequate explanation of the figures which I have given is to be found in any corresponding showing in vital statistics. It is not true that there are two and a half times as many accidents nowadays in Cook County as there were six years ago, and that each accident is ten times as serious. The explanation is to be found in the methods by which this speculation is carried on.

The prosecution of personal injury suits has grown to be a business by itself. Those engaged in it rarely have any other occupation. There are several corporations and many law firms and brokers in the city of Chicago, as in other cities, doing a speculative business in these claims. They employ "runners" as a commercial house employs travelling salesmen. These runners have business relations with saloon-keepers near manufacturing works or railway crossings, and surgeons and police officers may be found in many parts of the city having their connection with this business. Sooner or later the runners succeed in obtain-

ing admission to every public hospital in the county. It rarely happens that an accident is mentioned in the newspapers but the unfortunate person who may be injured, or his family in case of his death, is at once overrun with applicants desiring to procure an assignment of the claim. It will be remembered that under a recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court—a decision which happily the court has again taken under advisement—a personal injury claim is property, capable of being put on the market and transferred from hand to hand, like stock in a corporation. In most cases, the runner who has succeeded in procuring an assignment of the claim has it transferred to some person as trustee. This trustee represents the runner, the saloon-keeper, the hospital nurse, or other person through whom he may have procured the claim, the attorney, surgeons, and other witnesses who may be called upon to testify, and who will, therefore, have a right to share in the proceeds, and, incidentally, the injured person.

Such a system as this is fraudulent throughout, for it is an imposition both upon the plaintiff and upon the defendant.

It is an imposition upon the plaintiff, in the first place, because it offers a direct inducement to the surgeon into whose hands he may have fallen and who is interested in the pecuniary speculation, to aggravate the injury, and what is true of the surgeon, in this respect, is true of all persons who have a money interest in the claim. Let it not be thought, either, that such interest as this is without its effect. In a case with which the writer is familiar, a person who had been injured was treated by the surgeon of the corporation in whose employ he had been. The injury was a serious one. The man was in the company's hospital, and was doing well, when a runner got hold of the injured man's wife and urged a removal from the company's hospital. The surgeons who were in charge of the case stated to the runner and to the woman that the removal would be exceedingly dangerous and probably fatal. The woman, therefore, consented to let the man remain. The runner, however, was not satisfied and very shortly afterward succeeded by his persuasions in bringing the woman back, persisting in the demand for a removal, and finally accomplishing it, with the immediate result feared by the company's surgeons. Cases of murder like this are unusual; but cases where an injured person is attended with a view to testimony and not to treatment are frequent. Unnecessary ampu-

tations or other operations cannot be proved, but there are persons acquainted with the course of matters who believe that they are not unknown.

The system is also an imposition upon the plaintiff in a pecuniary way. The cases are taken, as has been said, upon a contingent fee, which in most instances amounts to one-half of the recovery, although in some cases the competition between runners results in reducing this fee. The expense to the injured person is, therefore, exorbitant. The most highly paid corporate employment does not offer the fees that are paid by these unfortunate individuals, who, by reason of their misfortune, become a part of a pecuniary speculation.

In the second place, the system is an imposition upon the defendant, for it gives rise to dishonest claims, magnifies injuries, and is the source of much false testimony, both on the part of experts and of so-called witnesses to the facts.

"We cannot shut our eyes," said the Appellate Court of the First District in the Loewe case, "to the situation surrounding us, under which witnesses to most important facts make their sudden appearance just on the eve of the trial of personal injury cases. It is not often that their guise is so transparent as in this case."*

A large number of the claims which are presented are claims which are fictitious throughout. A person physically defective, or capable of counterfeiting physical defect, may be made into a claimant with proper instruction, which interested parties are always ready to give. Such cases are constantly coming to light. It was but a few months ago that a railway company discovered evidence by which it showed that a mother and several daughters had been living upon the proceeds of these claims for a number of years. The list of claims which had been successfully prosecuted by these people is astonishing, and the discovery of the conspiracy was largely accidental.

Another corporation involved in this litigation was presented with a person apparently an idiot, his condition being represented as the result of a blow on the head. The company's attorney took the precaution of having his picture taken. No record of the accident could be found, and after the man had left the attorney's office he could not be found.

*58 Ill. App., 606-609.

The picture, however, was sent to all parts of this country and Europe, where information might be expected; detectives were employed in mines in Montana, and in cities on the Atlantic coast, with the final result that the defendant's attorney learned the man's birthplace in Europe, discovered his name upon the army registers, with the record of his physical examination, showing that his condition as a youth had been such as it was when he was presented as a claimant. Correspondence between his confederates was intercepted in Hungary, and finally his original passport was recovered from his family, showing that he had first come to America six months after the date of the accident of which he complained.

Of course no railway or manufacturing firm or corporation can long withstand such assaults as these when they meet with public approval and the support of the courts. A treasury which is open to any adventurer will soon be an empty treasury. And if it be true that neither court nor jury will permit a railway or manufacturing corporation to defend its treasury against such claims, then it is also true that its property is subject to the plunder of every adventurer who sees fit to make a claim, and that its operation cannot continue.

The question whether this enormous and growing evil can be checked is possibly a question of time. It may be that nothing will be done until public attention is drawn to the situation, by some of the larger enterprises being compelled to stop work and grave public inconvenience being thus brought about, but sooner or later, the speculation which has been referred to will lose public support.

The trouble began with the jury, and it is with the jury that we must begin if we are to remove it. The remedy rests with the courts. It is possible for the judges to take as jurors only those men who appear to be able to consider intelligently the questions that will come before them.

It is also possible for the courts to follow the suggestion of Judge Sanford in the case from which we have already quoted, and to see to it that a verdict is set aside when it is against the manifest justice of the case. The more frequent adoption of this rule would substantially "promote the cause of justice and tend to suppress, in some degree, the alarming increase in the number of purely speculative litigations which the misplaced sympathy of

jurors or unwholesome dread of responsibility on the part of judges has done much to foster and encourage." In recent years the tendency of courts has been in the opposite direction.

There are other incidental matters occurring in the progress of a suit in which it is within the power of the courts to do much toward giving the defendant a fair trial. Among these I shall specify but one, and that is, that the plaintiff should be required to state specifically the charge of negligence which he makes and should then be required to stay by that charge. Under the present practice the effort of plaintiff's attorneys is to make the complaint so vague that the defendant will be unable to preserve the evidence which is necessary for its defence.

Most important of all is it, however, that the public should be informed as to the character of these claims and the methods by which they are prosecuted. When public sympathy is withdrawn from such litigation, as it will be when the situation is once known, the attitude of courts and juries will change.

The system of trial by jury as it is now administered—certainly in Chicago, and probably in many portions of the country—has broken down. The immediate result to Chicago, and to all other places in like condition, must be the cessation of manufacturing and industrial activity, whereas those States where the common law on the subject of negligence is recognized and enforced will be benefited by the change.

E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

CAN THE UNITED STATES AFFORD TO FIGHT SPAIN?

BY A FOREIGN NAVAL OFFICER.

A DISCUSSION of such a subject as this by a foreigner is liable to arouse adverse criticism, and I realize that the task is both a difficult and a delicate one. But belonging, as I do, to a nation which has been, and is, the friend of this country, my opinion is given in anything but a hostile spirit.

First then, let us see, what the *status quo* between the United States and Spain is. There is undoubtedly a good deal of animosity on both sides. In the United States the existing sentiment in favor of the Cuban insurgents can be assigned to sentimentality. The mere mention of the word "oppression" acts on the American mind as a spark of fire in a tinder box. In Spain things are different, and it is to be hoped the American people will not deceive themselves in regard to the origi of the animosity on Spain's part. Among the people of Spain the feeling—unfortunately still growing—is that the United States are disposed to meddle officiously with affairs which do not concern them. They remember President Monroe's message defining the Monroe doctrine: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere."

The most eager Pan-American must, if he stops to think, admit that, from an international point of view, the United States have no grievances whatsoever against Spain. To assert that they have because a few sugar and tobacco merchants have lost money would be absurd. Surely, it is not Spain that has taken the initiative in bringing about the perplexing conditions now existing in Cuba. The wholesale devastation in the rural districts of Cuba was not perpetrated by troops of the mother

country. It is not Spain that has laid waste the commerce between the United States and the island. As a matter of fact, Spain has lost materially more during the two years of revolution in Cuba than she can recover in ten years, even if she remains, as she undoubtedly will, in possession of the island.

The moving spirit with the insurgent leaders is partly ambition, partly cupidity. Most of them have little to lose and everything to gain. They are doing what the members of the Commune did in Paris during the siege of that city. They fired the first shot, not thinking of the consequences, nor reckoning the result of such a course, and then they burnt, killed, and plundered. I am well aware that, as a body, they do not burn, kill, and plunder maliciously, but they are forced to such courses in order, first, to live, and, secondly, to impress the doubtful and weak ones with their power.

Sympathy is one thing—law another. As matters stand at present, the responsibility for the devastation of the "Pearl of the Antilles" rests not with Spain, but with the insurgents. To quote the Hon. E. J. Phelps:

"The rebels in Cuba have no organized government and not even an abiding place which they can call their own. They are merely a guerilla force, which would be speedily annihilated if it allowed itself to be drawn into a general engagement with the much superior Spanish army. If this country interferes by arms in that contest it must be by assisting the rebels in Cuba to displace the Spanish government and to set up another. This would be a declaration of war against Spain, a country with which we are and always have been at peace, and from which we have received no injury and no provocation. It would be a gross and utterly unjustifiable violation of international law which no country can afford to perpetrate in the eyes of the world. We cannot afford to go to war with any country at this time unless a war should be forced upon us in self-defence, which would be a grave calamity, of which there is happily no danger."

But though the United States have no real cause to declare war against Spain, it is interesting to speculate on what would happen if, notwithstanding all this, war should be entered upon. If, as Mr. Phelps says, "it would be an utterly unjustifiable violation of international law," all Europe might be morally forced to oppose such a course in order to uphold the sanctity of international law, if for nothing else than self-protection. Equally important is the fact that the interests of nearly all European countries are so closely entwined with the national and material welfare of the United States that a war between this

nation and Spain would cause a financial panic all the world over.

Approximately the foreign interests in this country represent a capital of more than two billions of dollars. What, then, in comparison to such a sum are the one hundred million dollars which Spain owes France, the sixty millions she owes England, and the thirty-three millions she owes the United States? The course which the official relations between this country and Spain have taken of late seem to indicate that the Administration is wide awake to the gravity of the situation.

As I said before, with regard to Cuba, Spain strictly stands not only on the basis of international law, but also on the basis of her individual rights. There can be no doubt that if she cannot have her laws respected within the limits of her own domain in a peaceful way, she has the legitimate right to enforce them, arms in hand. It is, indeed, hard to conceive from a moral standpoint, how any foreign power could prevent Spain from declaring war, provided the provocation from the United States was such as to justify such a course. By provocation I mean the unlawful fostering (the few filibustering expeditions are of no account) of the insurrection, as by the granting of belligerent rights to the insurgents. Should this happen—and let us hope it will not—Spain would be forced out of self-respect to declare war.

I have now arrived at the most critical point of the situation, and shall endeavor to discuss coolly, and without prejudice, the relative strength of both powers, their relative advantages and disadvantages for attack and for defence, and therefrom to draw a conclusion as to the probable issue of a war. I need hardly say that decisive engagements between the two powers could only take place either on the high seas, or in the stretch of water between Porto Rico and Cuba, or at either of the principal ports of the two islands. The question which above all others is of the greatest importance to Americans is simply whether the United States are at present strong enough to justify them in an embroilment, and, further, whether this country possesses the means of guarding herself against tremendous losses.

What, then, are the existing conditions? A glance at the map shows first, that Spain has a great advantage over this country so far as geographical situation and coast defences are concerned. The opinion seems to prevail in the United States that in order to punish Spain, it is only necessary for the President to order

the American fleet to that country and to Cuba and Porto Rico, and then besiege her coast, annihilate her commerce, and dictate whatever terms the Administration may choose. Nothing could be more erroneous than this. The coasts of Spain are accessible with difficulty, and are well fortified. On the north and northwest coast, not to speak of the terrible cliffs by which nature aids her defence, Spain has fortified such places of access as Fuenterrabia, Pasages, the military ports of Santona, Santander, Ferrol, Coruña, and Vigo. The coast of the Mediterranean is effectively protected by the fortifications of Palamos, Barcelona, Tarragona, Malaga, Almeria, Carthagena, and Alicante. At the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar she is protected by the guns of Cadiz, and on the strait itself by those of the fortresses of Tarifa and Algeciras. I ask, then, what opportunity the American fleet could have under such conditions to inflict injury on Spain, operating, as it would be forced to do, from a base over 3,000 miles away?

With regard to Cuba and Porto Rico matters are somewhat different. The United States might succeed in making an attack on a few accessible places in these two islands, but they would first have to wipe the Spanish fleet from the seas. On the other hand, as long as Spanish vessels were afloat, only a few of the twenty-seven principal ports of this country would be absolutely safe from their guns. Owing to the enormous extent of the seaboard of this country the American fleet, with only a very few auxiliary vessels available, could not possibly defend the entire coast.

The above statement is supported by such a recognized authority on the subject as General Miles. He says: "The population in the United States near deep water amounts to six million people living within the reach of high-power guns, mounted on battleships, and there are also ten billion dollars' worth of property in the same condition in the twenty-seven principal ports of our country." Would it not be wiser for the United States to increase their navy and artillery before clamoring for war?

The jingo will reply: "No Spanish vessels could ever come near the coast; they would be destroyed before they could reach our shores." I think I can show, however, that as far as human foresight goes, a thorough defeat of the Spanish fleet by the American fleet would be almost impossible.

All the vessels worth speaking of, which the United States could bring into action on the Atlantic at present, number twenty-nine, and these figures include the passenger steamers the "Paris," the "New York," the "St. Louis," and the "St. Paul." Only the formidable ones are given in the following list :

BATTLESHIPS :

1.	"Iowa," 11,410 tons' displacement	42	guns
2.	"Indiana," 10,288 tons "	46	"
3.	"Massachusetts," 10,288 tons' displacement	42	"
4.	"Maine," 6,682 " "	30	"
5.	"Texas," 6,315 " "	30	"

Supposed speed from 15 to 17 knots.

COAST DEFENCE VESSELS :

6.	"Puritan," 6,000 tons' displacement	22	guns
7.	"Amphitrite," 3,990 " "	12	"
8.	"Terror," 3,990 " "	10	"
9.	"Miantonomah," 3,390 tons "	9	"

Supposed speed from 10 to 12½ knots.

RAM :

10.	"Katahdin," 2,155 tons' displacement	4	guns

Supposed speed 17 knots.

ARMORED CRUISERS :

11.	"Brooklyn," 9,271 tons' displacement	28	guns
12.	"New York," 8,200 " "	32	"

Supposed speed from 20 to 21 knots.

PROTECTED CRUISERS :

13.	"Columbia," 7,375 tons' displacement	31	guns
14.	"Minneapolis," 7,375 " "	31	"
15.	"Newark," 4,098 " "	28	"

Supposed speed from 17 to 22 knots.

Apart from the above named, there are a few more protected cruisers of the "Newark" type and unprotected ones of the "Montgomery" and "Marblehead" pattern ; one torpedo destroyer, the "Ericsson," and two or three torpedo-boats. This constitutes the whole strength of the American fleet in available men-of-war. Of them only two-thirds could be used for the offensive, while the rest would have to be kept in home waters for the protection of the coast, or, in other words, for the purposes of defence. Spain, on the contrary, could muster into action on the Atlantic about forty-five vessels, including the vessels of the Spanish Trans-Atlantic Company, ten of which could be converted without delay into efficient cruisers.

A comparison between the two fleets shows that the United States fleet, though stronger in powerful battleships and guns does not, from a naval point of view, form a unit, lacking as it does the necessary auxiliary vessels for combat, such as swift gunboats, torpedo destroyers, and torpedo-boats. In other words, the

composition of her *escadre*, according to modern rules of naval warfare, is faulty. And this is not all. It is an open secret, known to every power abroad, that there is hardly a vessel in the United States navy that carries a full complement of officers and men. A most serious weakness, indeed, in time of war! To imagine that efficient crews can abundantly be drawn from the coast population to man a modern man-of-war is preposterous. The olden times, when a sailor could be turned into a fighting man at short notice, have passed forever. At present, it takes quite a time before even a seafaring man used to the vessels of commerce can be drilled to understand intelligently his duties on board of a modern war vessel. Indeed, I have often found it easier to make an efficient man-of-war's man out of an enthusiastic landlubber than out of a stubborn fisherman.

The Spanish fleet is perfectly homogeneous. Her battleships, while by no means as powerful as the American ones, are swifter and all carry a full complement of officers and men, a complement that, thanks to her system of conscription, can be constantly kept up by drawing on her reserves.

These, however, are not the only advantages Spain would have in a naval encounter with the United States. Her plan undoubtedly would be to protect Porto Rico and Cuba to the best of her ability, and wage a naval guerrilla war on the coasts of the United States, dodging all serious engagements on the high seas except when the advantages were in her favor and her risks limited. With her auxiliary vessels, numerically stronger than those of the United States, she would harass the American ships until both officers and crews would be exhausted by the terrible strain of vigilance and double watches. On the other hand, the officers and crews of the Spanish fleet would by no means be called upon to undergo such exhausting fatigue. They would always be able to find relief, whenever necessary, by falling back on their bases of operation, Porto Rico and Cuba, where they could get all the rest needed to make them efficient again. The enormous coast trade of this country would be annihilated, and some of the Spanish vessels might have a chance to bombard the seacoast towns.

The United States would have to take the offensive and try to crush the Spanish fleet in one single engagement. Whether or not this could be done it is hard to predict. As matters stand the chances are against it. Spain could hardly be expected to

venture too far away from her base of operations in Porto Rico and Cuba. Consequently, a good, real, old-fashioned sea fight between the opposing fleets on the high seas would not be probable, as it could only be brought on by accident, should the Spaniards be misinformed as to the movements of the American fleet.

For the purposes of an attack on Spain in the West Indies the American fleet would necessarily divide itself into two squadrons, one ostensibly destined for Porto Rico, the other for Cuba. With the exception of a couple of small places, there is little to be attacked in Porto Rico; and as for Cuba, the American fleet would have to confine itself to the destruction of government property and abstain from inflicting injuries on private property. Otherwise the Cubans would have occasion to say: "God save us from our friends!"

During day the American fleet might be able to bombard government property in Havana from the open sea. But what of the night? Then innumerable small craft would slip out of harbor, and, going at a rate of 26 knots, threaten destruction to the ponderous ironclads. The loss of a torpedo-boat means little; the loss of an ironclad means everything. In money it means from three to four million dollars; in time it means from two to three years, and with regard to life it means a hundred to ten.

I have shown that the United States stand no chance of attacking Spain successfully at home, and I think I have also shown that their chances of inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Spaniards in West Indian waters are slight. Spain, before attempting to inflict serious damage upon places on the American coast, would certainly try to cut off the connection between the two American squadrons operating in the West Indies and to attack each separately. Should she succeed in doing this, or be able only to force the American fleet into a position where she could make an attack front and rear in the seas between Cuba and Porto Rico, I cannot see how the American fleet could escape serious injury, if not defeat.

To conclude, then, it is evident that the United States in such a war could do but little lasting damage to Spain, while the latter power, though she would not be able to defeat the United States, could easily inflict losses amounting to many hundred millions of dollars.

CONSERVATISM OF THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

BY W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

To those who are old enough to remember England at the time of the first election that followed the great democratic Reform Bill of 1867 few changes can be more extraordinary. That Reform Bill had been carried by a Conservative government, but when in the succeeding year this government went to the country, the disaster that befel it was absolutely overwhelming. A Liberal majority of no less than 128 was returned, and it was then the common talk of politicians that Conservatism in England had manifestly received its death-blow; that the hereditary element in the Legislature must speedily disappear; and that Conservative ministries were in future only likely to exist when the Liberal majority in Parliament was dislocated by internal quarrels and when its leaders found it convenient, until their own differences were adjusted, to place statesmen of another party provisionally in office. Ministries of this kind had been frequent between the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867, but in that long space of time the election won by Sir R. Peel in 1841 was the only one which resulted in a Conservative majority, though on no occasion since the election of 1832 had the Conservative numbers sunk so low or the Liberal majority been so overwhelming as in 1868. Very few men could have believed that an era of great Conservative majorities was soon to open and that the Conservative bark would prove competent to ride upon the waves of the new democracy.

The Irish Home Rule party, however, speedily appeared as a separate group, and it soon dislocated the working of the Parliamentary machine and exercised a powerful influence on the British electorate. At the election of 1874 the Conservatives regained about ninety seats which they had lost in 1868, and they

came in with a majority of about sixty over Liberals and Home Rulers combined. In the two succeeding elections, however, of 1880 and 1885, their numbers sank even lower than in 1868, though the steady increase in the Home Rule party made the Liberal majority small and precarious. In 1885 the Home Rulers were for the first time able to hold the balance between the two parties, and it was then that Mr. Gladstone took the step which broke up the old organization of parties and began a new era in British politics. No one who was not then living in England, no one who had not followed Irish affairs during the preceding years, can fully realize the astonishment and indignation that passed through English public life when, on the morrow of an election which had been fought by Mr. Gladstone in opposition to the whole Home Rule party, that statesman declared his intention of placing the government of Ireland in the hands of men whom he had so often denounced and so recently imprisoned as conspirators against both property and the empire; as men who, in his own words, were "marching through plunder to the dismemberment of the empire." No one who does not know the full strength of party allegiance in England can realize the force of the shock which detached from the Liberal party such a man as the present Duke of Devonshire, who had been the most devoted and most loyal adherent to Mr. Gladstone; such men as the Duke of Argyll and Lord Selborne, who had during their whole lives been his closest friends; such men as Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, the universally recognized leaders of advanced Radicalism. The defeat of the Home Rule bill in the House of Commons was followed by an election which produced a great revulsion of politics. Three hundred and sixteen Conservatives and seventy-eight Liberal-Unionists were returned, while the Gladstonian Liberals numbered only 190 and the Home Rulers eighty-six. The first two parties combined thus outnumbered their opponents by 118, which, with the exception of the election of 1868, was the largest majority since 1832.

Elections in England nearly always turn on several different issues, but in this case the single issue of the new Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone was before the electors. This was the election which placed the Salisbury government in office for no less than six years. At the same time the situation appeared a very precarious one. With the exception of Mr. Goschen, who,

in the difficult moment that followed the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, consented, with the full assent of his party, to place his admirable financial genius at the service of the government, the Liberal Unionists still held aloof as a separate body with separate organization. They refused office and professed to be only divided on one question from their former party. It was believed in the Liberal ranks that such a situation was untenable; that the rift between Mr. Chamberlain and the party of Lord Salisbury could not be permanently closed; that the new party would soon return to its former allegiance, or that if it did not it would speedily lose its separate existence, its members being absorbed into one or other of the older parties. The position of a party holding great power without either the enjoyment or the responsibility of office, acting in alliance with former opponents and at the same time comprising to a very remarkable degree men who enjoyed in the highest measure the confidence of the country, and had held high offices under the Crown, was a very anomalous one, and it was supposed that it could not last.

The predictions of dissensions between the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists proved signally false. No alliance in English history has ever been more loyal or more successful than that which kept in power the government of Lord Salisbury for six years after the election of 1886. The transcendent importance of maintaining the unity of the empire in the eyes of both sections of his supporters dominated over all other considerations, and the characters of the leaders on both sides contributed powerfully to consolidate the alliance. Of its founders, Mr. Bright has passed away, but three of the men who had done most for its success are still in the forefront of British politics.

The qualities which have placed Mr. Balfour in his present great position are more readily understood by those who are within the circle of his immediate influence than by strangers who judge him from a distance. His intellect, at once clear, bright, subtle, and flexible, seizes with rare quickness the salient arguments of a question; he reasons with admirable lucidity and an almost unfailing tact; and he is always open to new ideas. But he is not an orator. He never moves the passions of men as they were moved by Mr. Gladstone, nor can he rise on a great occasion to the heights of majestic declamation. His speeches are more of the nature of admirable conversation; but his quick-

ness both in argument and repartee, his light, skilful touch which neither wounds nor irritates, the transparent sincerity of his reasoning which never descends to clap-trap or evasion; his imperturbable temper, his wide sympathies, his uniform courtesy and kindliness towards opponents, his frank, boyish temperament, and his complete freedom from all jealousy, self-assertion, and pretension have combined to make him one of the most successful of politicians. Several of his predecessors have aroused stronger enthusiasm, more passionate devotion; but since the death of Lord Palmerston no leader of the House of Commons has been so popular with all sides of the House. It is a slight but a characteristic fact that no other public man is so often called in token of affection by his Christian name, and it is no exaggeration to say that his rare personal charm has gone far to deprive English politics of its old animosity. It was not always so. There was a time when, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was the subject of the most savage and persistent invective, but the manifest and unforced indifference with which he then encountered attacks that would have stung some statesmen to madness clearly showed the elements of strength and even of cynicism that underlie that bright and versatile nature. He soon lived down all unpopularity. Devoting himself skilfully and energetically to opening out the poorest parts of Ireland by the Congested District Board which he founded, he did more than any Irish Secretary of our time for the real benefit of the country; and his enemies or pretended enemies soon desisted from attacks which only elicited from him a little good-humored, half-amused banter, and which were perfectly impotent either to wound, to irritate, or to influence.

With great qualities of a leader, he has some manifest defects. Parliament is a jealous mistress, and Mr. Balfour has many tastes that are wholly unpolitical, and he does not possess the devouring appetite for work and the amazing gift of concentration that distinguished Mr. Gladstone. He is never insincere, but he is not always earnest. There are large tracts of politics in which he takes little interest, and being very susceptible to boredom and by no means patient of routine, he has not shown either the assiduity of attendance, or the knowledge of the forms of the House, or the mastery of details, or (on some questions) the seriousness of purpose of his immediate predecessors. Rely-

ing too much on his natural quickness, he has made several mistakes, and though his judgment on most questions is sound and moderate he is somewhat apt to catch up too readily new suggestions or to follow on the spur of the moment lines of argument without due consultation with his party. The task of a leader of the House of Commons is always very difficult and in the case of Mr. Balfour it is in some respects peculiarly so. It is not naturally a good thing that a single family connection should exercise a dominating influence over politics, not only filling several offices, but also furnishing the leaders in both Houses. Nor can Mr. Balfour claim among his colleagues the indisputable ascendency which was possessed by Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. At least three men sit beside him who are fully competent to lead the House, and each of them in some important respects is undoubtedly his superior. It is no slight proof of his personal qualities that under such circumstances his leadership has been universally popular and has excited no tension or jealousy.

The value of the kind of qualities I have described in maintaining a difficult alliance between two long-contending parties can hardly be exaggerated, and the Liberal Unionists have been equally fortunate in their chiefs. To the Duke of Devonshire the breach with Mr. Gladstone probably cost more than to any of his colleagues, for strong personal and party loyalty is one of his most conspicuous qualities. Nothing in his life is more characteristic of him than the readiness with which, when Lord Hartington, he assumed the leadership of the Liberal party when Mr. Gladstone had for a time completely wrecked it and had announced his intention of forever abandoning politics, and the equal readiness with which, without one word of complaint, he relinquished that leadership when the party had been re-formed and when the Eastern question brought Mr. Gladstone again into the arena. For some time before the final breach there must have been much in the policy of the Liberal party with which he could not sympathize; but his devotion to Mr. Gladstone and his intense reluctance to weaken a great political organization kept him steadily at his post. At last the Home Rule question cut the tie, but when once the painful severance was effected it may be confidently said that the long exile from office which followed cost him nothing. Utterly without ambition, one great source of his weight with the country is the well-founded belief that the

public duties he so assiduously discharges are an uncongenial task, undertaken simply through a sense of duty. A stranger who for the first time hears him speak will be astonished at the influence he has exercised, and will probably moralize on the way in which in England a great title and position can give importance to intellectual mediocrity. It will, however, gradually dawn upon him that this somewhat halting and ungraceful speaker is etching out the real situation with a truer touch, and weighing the opposing arguments in a juster balance, than any of those who preceded him, and he will soon come to understand how it is that the profound belief which moderate men of all parties entertain in the supreme good sense of the Duke of Devonshire, in the clearness, integrity, and moderation of his judgment, have given him a kind of influence which neither Mr. Disraeli, nor Mr. Gladstone, nor Lord Salisbury, with all their gifts and graces, have ever attained. More than one statesman with a total absence of rhetorical brilliancy has played a great part in English politics through the confidence in the soundness and honesty of his judgment which he has inspired. Lord Althorp, in the last generation, and Mr. W. H. Smith, in the present, were conspicuous examples. The Duke of Devonshire has more debating power than either of these, but he belongs essentially to the same type. Of all the losses the Liberal party have undergone in the last few years probably the greatest were those of the late Lord Derby and of the Duke of Devonshire, for they represented more than any other statesmen the qualities of mind and character which win the confidence of the great mass of moderate, educated Englishmen who are not strongly attached to party organizations ; and the future of the Liberal party depends mainly upon the degree in which it can regain the confidence of such men.

Mr. Chamberlain belongs to a type very different from the two statesmen I have described, and in my judgment he has made greater sacrifices than any other public man to the cause of the Union. The trenchant, aggressive radicalism of his early days excited against him the bitterest animosity in the Conservative ranks, though even at that time there may be clearly traced in his radicalism that strong strain of imperialism which distinguished him from many of his colleagues. Nor can he have been wholly in his element among those with whom he seceded. Speaking broadly, the result of the Home Rule schism was to detach the

Whig element from the Liberal party. Mr. Chamberlain's is certainly not a Whig mind, and in taking the part he did he not only condemned himself to nine years of exclusion from office but also abdicated the indisputable leadership of the advanced Radical wing, and turned most of his former followers into implacable enemies. Nor is his intellect of that kind which can soften transitions by vague words or subtle distinctions. At every period of his career he has expressed his views in the clearest possible language and in the strongest possible form. The admirable directness and simplicity that give his speeches an almost unrivalled force bring out into clear relief any discrepancy in his opinions, and it is idle to deny that on some questions they have been greatly modified. He is, however, as far as possible from a doctrinaire, and has a strong sense of the proportion of things. On the question of the Union and on its transcendent importance in contemporary politics his opinion was clear and decisive. On some questions, such as the education policy of 1870, and the occupation of Egypt, he has with fuller experience changed his mind, and he has announced the fact with characteristic frankness. Others—especially the connection between Church and State—have gradually faded out of the domain of practical politics. The tendency to stronger government and greater regulation of industry which distinguished him from the Cobden school is not a party question, for it is a tendency which is now equally apparent on both sides of the House, and the rapid acceptance of democratic principles by the Tory party within the last few years has made it not only possible but easy for a sincere democrat to work with it. The party which carried the democratic Reform Bill of 1867, which established a system of thoroughly democratic local government and introduced free education has clearly—for good or ill—thrown in its lot with the democratic tendencies of the age. The question of the franchise is now practically at rest, for scarcely anyone seriously wants it lower than it now is, and the abolition of almost all religious disqualifications and the settlement of the free trade question have removed the old boundaries and landmarks of parties.

All these things made possible a junction which a few years ago would have appeared incredible, and although Mr. Chamberlain was only an independent supporter of the government between 1886 and 1892, there can be no doubt that he exercised

much influence on its policy. Since the retirement of Mr. Gladstone he has been by very general consent the best speaker in the House of Commons; he has no superior on the platform, and he possesses to the highest degree the rare and useful gift of making speeches which appeal almost as powerfully to the reader as to the listener. His strong will, his swift, clear, decisive judgment, his untiring energy, industry, and tenacity of purpose; his skill and experience in political organization, and the great personal ascendency he exercises over Birmingham and the surrounding counties make him the most powerful of colleagues, and he is eminently endowed with the kind of courage that decides promptly and calmly in emergencies and can if necessary strike new notes and give new impulses in party politics. He has long outgrown the provincial habits of thought of his early years, and few things in English politics are more interesting than to watch his extending influence in quarters where he was once looked upon with detestation. He has done much; he has sacrificed much; and he has also learnt much—in some measure even the art in which he is naturally most deficient, that of sometimes wreathing the sword with myrtle; attenuating differences, and conciliating opponents.

"The English public," Lord Beaconsfield once said, "is like the English housemaid; it likes a change every few years." Since the great extension of the suffrage the number of electors who vote for the two parties alternately, and the consequent probability of a change of government at each election, has greatly increased. In the wear and tear of a long Parliament Lord Salisbury's government lost much of its voting strength, and the election of 1892 again brought the Liberals into power, but by a very different victory from that of the Conservatives in 1885 and of the Liberals in 1868. The election was once more fought under the glamour of the great name of Mr. Gladstone, and the spectacle of a statesman with a splendid past asking, when an old man of more than eighty, and avowedly for the last time, for the votes of his countrymen had an exceptional power over many constituencies. The result was a Gladstonian majority of forty, but it was not English and it was not British. In England there was an overwhelming, in Great Britain there was a considerable, Unionist majority. In the great provincial towns where Liberalism had found its chief strongholds the Unionists largely in-

creased. The majorities of Mr. Gladstone himself, of his son, and of Mr. John Morley, were significantly diminished. In a great number of English and Scottish constituencies candidates found it advisable absolutely to drop all allusion to Home Rule in their speeches and addresses. The new majority depended wholly on the Irish Nationalists, who were fiercely divided by internal feuds, and who were returned by constituencies which sent to Parliament at least twenty-three more representatives than they were entitled to by their population; by electors among whom, according to an official Parliamentary return, more than one out of every five professed to be unable even to read the name of the candidate on the ballot paper. The desire of the Welsh to disestablish their Church, and much distress and restlessness which existed among the English agricultural laborers, accounted for a great proportion of the Gladstonian gains. The numbers of the Liberal Unionists suddenly dropped by about thirty, and it was inferred that the country did not understand or did not approve of their resolution to abstain from office and continue separate from the Conservative party. The fact that at the next election, when the union between the two sections had been effected, the Liberal Unionists regained nearly all that they had lost, seemed to show that this inference was a correct one.

No worse misfortune could have befallen the Liberal party than the small majority which placed them in office in 1892. Though a great proportion of the moderate and moderating element had been detached from the party, there were still left among its leaders statesmen of eminent experience and ability who, in their own convictions, were as far as possible from being Revolutionists; who clearly saw that the party had made what the French call *fausse route* in adopting the Home Rule policy, and who would have gladly allowed it to disappear silently from their programme and be replaced by some innocuous form of local government in which both parties could concur. No one attributed either to Lord Rosebery or Sir William Harcourt much sympathy with the wilder spirits among their followers, and it is probable that if either of these statesmen had a perfectly free hand the Liberal party would have been soon brought back to a policy in harmony with its old traditions and not undeserving of the confidence of the nation. But the feeble government,

which had now risen to power, depended on the favor and the coalition of a number of separate groups in which the most violent were the strongest. It was the boast of the Nationalist leader that he held it in the hollow of his hand. Mr. Gladstone retired from politics, and the selection of a leader added seriously to the many elements of dissension that broke up the party. A system of log-rolling of the most cynical character began. Scheme after scheme of the most drastic nature was introduced for the purpose of gratifying particular sections, but without the smallest belief that any of them would become law. There were votes for the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland; for the establishment of Home Rule in Scotland; for the conversion of the British Isles into a Federation; for the abolition of the hereditary element in the House of Lords; for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church; for a new and highly predatory Irish Land Bill. The closure was practised in a manner and with a severity which had never before been known. Every effort was made to obtain some popularity by stimulating class and provincial jealousies, and above all to create an agitation against the House of Lords. Financial legislation in England rests wholly with the House of Commons, and the chief measure of the government was the budget of Sir W. Harcourt establishing the new death duties. It has brought much money into the Treasury, but it has done so by giving a new and powerful impulse to the system of graduated and class taxation, one of the chief dangers to be feared in democracies.

None of these things, however, gave the government even a semblance of popularity, and after a short career in which weakness and violence were strangely mixed it received its deathblow, and the General Election of 1895 followed. Scarcely anyone doubted that the government would be defeated, but scarcely anyone anticipated the magnitude of the disaster. Four Cabinet Ministers lost their seats, and nearly every conspicuous Gladstonian who returned to Parliament did so by greatly reduced majorities. Nearly all the great towns in the kingdom, nearly all the great manufacturing centres, nearly all the chief strongholds of the older Liberalism, returned Unionist members; and a Unionist government presided over by a Conservative statesman of great experience and much solid ability, but of no very dazzling eloquence and of no very extraordinary popu-

larity, found itself supported by a compact majority of 152, a far larger majority than any other British government has attained since 1832.

There are some features of this singular revulsion that are especially remarkable. One is the increased popularity of the House of Lords. Many influences have contributed to it. No facts have more occupied serious politicians in England of late years than the declining efficiency, and the increased uncertainty, of the action of the House of Commons. No reasonable man can doubt the danger of the enormous power which is in England vested in a simple majority. Chance and strategy and mere caprice will play a large part in their decisions. Many instances might be cited of votes which certainly did not represent the deliberate opinion of the majority of the members which were carried by a skilful combination of groups, by some blended issue in which politicians voted in the same sense through utterly different motives; or as the result of prolonged obstruction, of sittings in the small hours of the morning, of the accidental absence of particular members, or of the mistakes and confusion that inevitably arise when 670 men are called upon at short notice to decide highly complicated and technical questions of which a large proportion of them are necessarily very ignorant. There is also the important fact that under our system of parliamentary government majorities in the House of Commons cannot reject a considerable government measure without either overthrowing the ministry or precipitating a dissolution. Men will often accept an imperfect, or even a bad, measure rather than place the government of the country in hands which they believe to be untrustworthy, and perhaps alter the whole tenor of its policy. The extreme importance, under such circumstances, of a revising and delaying Chamber, and especially of a Chamber which can reject a bill without overthrowing a government, is very evident, and it has never been more felt in England than since the later developments of Gladstonian Radicalism. Whatever may be the demerits of the House of Lords, it has at least saved the country from a policy which the constituencies have twice emphatically condemned, and the denunciations which were so common during the last Parliament of the hereditary legislators who were over-riding the decisions of the elected representatives of the nation, appeared almost ludicrous

when the election of 1895 showed that during that Parliament the House of Lords had represented much more truly than the House of Commons the real sentiments of the country.

Two other considerations have had much influence. English politicians who desired to see a powerful Upper Chamber established on a purely elective basis have always looked to the United States as furnishing the most successful model of such a chamber. The American Senate has long been regarded with profound reverence in England. It was believed to be the main regulating influence in your Constitution; to be itself wholly free from the taint of corruption and demagogism, and to be the most efficient of all guarantees against dishonest, rash and aggressive policy. Rightly or wrongly, within the last few years this belief has almost disappeared. To a large number of careful English observers the deterioration in the character of the Senate appears to be one of the most evident and most ominous facts in American politics. Whether this impression is true or false, it has had an undoubted effect in increasing the indisposition among serious politicians to any organic change in the character of an Upper Chamber which, though certainly far from ideally perfect, may on the whole be said to work well.

Recent changes in English local government have had a still wider effect. The system of popular election on a low suffrage has nearly everywhere superseded the system of nomination; but the upper classes, instead of abdicating their former influence, have very generally come forward as candidates, and by doing so they have conclusively proved and greatly increased their popularity. No fact in modern English politics is more curious or more unexpected than the immense number of the aristocracy and the more important county landlords who under the new system of democratic election are now holding municipal offices throughout England.

The sons and connections of members of the Upper House have always been among the most popular candidates at Parliamentary elections, and the efficiency of the House of Lords as a legislative body is largely due to the fact that a majority of those who habitually take part in its proceedings have had as young men the experience of popular elections and of life in the House of Commons. It may be doubted, however, whether there has ever been a Parliament since the abolition of the nomination

boroughs in which this class was more largely represented than in the present. This has been one of the results of an election in which the chief radical election cry was a denunciation of the hereditary legislators. Among other effects it has greatly increased the number of young men in the House of Commons, a fact which is the more striking as one of the first results of the democratic Reform Bill of 1867 was to raise the average of age. "As I looked down upon that Parliament from the gallery," an old Parliamentary official once said to me, describing the first House of Commons after the Reform Bill, "there were so many bald heads it was like looking on a field of turnips." Mr. Gladstone, a few years ago, was accustomed to deplore as the most melancholy fact in modern English politics the increasing difficulty which young men found in entering into the House of Commons. For the present this tendency is arrested. "The youngest and best dressed House of our time" was the description given of the Parliament now sitting by one of the most important members in the preceding one.

This fact is a very encouraging one, for nothing is more certain than that the House of Commons is a body in which, with the rarest possible exceptions, men never really succeed who have not entered early and gone through a long period of apprenticeship. A man of mature years, whose life has been spent in other pursuits, if he enters the House, will no doubt himself learn much, and he may still hope to be of some use; but he need never expect to play a leading part in parliamentary life.

Another fact which is very conspicuous in the last few years has been the steady movement of the British working classes, and especially of the working classes of the towns, in the direction of Conservatism, or at least of Unionism. Something of this is no doubt due to a conviction among them that on the question which produced the schism of 1885 the Gladstonian party was in the wrong. The skilled artisans of England are shrewd judges of politics, and on this question they have had the ablest of guides. No two politicians have enjoyed their confidence more fully than Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, and no two men have carried the art of clear, popular, and cogent political reasoning to a higher perfection. But beyond this special cause there are larger influences at work, some of them common to all highly civilized countries and some of them especially English. To the

first class belongs the enormous increase during the present generation of working-class savings and working-class investments. The eminently wise legislation by which the state has encouraged thrift and placed the credit of the state at the service of those who have small savings to invest, and the great expansion both of the joint stock system and of co-operative industry have immensely widened the basis of property; placed a vast proportion of the capital of the world in the hands of the working classes, and attached their interests more visibly and more closely than at any former period to the interests of the state. Property in a democracy is only safe when it is very widely diffused, and in this diffusion lies one of the great elements of working-class Conservatism.

These causes, however, though very powerful, are insufficient to account for the extraordinary contrast between the strong Conservative sentiment prevailing in London and in the great provincial towns of Great Britain and the extreme Radicalism, the aggressive Socialism of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and nearly all the great manufacturing and working-class centres on the Continent. In France, Germany, and Belgium socialism, under a low suffrage, has become one of the most formidable of parliamentary forces. In Great Britain, the socialistic ideas which are so widely spread may be clearly traced in some branches of government legislation, especially in the land laws of Ireland, and in much of the reasoning in Parliament; but, in spite of active propagandism, socialism, as a distinct party force, can hardly be said to exist in the House of Commons, and nothing in the last election was more remarkable than its almost invariable failure at the polls. It is impossible to resist the inference that the great body of the working classes are essentially content with the form of government and the character of the legislation under which they live; and this fact furnishes the strongest argument in favor of the free trade policy which England, in contrast to all the other great nations, has steadily maintained. The preponderance against this policy, both among the empires and the democracies of the world, is indeed now so great that it needs all the confidence of the British people in their own opinion to persist in it, and, it must be owned that, even in England, its ascendency is not now as uncontested as it once was. Few persons who know the deplorable condition into which English agriculture has sunk

will maintain that in this department, at least, it has been a success. One very manifest form of protection, the restriction and legal regulation of labor, has grown rapidly in British legislation and still more rapidly in British working-class opinion. The number, also, has increased of those who believe that, although free trade is for the benefit of a great manufacturing and commercial country, it by no means follows that it is suitable for all countries and for all stages of industry, and who also believe that, even where it has been most beneficial, it has sometimes been pushed to an exaggerated and pedantic point, and to the sacrifice of other interests not less really important. The idea which has been lately launched of a closer commercial union between different portions of the empire, based upon differential duties against foreign products, is probably still far from realization, but it has grown and it is likely to grow.

But when all these deductions and qualifications have been made there is an unaltered conviction in England that the fiscal policy based upon free trade, in its broad outlines, has been proved by experience to have been extremely conducive to the prosperity of the nation and especially favorable to the working classes. Nearly all European nations have in the present generation increased their debts with appalling rapidity, but Great Britain since the Crimean War has paid off nearly two hundred millions of pounds of her debt. She has paid off one hundred millions within the last thirteen years. She has paid off more than eight millions in the year that has just terminated. Her credit stands higher than it has ever before done, and higher than that of any other country. In spite of partial and severe trade depressions, every test of national prosperity indicates a high standard and steady progress of well being. Taxation, it is true, has immensely increased. The expenditure of the country has doubled within fifty years, and the influences which have converted Europe into an armed camp have rendered absolutely necessary military and, still more, naval expenditure far exceeding anything before known in times of peace. In the present year the navy estimates are more than double what they were in 1875, but in spite of this increase under the influence of the free-trade policy nearly all the articles of first necessity to the working class have been freed from taxation. Tea, coffee, tobacco, beer, and alcohol are indeed now the only articles of their habitual expenditure which

are liable to duty. During very many years of rapidly increasing expenditure no addition has been made to the small list of articles of great consumption which are taxed, and, with the exception of beer, wine, and spirits, the taxation on none of these articles has been increased since 1873. The income tax, which is our chief direct tax, leaves untouched the wages of the working classes; for incomes below £200 a year are exempted, while several large departments of expenditure for their benefit have of late years been undertaken by the state. When we add to these things that the British working classes are exempt from the military conscription which weighs so heavily on the industry of the continent; that the franchise has long been extended to them; and that their trade unions have been fully recognized and protected, it will not appear surprising that their desire for organic change has greatly gone down, and that the appeals to class jealousies, discontents, antagonisms, or cupidities, which have of late years been so lamentably prominent in the Radical party, have met with little response. International congresses and associations have in the present generation been the chief agents in spreading socialistic and anarchical teaching, but they have also had another effect. The increased knowledge that English workmen have acquired of the conditions of labor in other countries has certainly not tended to make them discontented with their own lot; nor has a further acquaintance greatly impressed them with the wisdom or feasibility of Continental Socialism. The legal limitation of hours of work; the employment of women in factories; the restriction of alien immigration; and the better provision for old age, are the class questions which now specially interest them; but there is nothing in the principles of the Unionist party to make it less competent or less willing to deal with such questions than its rival. The factory laws, indeed, are much more due to Tory than to Liberal initiative, and the question of old-age pensions has derived its chief importance in England from the adhesion of Mr. Chamberlain.

The Imperialist sentiment has also, I think, manifestly strengthened among the working classes in England, and it has been much stimulated by the protectionist policy which is doing so much to exclude our goods from foreign countries. We are coming more and more to derive our supplies from our own dominions and to look upon our own dominions as the chief per-

manent and assured markets for our manufactures. Among the recent trade movements described by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech, two of the most remarkable were the almost complete displacement of foreign spirits by British and Irish spirits in the home market, and the rapid transfer of our tea trade from China to India and Ceylon.

Cobden's dream of a free-trade world in which for all industrial purposes, political divisions were immaterial has vanished, and the supreme importance of maintaining, protecting, and developing the distant portions of an extended empire as an outlet of British trade is far more clearly felt. It would be a gross calumny to attribute what is called the "Little England policy" to the whole Liberal party. No English statesmen in the past have ever been further from it than Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston; and in this respect they have found no unworthy successor in Lord Rosebery. But the class of mind which is most enthusiastic about Home Rule is also the class of mind which has always been especially inclined to this policy, and the events of late years have given it a much increased influence in the Radical opposition.

No one who observes the constant fluctuation in English politics and the many mistakes, mischances, and dangers that invariably gather around a government which has been for a few years in power will imagine that the present enormous disproportion of parties in England can be permanent. All that can be confidently said is that the present ministry will be very unskilful or very unfortunate if it does not last through a long Parliament, and that it has a better chance than any of its recent predecessors of outliving an election.*

W. E. H. LECKY.

* The publication of this article, which was written at the close of last session of Parliament, has been unavoidably delayed.—ED. N. A. R.

SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS FUTURE.

BY JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

It may be said that the attention of the rest of the world has been attracted to South Africa, not less on account of its recent adversity, than by reason of its unparalleled prosperity.

The disasters of the rinderpest, the Kafir outbreak, the locust plague, and the political revolution have made the year 1896 memorable in the annals of South Africa. With undiminished vigor, however, it is believed that she now enters upon an auspicious era.

To Americans it is a country of especial interest, as its chief industry is to a large extent conducted by American engineers, the development of the most important gold-mining properties of the Rand and Rhodesia, and of the diamond mines at Kimberley being under their direction. Moreover, Americans have been greatly benefited by the extensive purchases of machinery by the South Africa companies, and by the good markets provided for other classes of American goods as well.

The term "South Africa" designates that part of Africa extending southward from the Zambesi River (latitude 17 degrees, south) to Cape L'Agulhas, the southernmost promontory of the continent (latitude 34 degrees, 40 minutes, south). It embraces German West Africa; the Portuguese territories under the administration of the Mozambique Company; Rhodesia, south of the Zambesi, under the administration of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company; the republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State; the British Crown Colonies of the Cape, Natal, Zululand, and Basutoland. and the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Amatongaland. It somewhat exceeds one-third the size of the United States, exclusive of Alaska. Considerably over one-half of the country is composed of British

possessions. South Africa lies in the same zone as Brazil and Australia, and in the northern hemisphere has its latitudinal analogue in Mexico.

The coast line of South Africa is about 3,500 miles in length, and has remarkably few indentations. The harbors at present utilized are Walfish Bay, which is an enclave of Cape Colony in German Northwest Africa; Table Bay (Cape Town), Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth), East London, Durban, Delagoa Bay, and Beira. Excepting Walfish Bay, these harbors are all connected by railway with the interior of the country. The total mileage of railways in South Africa is about 4,000, but construction is proceeding apace into the interior, and this total will be considerably increased within the next few years.

South Africa has a heterogeneous population of about five million, of which over six hundred and fifty thousand are whites, English and Dutch* preponderating.

In the Cape Colony, those of Dutch extraction slightly exceed those of English descent, and in the Orange Free State the Dutch considerably outnumber the English. In the South African Republic, Natal and Rhodesia, on the contrary those of English descent are numerically greater than any other nationality. The Dutch, it is true, have been the pioneers or *voortrekers* in many parts of the country; but their settlement has been made in many instances, at least, only possible through the assistance given by Great Britain in suppressing the revolution of the Kafirs, with whom the pioneers came into conflict. It is to the unique colonizing capacity of Great Britain that South Africa owes the important position that she to-day holds.

Of the native population the bulk belongs to the Bantu family, which occupies all of Central and South Africa, and forms the great reservoir from which the manual labor of South Africa is drawn. The members of this family are generally designated "Natives" or "Kafirs." The term Kafir is of Arabic origin, meaning infidel, and was indiscriminately applied by the Arabs to all non-Moslem people. The Kafirs are the negroes of South Africa, though they have characteristic differences from the negroes of the West Coast of Africa, whence came our American negroes. The Bantu tribes are not aborigines, having come

*Those of Holland descent are called Dutch, while those born in Holland are termed Hollanders.

from Northern Africa. It is a remarkably prolific race, the numbers of which are increasing with great rapidity. Of far less importance numerically are the Bushmen, the true autochthons, but now the social pariahs of the whole continent.

The interior of South Africa was originally sparsely populated by these pigmy Bushmen tribes, which have resisted all attempts at civilization, preserving their nomadic instincts, and still approximating to the lowest known species of humanity.

The Hottentots, another tribe, which had located in South Africa anterior to the advent of the whites, though possessing some resemblance to the Bushmen, have radical ethnological differences. These people have occupied chiefly portions of the Cape Colony, not far from the sea coast, but there has never been a well-defined geographical boundary between the Bushmen and the Hottentot, their habitat frequently overlapping. The Hottentots, though evincing more receptivity, have been but inconsiderably affected by the civilizing influence of their environment, and may with the Bushmen be set down as unimportant, and indeed rapidly vanishing, factors in South Africa's future.

In its physical geography, South Africa is exceedingly diversified. The interior of the country consists of high plateaux, culminating in the table-lands of the Transvaal (South African Republic), whence the ground falls away in gentle undulations northward to the Zambesi River.

The high plateaux, from three to six thousand feet in elevation above sea level are, for the most part, treeless, or at best contain but a sparse growth of timber, usually of a dwarfed character. From the plateaux the ground does not descend with uniformity seaward, but reaches the coast by a series of terraces or steps. The mountain ranges which trend parallel to the coast line, from which they are distant one to one hundred and fifty miles, are in reality the broken seaward edges or escarpment of the high interior table-land.

In its hydrography, South Africa is simple, the most important rivers of the country being the Zambesi, which forms its northern boundary, and empties into the Indian Ocean opposite Madagascar, one thousand miles north of Cape L'Agulhas; the Limpopo or Crocodile River, which forms the boundary between Rhodesia and the South African Republic (Transvaal), emptying likewise into the Indian Ocean; the Vaal River, a tributary of

the Orange River, forming the southern boundary between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; and the Orange River, which is conterminous with the boundaries of the Orange Free State, the Cape Colony, and German Western Africa, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean.

With the exception of the Zambesi, which at certain favorable seasons admits vessels of light draught as far as Tete—a distance of about 240 miles from the coast—none of these rivers is navigable.

South Africa is singularly destitute of large inland lakes, in which respect it differs strikingly from Central Asia—eminently a country of great lakes, inferior in this respect only to the United States of America.

As may be inferred from its variety in altitude and latitude, South Africa has an unusually diversified climate. It may be said, however, that the isotherms of the country are determined more by reason of altitude than by latitude, the climate being, broadly speaking, warm and moist along the coast and dry and cool upon the high plateaux of the interior. Sunstroke is of but rare occurrence, and there are but few places in the country, and these, indeed, entirely confined to the northern coastal belt, where the heat is comparable to many parts of our Western America.

Within the northern coastal belt, and also in some parts of the low lying districts of the interior, malarial fever is endemic, being especially severe during the rainy season, but it is rarely of very malignant type. More or less cognate sickness is elsewhere prevalent, ascribable rather to the unhealthy conditions incidental to the development of new countries than to climatic causes. Upon the whole, it may be stated that the climate of the high lying plateaux is remarkably salubrious, and undoubtedly conducive to the physical development of a vigorous race. The therapeutic properties of the dry elevated region are recognized in the treatment of pulmonary complaints. In South Africa there are a rainy and a dry season; the northern and eastern portions having rain during the summer season (from October to April), while the rest of the year forms the dry and winter season. In the southwestern portions of South Africa, however, the seasons are reversed, the rain falling in the winter months from April to September, the months from January to

April being usually dry. In the desert regions the annual rainfall is from two to eight inches, while in the more favored portions of the country the precipitation is as much as forty inches. The rains are more or less torrential in character. Spring and autumn are not generally well defined, though in some parts of the country, the four seasons of our northern hemisphere can be more or less differentiated. Snow rarely falls except upon the mountain ranges, and there is no perpetual snow line.

In its landscape, the interior recalls our western plains, the country being undulating and having its scenic monotony relieved only by occasional table-shaped and conical mountains, but there are in the mountainous districts many most picturesque spots, though of very limited extent and not possessing the grandeur of Western America.

Many parts of the country are fairly well watered, but the proper development of its agricultural resources, speaking generally, necessitates the conservation of water and artificial irrigation. It should be stated, however, that upon the eastern coastal belt and the high lands of the Transvaal and Basutoland, the summer crop of mealies (maize), which constitutes the staple food of the native population, is treated without irrigation.

Corresponding with the variety of climatic features, we find great diversity in the agricultural and pastoral resources of the country. Tropical fruits, sugar cane, tea, etc., are grown abundantly upon the coast lands, while upon the elevated plateaux, and in certain portions of the Cape Colony as well, all northern cereals are extensively raised. The pastoral industry is one of importance; in fact, for many years prior to the inauguration of mining, the country subsisted practically upon the wool exported. Sheep, goats, cattle, horses, ostriches, etc., are extensively reared. One of the most serious disasters to the pastoral industry of South Africa is the rinderpest, at present epidemic in the northern portions of the country. There seems but little doubt that it will spread through the southern portion as well, and will decimate the cattle of all South Africa.

There is but little first-class timber in the country, the indigenous timber of the east coast being heavy and hard, and therefore, handicapped as it is by inaccesibility, not economically available. Upon the southeastern coast there are government plantations, but the supply is limited, and the quality inferior.

For many years to come, the lumber will continue to be imported, the source of supply at present being the western coast of North America and Australia.

While there is little doubt that with proper development of its agricultural and pastoral resources South Africa could be made practically self-supporting, the successful development of these industries depends, nevertheless, upon the creation of local markets through the stimulus given by mining operations.

Whatever may contribute to the extension of the commerce and trade of South Africa, the immediate future of the country is dependent primarily upon the development of its mineral resources. Probably no other event has so impressed this fact upon the minds of the people of the country at large as the dire straits to which they have been reduced by the rinderpest epidemic.

Indeed, upon two previous memorable occasions, South Africa has been saved from industrial disaster by the stimulus given to trade through the development of the diamond industry in the one instance, and the development of the gold industry in the other. The *Deus ex machinâ* to again save the country will be the expansion of the mineral industry.

With the exception of mining of gold, diamonds, and coal, there have been no considerable exploitations of its mineral resources. Coal fortunately exists in many parts of the country, and it has been estimated that the known coal fields represent an area of 56,000 square miles, which is equal in extent to the State of Iowa. There exist in some parts of the country large deposits of iron contiguous to the coal fields, but, as yet, the economic conditions have not favored the development of that industry. Lead, silver, cinnabar, tin, and other metals are also found in many parts of the country, but have not been remuneratively worked.

Among the mining countries of South Africa, the Transvaal is *facile princeps*, and is in all probability destined to maintain its paramount position ; though, as is well known, South Africa is "a country of surprises," and it is possible, of course, though not probable, that within its great extent other equally important districts may be discovered.

The South African Republic (Transvaal) comprises an area of 119,000 square miles, somewhat in excess of the combined areas of our six New England States and the State of New York inclusive. From the value of its mineral resources, it is to-day un-

doubtedly the pivot commercially and politically of South Africa. Politically the Transvaal is under the nominal suzerainty of Great Britain, acknowledging Great Britain as the paramount power in South Africa, with the right to veto all foreign treaties which it proposes. It has no seaport, in which respect it is seriously handicapped, being hemmed in by the Portuguese territory and English colonies. The white population is about 160,000, of whom 80,000 are *Uitlanders* (unfranchised whites), an unusually large percentage being adult males. The negro (Kafir) population exceeds half a million.

Until the year 1868, gold mining was, for political reasons, proscribed within the boundaries of the South African Republic. Impelled by the increasing poverty of the state, President Pretorius succeeded in effecting a repeal of the laws against prospecting, and, indeed, offered rewards for the discovery of payable gold deposits. As the result of this beneficial legislation, prospecting led to the discovery of gold within a short time in various parts of the Transvaal. Various discoveries were made in Klein Letabab in 1869, and Murchison Range in 1870. Other gold fields were discovered and proclaimed during the next few years, but it was not until 1885 that the deposits of the Witwatersrand District were found. The proclamation of these fields led to the rush that always attends the discovery of gold deposits, and by the magic touch of gold what was hitherto practically a barren stretch of *veld* has been transformed into the scene of great industrial activity. The township of Johannesburg was marked off at the end of the year 1886. The first reduction works of any size were erected in 1887.

Coal was discovered near Johannesburg in December, 1887, and it is to the juxtaposition of coal areas that the success of the gold-mining industry of the country is to be ascribed. During the year 1887, 23,000 ounces of gold were exported from the Witwatersrand District.

The total output to the end of 1895 from the Witwatersrand District was 8,858,000 ounces, of a value of $144,000,000. During this period the De Kaap, Klerksdorp, Heidelberg and Potchefstroom, Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg districts have contributed 909,000 ounces, having a value of $14,700,000, making a grand total of 9,767,000 ounces of gold from the Transvaal, with a total value of $158,750,000.

By far the most important mining district in the Transvaal is that of the Witwatersrand, or White Waters Range. This range forms the water-shed of the country, its altitude being from 4,200 feet to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are but few indigenous trees in the district, but forests of eucalyptus and acacias have been planted, and have developed with remarkable rapidity, the soil being very fertile. There are now numerous forests of these trees in the vicinity of Johannesburg.

The census taken in July, 1896, shows a population within an area of three miles from the centre of Johannesburg to be 50,000 whites and 42,000 Kafirs. The Asiatics and Malays number about 6,000. These figures do not, of course, include the great number of white men living in the vicinity of the mines, which are for the most part without the three-mile radius.

There are at present over 9,000 white employees at the mines, receiving wages amounting to annually over $9,000,000, and 70,000 Kafirs, receiving in annual wages nearly $12,500,000. There are, accordingly, about $20,000,000 annually paid out to the employees upon the mining properties of the district. Added to this, a large sum, probably equal to $3,000,000, is paid to others directly connected with the mining industry.

As will be seen, the present output is to a great extent absorbed by the payment of wages, but it must be observed that a large part of the present expenditure is in connection with the development of properties not yet upon a producing basis.

The climate of the Witwatersrand is exceedingly fine and exhilarating, though the mortality is great, having been during the past few months as much as fifty-eight per thousand. This is due to the inadequate supply and the bad quality of the drinking water, to defective sanitation, and to the appalling hygienic conditions generally prevalent.

In the Witwatersrand, and the neighboring districts of Heidelberg, Potchefstroom, and Klerksdorp, the gold occurs in a series of parallel beds of conglomerates known locally as "banket" reefs, so called on account of its similarity to the Dutch confection, "almond rock." These beds can be followed more or less continuously about forty-six miles to the east and west of Johannesburg.

The mineralization is remarkably extensive throughout the main reef series over a stretch of 46 miles, but gold by no means

exists continuously in payable quantities over that extent, the pay-ore being found in irregular-shaped zones (patches), less frequently occurring, however, in well-defined pay-shoots similar to those characteristic of quartz veins.

Geological evidence strongly indicates the permanency of these deposits to a depth far beyond the zone of feasible mining operations.

Actual mining developments upon the deep level areas, supplemented in turn by the results of deep borehole explorations, confirm the theories advanced by the geologists and justify the predictions that the life of the Witwatersrand District, from a mining point of view, is a long one; how long, though, it is impossible to accurately predict, having at present the indeterminate factors of the possible depth to which mining operations can be prosecuted, and of the rate of future annual exploitation.

To speak of the illimitable ore deposits is, of course, hyperbole, but it will certainly take three decades, perhaps more, to exhaust the deposits of the central section to the depth to which mining operations are now considered practicable. The inevitable reduction of costs of future mining and the discovery of other payable deposits would undoubtedly tend to increase the longevity of the district. On the other hand, it is obvious that, if the developments of the lower areas should proceed more or less concurrently with, and not as the sequel of, the exploitations of the upper horizons, the life of the district will be correspondingly shortened.

It has been computed by well-known engineers that the central section of the Witwatersrand District, embracing an extent of 11½ miles along the course of the reef, should produce up to a vertical depth of 5,000 feet over $2,000,000,000; the estimate of Mr. Hamilton Smith for this section of the Rand up to a vertical depth of 3,000 feet, $1,625,000,000, and that of Bergrath Schmeisser is somewhat in excess of Mr. Smith's estimate.

The estimated yield of the 27 miles, including the 11½ miles referred to, is, according to Messrs. Hatch and Chalmers, nearly $3,000,000,000. The magnitude of this output of gold will be realized when compared with the entire output of the auriferous gravel and quartz veins of California up to the end of 1896, which may be roughly put at $1,282,000,000; more than three-quarters of this amount having, as previously stated, come from the now

exhausted shallow gravel mines. The present value of the world's gold output is $218,500,000, according to the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of January 2, 1897. The contribution of the Witwatersrand District will therefore be a very important augmentation.

The output from the Witwatersrand for 1896 is 2,276,000 ounces, having a value of about $37,000,000. This represents about 16 per cent. of the annual output of the world, and comes from a radius of 25 miles from Johannesburg.

During the next few years, there will undoubtedly be an important progressive increase in the gold yield from the Witwatersrand District, and there is every reason to expect that within a few years the yield of gold will equal $100,000,000 per annum.

To the north of the Transvaal lies the British South Africa Chartered Company's territory, known as Rhodesia, including Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Northern Zambesia. In that region there are many miles of gold-bearing reefs, some of which are undoubtedly the scene of ancient mining operations. In fact, some archæologists are of the opinion that within this territory were situated the famous mines of Ophir. At all events, there remain to-day conclusive evidences of prehistoric mining in many parts of the country, and the magnitude of these operations is evidenced by the extensive ruins of ancient temples, dedicated to the worship of Baal, and which were undoubtedly connected with the mining operations carried on in the country at that time. Among the relics from the famous Zambesi temple, which is probably of Phœnician or Sabean origin, were found many articles associated with gold mining, among which are ingots, crucibles, gold beads, etc. The ingot moulds are of a pattern identical with that used by the Phœnicians in their tin-mining operations in England.

During the past few years mining has been revived in Rhodesia, but owing to the inaccessibility of the country, to the recent native outbreak, to the rinderpest, which has destroyed the means of transport, and to other obstacles, no definite results have as yet been obtained. The advent of the two lines of railway at present being energetically pushed on, the one from Cape Town northward into the western portion of the country, the other from the port of Beira into the eastern portion of the country, will facilitate mining developments, the result of which, it is be-

lieved, will be the discovery and development of payable mines. This would, in turn, stimulate the development of the other resources of the country, with the result that Rhodesia would eventually become the home of an important white population.

The topographical features of the country are such as to preclude the existence of any auriferous alluvians or placer deposits of importance; consequently Rhodesia will not be what is known among miners as "a poor man's country." Nevertheless, Rhodesia will undoubtedly attract American engineers, miners, and artisans, but they should secure definite employment before emigrating from America, if dependent upon employment for subsistence. To the "shrewd Yankee" of other vocations as well, the country would offer inducements, should its prosperity be established.

From a mining point of view Cape Colony is of chief importance in possessing the most extensive diamond mines in the world. The first diamonds were discovered in 1865, in territory which at that time belonged to the Orange Free State, but which was subsequently acquired through purchase, and incorporated in the Cape Colony. There were no extensive diamond workings, however, until the discovery of the Kimberley District in 1870.

Kimberley is situated in the northern part of Cape Colony, being connected with Cape Town by rail, a distance of 647 miles. There have been produced upwards of twelve tons of diamonds, representing a value of $400,000,000. The present annual rate of production is about two and a half million carats, having a value of $20,000,000. The magnitude of the mining operations carried on in Kimberley will be realized when it is stated that there are upwards of three thousand white men and ten thousand natives employed in the Kimberley District, and that about $8,000,000 are expended annually for wages, material, etc.

Copper ore is also being mined in the Cape Colony, the present annual export being about 30,000 tons of ore, containing approximately 8,000 tons of copper. This industry is also said to be capable of future expansion. Gold mining has not yet been successfully prosecuted in the Cape, but there are undoubtedly numerous gold-bearing quartz veins, some of which it is believed may ultimately be profitably developed.

Situated on the northwestern portion of South Africa, and

bordering upon the Atlantic Ocean, is the territory of German West Africa. Relatively, this country is not of much importance, being for the most part arid, and consequently not capable of supporting an agricultural population. But little is as yet known of its mineral resources.

Bordering upon the Indian Ocean in the northeastern part of South Africa lies the Portuguese territory, the development of which is greatly impeded by the unhealthy character of its climate, and in hardly less degree also by the tsetse fly with which the country is everywhere infested. This scourge is a serious obstacle to the development of certain low lying portions of Rhodesia as well. It resembles in appearance the ordinary house fly. Its bite, while invariably fatal to domestic animals, is strangely enough innocuous to man and to the wild game as well, among which indeed it has its habitat.

The present importance of the Portuguese territories is undoubtedly due to its two harbors of Delagoa Bay and Beira. The former is the finest natural harbor upon the South African coast, and over this harbor England holds pre-emptive rights. Delagoa Bay is connected with Johannesburg by a railway, 396 miles in length. Beira, which is the natural port of entry to Rhodesia, is situated at the mouth of the Pungwe River, about 250 miles north of Delagoa Bay. From this port a railway is being constructed to Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland, a distance of 389 miles. This road has already passed beyond the Fly-country, and should be completed to Salisbury in about two years.

The colony of Natal derives its name from the fact that it was discovered on Christmas Day, 1497, by the Portuguese navigator Vasco de Gama. The first European settlement was made by Englishmen at Durban in 1824. Natal has an area of 20,000 square miles. The population consists of some 450,000 Zulu Kafirs, 47,000 whites, and 41,000 Indian coolies. The country rises from the sea by a series of terraces. It has a tropical climate on the coast region, whence come the tropical products supplied to the Transvaal and the other interior countries of South Africa. In the uplands sheep are extensively reared. The mineral resources, with the exception of its coal fields, which are extensive, have been but little exploited.

To the west of Natal is the little independent Republic of

the Orange Free State. Its form of government is modelled after that of the United States of America. The white population number about 100,000, the majority of whom are Dutch, who, through the operation of the liberal laws of the land, live in perfect accord with their English confrères.

The Kafir population belong to the Basuto and Baralonga branch of the Bantu family, and number about 120,000. The country has an extensive table-land covering an area of nearly 70,000 square miles, and situated at an altitude from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. Its natural resources are chiefly pastoral and agricultural. Coal and other metals occur, but have not been remuneratively worked as yet.

On the southwestern border of the Orange Free State is the British Crown Colony of Basutoland, having an estimated area of about 10,000 square miles. From its mountainous character it is called the Switzerland of South Africa. It lies about 6,000 feet above sea level and is a succession of hills and valleys covered with grass, watered by innumerable streams and fountains.

Its capability as a wheat-producing country is unsurpassed, but the emigration of whites is not encouraged by the government, there being at present not more than 500 in the country. The Basutos number over 150,000, and, it is stated, have at least 15,000 well-armed soldiers, the presence and the warlike disposition of whom are a constant menace to the security of the neighboring States, and to the Orange Free State in particular.

To the north of Natal, bordering on the Indian Ocean, is Zululand, being about the same size, and containing nearly the same population, as Basutoland. Gold mining upon a small scale is carried on, and other metals exist, though, as yet, they have not been worked. The coastal belt is sparsely inhabited, owing to its unhealthy climate.

Amatongaland, to the north, is about half the size of Zululand. It is a low-lying coastal plain, rising not more than 500 feet above sea-level, and is not only unhealthy, but as far as yet explored, valueless.

The last of the political divisions for consideration, is the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, which adjoins the Transvaal on the northeast. It is an immense territory, having an area of nearly 200,000 square miles, of which the northwestern portion is an uninhabitable waste called the Kalahari Desert.

In the eastern portions of the country cattle thrive, and in some parts, the soil being generally fertile, agriculture, though on a limited scale, is successfully carried on.

This brief survey will, it is hoped, enable our readers to form some conception of the present status of those industries and resources upon the successful development of which is predicated the future of South Africa. It will be seen that its immediate future, or its future within a measurable distance, is, as we have said, primarily dependent upon the development of the mineral resources of the country, and it has been shown that the established capabilities of the country in respect of its gold, diamonds, and coal deposits, at least, justify one in entertaining most sanguine expectations.

There is, moreover, no doubt that the country possesses the inherent capacity of political as well as commercial aggrandizement. In the review of its physical geography I have also indicated the limitations of the country; have shown that included within its boundaries are immense tracts of territory unsuitable to the habitation of Europeans, and, as a corollary, that the country will never be densely inhabited compared with Europe and the United States of America. This, of course, refers to its white population. I am of the opinion, also, that South Africa is not capable of an indefinite nor of a comprehensive expansion in the direction of manufacturing industries, being handicapped in this respect by the competition of countries possessing superior economic conditions. There are two other factors to be considered in forming an estimate of South Africa's future. I allude to the political and to the native labor problems. Notwithstanding the great number of unemployed natives in South Africa, there is a constant scarcity of labor, which at times makes itself most seriously felt, not only in the mining districts, but in all other portions of the country as well, where manual labor is required. This scarcity of labor exists in spite of, or I should say, to use a paradox, because of, the high wages paid, the rate of native wages in the mining districts being entirely disproportionate to the needs of the native; for, with the wages thus earned, after working only two or three years, the Kafir is enabled to purchase wives upon the fruit of whose labor he thenceforth lives in most congenial idleness.

Attempts have been made to educate and also to Christianize the Kafir, but generally speaking with lamentable failure. While the Kafir tribes are at times recalcitrant, the individual Kafirs, when outside the pale of tribal influence, are perfectly tractable. As has been stated, they overwhelmingly outnumber the white population, and it is highly probable that the safety of the whites may sooner or later necessitate the disruption of the native tribal organization. It must be confessed that there always exists a danger of future general uprising of the natives of South Africa, but it is a fortunate circumstance that the Kafirs are not capable of extended organized movement, nor of concerted action. The solution of the native problem demands the co-operation of all the South African States. It is believed that its best solution is by such legislation as will impose (by means of taxation, etc.) upon the native the necessity of working. Against such a policy, no doubt, the sentimentalists will protest; but when once South Africa is thoroughly united upon this policy, it will assert and maintain its indefeasible right to enact laws relating to a subject upon which, if not their very existence, at least their material welfare, depends. It cannot be denied that the *régime* of the white man has greatly ameliorated the condition of the Kafir, who, before his advent, was the victim of internecine wars, and of the operation of a despotic form of native government, possible only among barbaric people. The only alternative supply of labor would be the importation of indentured East Indians, which has been done, though not altogether successfully, in Natal. As far as the Transvaal is concerned, the laws of that country make this scheme impossible, and it is, moreover, by no means a desirable alternative.

A far more momentous problem is that relating to the politics of South Africa. I shall not, however, trench upon the domain of politics, being indeed under an obligation not to interfere with political matters affecting the South African Republic, further than to express the hope and the belief that a satisfac tory solution of the racial problem, especially regarding the relations between the English and the Dutch, can be compassed by methods of statecraft.

While fully recognizing the fact that there are, unfortunately, discordant elements tending to widen the breach between the English and the Dutch, I know at the same time that there are

also most potent influences contributing to reconcile the racial differences, and to bring about that co-operation of all nationalities that is not only essential for the general prosperity of South Africa, but upon which depend the very existence of the individual States and their peoples.

The policy of isolation is incompatible with the general prosperity of the country, and, while there are inevitably diverging, and, indeed, clashing interests, the resultant of the various forces will be in the right direction. This view is based, not upon the expectation that altruistic principles will prevail, but rather upon the belief that those sentimental considerations, at present militating against South African progress, will be subordinated to the dictates of material welfare; that the interdependence of the several States will become universally recognised; that the present commercial barriers will be gradually removed; that customs unions will be formed, and, ultimately, while not wholly ceding their autonomy, the political confederation of the South African States will be established, thereby obliterating the boundaries which tend "to make enemies of nations, who had else as kindred drops mingled into one."

JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

DOGS IN TOWN.

It is somewhat of an Irishism to say that fondness for dogs is a humane instinct. Nevertheless, there is a thread of nobleness in the character of that man, no matter how otherwise uncouth and degraded he may be, who has a genuine sentiment of regard for a dog. The dog is a true friend of man, and if individual specimens are vicious in temper, it is usually because they have been made so by surroundings and treatment. It is, therefore, with no antipathy for the dog, but with ready acknowledgment of his worth and usefulness that I would suggest that he is a nuisance as a denizen of the city.

Cities exist for the convenience and benefit of man, but they have grown in a haphazard way, retaining many rural features long after these have ceased to have any rational excuse for remaining. There are many persons still living who can remember when swine roamed about the streets of New York, and were the unkempt predecessors of Waring's "white angels." Dickens gives this picture of Broadway a half-century ago, and the same conditions existed less than four decades ago, to my own knowledge:

"Once more in Broadway! Two portly sows are trotting behind a carriage, and a select party of gentlemen hogs have just turned the corner. They are the city scavengers. They are never attended upon, or fed, or driven, or caught, but are thrown upon their own resources early in life, and become preternaturally knowing in consequence. Every pig knows where he lives better than any one could tell him. At this hour, just as evening is closing in, you will see them roaming towards bed by scores, eating their way to the last, perfect self-possession and self-reliance and immovable composure being their foremost attributes."

The hog has gone, but the dog lags superfluous, and even in his best estate is a care and a menace; often the unsuspected carrier of disease, as well as an evident source of filth. The streets would be much easier to keep clean if dogs could be excluded from them, as they are already from the parks. The cost, private and public, of cleaning up canine filth is unmistakably onerous, and it is, in fact, a chief source of street untidyness. Any one who has lived in a corner house can sympathize with that statement.

In addition to this, the dog in apartment-houses and wherever human habitation is dense is a cause of discomfort as well as of serious deterioration in the health of human dwellers therein. In one instance, a baby was rendered really ill by the dog in the house opposite, who at brief intervals through the day and late into the night would spring up to the open window of his apartment and express his canine enthusiasm in unmelodious

accents. The babe, hushed to sleep, would be rudely awakened perhaps five minutes after, and this over and over again until, fortunately, cold weather has closed windows and brought surcease of this particular cause of complaint. And this is but one instance of innumerable wrongs of various sorts inflicted on a multitude of innocent sufferers. The dog himself is also a frequent sufferer from being kennelled in a place which may do for human habitation, but is certainly no place for a dog.

This is a subject which might well come under the purview of our Board of Health with the purpose of controlling to some extent the annoyance. As we grow in genuine urban life we will minimize all street noises and everything which tends to make life irksome. The car-horse has had his day and has almost disappeared. The old clothes man with his jarring outcry, the scissors-grinder with his tangle of bells, and the dog with his tendency to leave a reminder of himself on every doorstep, should follow him into oblivion, and remain only as memories in urban life.

GEORGE WILLIAM WINTERBURN.

THE MENACE OF PSEUDO-PATRIOTISM.

THERE are many reasons why the present seems a fit time for a revival of genuine patriotism; that is, of such a sentiment of devoted affection for Fatherland as shall be rational instead of merely passionate, generous instead of jealous, calm and confident instead of shrill and petulant; a sentiment characterized by a willingness to learn from the experience of others, rather than by a truculent self-assertion and self-complacency; in short, a devotion to the public welfare that shall be as quick to discern the danger within as the danger without, and as ready to expose and combat it despite the immemorial custom of crowning soldiers and stoning prophets. This we understand to be patriotism as opposed to mere provincialism, or that insane prejudice against the outsider which once made the words for stranger and enemy synonymous; as opposed, too, to those merely formal protestations of devotion, hysterical though they be, whereby patriots for revenue only seek to blind the people's eyes to their designs.

These pseudo-patriots may be subdivided indefinitely; but two classes of them deserve at least a passing notice. One, whom we may designate as patriots for political effect, belong to a parasitic race probably as old as government itself. But they were so much in evidence during the middle of last century that Dr. Johnson thought it worth while to immortalize them in the Dictionary. In the fourth edition he therefore inserted as a second definition of the word *patriot*, "It is sometimes used for a factious disturber of the goverment." This smacks of the Tory, to be sure, but a goodly measure of truth was mingled with its prejudice, and Sir Robert Walpole brought sound Whig testimony to bear it out when he said, "A patriot, Sir! Why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable and insolent demand and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts." Macaulay, too, has his fling at them, when he says of the elder Pitt, then fighting for office: "He was not invited to become a placeman; and he, therefore, stuck firmer to his old trade as patriot."

It was this type of pseudo-patriotism which Browning called "the

easiest virtue for a selfish man to acquire," and Johnson denounced as "the last refuge of a scoundrel." It would be scarcely worth our while to honor it with serious criticism were it not that it is so marvellously noisy, and that the mass of mankind have so high a reverence for the genuine sentiment as to be easily imposed upon by anything that masquerades under its name. In ordinary circumstances no great harm is done, because there is time for the common sense of the people to reduce the agitator's polysyllables to their lowest terms and to discover the disproportion between sound and sense. But in an international crisis, when great issues hang in the balance and popular excitement runs high, it is scarcely too much to say that a democracy contains no more dangerous element than that which would stimulate so-called patriotic passion to gain a vote or sell a newspaper.

This is the pseudo-patriotism of the demagogue. But, as has just been suggested, it would be ineffective enough if it did not find so favorable a soil for the sowing of its dragon's teeth in the unreflecting prejudice of great masses of the people. It may seem to be a hard saying, but it is none the less a true one, that very much which is accounted patriotism is nothing else than a provincialism compact of ignorance and prejudice. This was the passion to which Palmerston loved to appeal, and upon which he built not a little of his prestige as a foreign minister. But we have no need to go so far afield for illustration. Just as our relations with Spain reached their acutest stage last year, a Spanish mob wrecked an American consulate and tore an American flag in pieces; whereupon an American mob—a small and non representative mob, be it said—not to be outdone in devotion, trailed a Spanish flag through the streets of a New Jersey town and burned the King of Spain in effigy. Now the really significant thing about these outbreaks was, not that they should have occurred, since such popular *émeutes* are always liable to occur, but that respectable newspapers should have reported them as demonstrations of overpowering patriotic sentiment on the part of the Spanish and American participants. Yet the most casual consideration of the substance of these events as distinguished from their form is sufficient to show that they were essentially treasonable rather than patriotic, since nothing could have been better calculated to embarrass the two governments than such an appeal to passion on the part of their irresponsible subjects. But the episode serves admirably to illustrate the dim and unethical sense which the public attaches to a great word.

It is only as we ponder upon our political history that we see how this low and unworthy idea of patriotism tends to hamper and belittle us. It implies that patriotism is a virtue rather apart from other virtues, and to a considerable extent independent of them, thus ignoring altogether the fact of the solidarity of character. It is disposed to sneer at the suggestion that we may learn anything from the experience of other nations, and it is ever boasting of its silly contempt of all precedent. "Politics," the late Sir John Seeley used to say, "are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics." "This may answer well enough for the effete despotisms of the old world," exclaim our professional patriots, "but it will never do for the 'Young Giant of the West.' You must not expect the 'Genius of the Republic' to tie herself down to the prosaic lessons of history." It is, indeed, a favorite contention with them that we are now big enough and rich enough to ignore, not merely the long and varied experi-

ence, but, to a considerable extent, the very existence of the remainder of the world, and to accept, at least as regards our political and and financial life, the *rôle* of Hermit Nation, which Corea has found herself forced to discard. We cannot help reminding these self-sufficient statesmen, in Lowell's words, that—

> "Thet kind o' thing worked wal in ole Judee,
> But you forgit how long it's been A. D."

It is by no means easy to over-emphasize the difficulty which such false views of that wherein true patriotism consists put in the way of the free and candid discussion of some questions of the most vital public import. It is deemed "unpatriotic," for instance, by a considerable class of respectable citizens, to make any searching inquisition into the workings of our vast pension system, and he who exposes fraud there is in danger of denunciation as 'no friend of the soldier.' Whereas, in point of fact, if he be honest and disinterested in his endeavor, he is the best possible friend of the soldier, inasmuch as the people will cheerfully incur great burdens for the relief of needy and worthy veterans, but are bound to become restive if they have cause to suspect that the system covers fraud. There is, too, in some quarters, a disposition to treat the present agitation for international arbitration as unpatriotic, since it might seem to imply that we would rather arbitrate than fight, an eagerness to fight, of course, being reckoned a constituent element of all patriotism of this particular stripe. It seems but the other day, indeed, since we were told how sordid and commercial the peace spirit seemed beside the effervescent chauvinism that yearned to plunder, burn, and kill, to sweep commerce from the seas, and to bring other nations "to their senses."

The office of the critic is at all times a somewhat ungracious one. It is likely to prove dangerous, too, inasmuch as hypertrophy of the critical generally means atrophy of the constructive faculty. But in a time of political upheaval and social unrest a peculiar obligation rests upon us to reduce phrases to their lowest terms. Some of them will prove, like the First Gentleman of Europe under Thackeray's awful analysis, mere lay figures whereon to hang innumerable embroidered waistcoats, and nothing more. Others, under the same process, will evidence a truer worth than ever. This, we believe, will be the lot of our American love of country. No nation, surely, ever had greater cause for pride in past achievement, present opportunity, or future promise. In none has devotion to the public weal been deeper, more intelligent, or more self-forgetful in periods of national storm and stress. Patriotism has been in a sense popularized. Let us see to it, that, to adopt Coleridge's famous distinction, it be not plebified. As we contemplate our unique situation, our unexampled progress, and our immeasurable resources, we are forced to the conclusion that if any danger ever seriously threaten us, it must come from within rather than without. This means that genuine American patriotism, in accordance with Bolingbroke's dictum, "must be founded in great principles and supported by great virtues." It implies further that the principal field for its display is likely to continue to be domestic rather than international; and that nothing can more surely militate against the fulfilment of our national mission than our adoption of that ideal of military imperialism which is leading the nations of Europe into a labyrinth of increasing complexity and difficulty.

EDWARD MORTIMER CHAPMAN.

CURES LITTLE THOUGHT OF.

It is a well-known pleasantry that the Chinese pay their doctors when well and stop payments when ill. Naturally, the doctor would do his best, for this reverses the condition wherein the ill-health of the community is the prosperity of the profession.

Not to emulate China, the alleged usage will serve as a text. For in the United States, according to a recent writer with taste for statistics, half a million people die prematurely every year from causes which might have been postponed or removed by obedience to the laws of health and life. Even if this be a tenfold exaggeration there is still margin for a fervid picture of what might be done to save the unused decades of this army of untimely dead.

A man's most useful years to his family and to the community are those in which he has at command life's harvest of wisdom, experience and temporal possession. And to save these special decades is more than simply swelling the population. It is augmenting the nation's richest product.

So many accidental causes and diseases are known to strike at the lives of those who make up the community that we are apt to regard long life as a matter of chance, which will be better the less one "interferes with nature." Consequently, even among those with enough prevision to insure life there are few who take skilled counsel to prolong it. Every one seeks return of health when the human machine is out of order, but not many put it under supervision as long as all seems to be running well.

With machinery made by man the rule is different, perhaps because it is better known. Realizing that barnacles are inevitable, the yachtsman hauls up his boat periodically for scraping. Knowing that rust comes and dust gathers and pins and bearings wear, and piston heads blow out, and iron girders snap, men skilled in the mechanism are sent over it regularly to see where the strain is and apply relief before breakdown occurs. But the owner of the human machine prefers not to "interfere with nature," and only gets overhauling when more or less complete breakdown occurs.

For this reason, an illness in early rational life is often a great blessing, in that it brings the machine under inspection, and this adds more to the individual's life than the illness subtracts.

Considering nature's marvellous care of her children, the popular reverence for her is not strange. Yet contrast the bitterness of the wild fruit with the sweetness of the cultivated; the hedge-corner wild rose with the American Beauty; the knotty prairie horse with the lithe-limbed thoroughbred. Contrast the adult mouth in which dentistry has not interfered with nature—the mouth of tooth cavities, snags, and abscesses—with that full of sound white teeth saved from decay. If it were as patent that blood-vessel rust is as inevitable as tooth decay—and almost as remediable when taken in time—who among the rational would not avoid it?

The human race has an average length of life. Just why this arbitrary limit is not reached by the race twenty years sooner, or twenty years later, is not apparent from the organism. From David and Aristotle down, the question has puzzled the philosophers.

Civilization, or "the advance in arts and learning"—that is, science—has already raised greatly the race-average of life. To appreciate this, one has only to contrast man in savage and civilized states, or animals running wild with the same species domesticated. Fuegians, Esquimaux, Austra-

lians, rarely reach forty-five years of age. Lions in captivity, being fed, live long after the loss of teeth and claws, their only means of subsistence in a state of nature. Insurance experts class English risks as better than those of the Irish in Ireland, where food conditions are not as good Dilke, studying the longevity of the Eastern United States, shows that the climate, the intensity of American life, the proportion of emigrants of lower organization, and the slow replacement of the Anglo-Saxon element by the German stock of shorter race-average, have all tended to make the average longevity of the American below the English figure.

So the Englishman, German, American, Irishman, Fuegian, face respectively a different life-expectation. As with races, so with individuals. Influences, very definite and definable, are at work either lengthening or shortening life. And these influences can be mastered to some extent.

Though science can not discover why the race at a certain average should show a physical waste exceeding repair, it can tell clearly why a particular individual begins to die earlier than the race average; or why in another individual repair keeps pace with waste beyond the race-average. One has not come under the same influences which have played upon the other. And the relation of these influences to the individual is the province of the scientist.

Only a few men in centuries—men like Harvey, Jenner, Lister, Pasteur—are able to raise perceptibly the race-average; but every broadly educated physician might add to individual longevity, if he understood his most important function and impressed it upon the community.

Civilization felt instantly the results of the work of Pasteur, Lister, Koch. In the one single field of the maternity hospital their discoveries reduced the mothers' death rate from thirty-three per cent. to less than one-fifth of one per cent. They have extended the life-saving power of surgery, and daily narrow the field of contagion.

But the individual, though reaping the general benefit with the rest of the community, has not yet learned to gather all that he might receive personally from science.

Leaving aside those of impoverished vitality at birth, and coming to the average adult of the community, consider for example the scourge of pulmonary consumption, which is said to cause one-fourth of the adult deaths in England. The preparation of the human soil for this devastation can be foretold long before the bacillus is planted, and often in time to prevent its taking root. Public sanitary supervision is reducing the spread of consumption, but individuals are not yet taking all the measures at their disposal to keep themselves from becoming good soil for the germ.

Take the question of muscle. There may be too much or too little. Both will shorten life, and neither will call for medical aid until the damage is done and is almost beyond repair. The athlete builds up splendid muscles; they require an unusual amount of blood; they offer unusual resistance to the passage of the blood, and consequently the heart must grow larger and work harder. Perhaps, to insure his life, his heart is casually examined, and the doctor finds no over-developed muscle stretched out of its utility, and no valves blown out. Yet, suddenly, when swimming, the sturdy fellow goes to the bottom, and people wonder why it is always the good swimmers who are taken with cramp. But it was not a cramp, popularly speaking; the heart stopped because it could not drive blood through at a critical moment.

Or, there will be a slower degeneration of the heart muscle, if heavy demand upon it continue after it has reached its limit of overgrowth; and then some day it will stretch like a wornout gaiter top, and the broken-down man is told by the doctor what he now knows too well himself. And very little can be done for the trouble that need not have occurred.

Too little development, on the other hand, may give no warning of serious trouble. One may even be fat. But finally the fat creeps in between the muscular fibres, which in the heart, arteries, and veins propel the circulation. A feeble blood current results. Or, when there is no fat, atrophied and faded muscular fibres leave the blood current in the same sluggish condition. Such a patient may get an occasional prescription for a torpid liver, or a little iron for his blood, and may not see his physician again for years. Yet all the time there is going on the slow process of congested liver, k'dneys, and enfeebled heart, and later a slight retention of the waste products of life. These, circulating in the blood irritate the delicate blood vessels like pepper in the eye; and now, regardless of years, old age has commenced; the man has begun to die. The blood vessels, from the largest to the smallest, begin to deposit the results of this inflammation within their calibre. This may come at thirty, at forty, at fifty, or it may be postponed to seventy: and just where the breakdown will occur will depend upon the weakest point. It may be heart or lungs or liver or kidney, and the disease goes by one of these names; but its real name should be *rust from neglect of the machine.*

In the matter of heredity, though science can fan the feeble spark of vitality into a semblance of life, the weaklings have little chance in the struggle. But we can gather wasted decades at the end of the next generation by care of the present. And while "every higher degree of individual evolution is followed by a lower degree of race-multiplication," it is certain that science can get a greater number to a self-sustaining age by regulating the fertility of the shiftless than now reach that age under the present blind trust in nature. The gardener, by cutting off the buds of plants that is, by preventing too great reproduction) increases their bulk and longevity and the character of the fruit. In man over-reproduction often causes the loss of all the offspring before even one has reached a self-sustaining age.

There is also a life prolonging element in the psychic field. It is now well known that increased complexity of life with increased expenditure distinctly aids longevity. Luxury, "the fertile parent of a whole family of diseases," modifies it greatly, of course; but this is a manageable factor.

We have only to recall personal experience to realize the force of intellectual stimulation. The interest of sport will sustain men without fatigue for distances they otherwise could never traverse. The excitement of strife will often mask the presence of wounds. Self-forgetfulness in all the walks of life, under the stress of love, chivalry, or accepted duty, doubles human endurance and brings results that surprise the poor doer himself when back in monotony. Self consciousness distracts one from worthy purpose to unworthy self, and with its blushes and confusion robs of even routine abilities. Success gives new vitality, new powers, and this is another name for new life. Misfortune imposes blight, self-consciousness, inactivity, and what is this but lessened life? The history of war, shipwreck, tempest, shows a larger percentage of the survivors from the men of brain, who outlast the men of muscle—the men with no power of self-detachment, with no purpose, no philosophy. Biography presents its list of "grand old men" to

prove that intellectual activities rescue from the fatal narrowing of sympathies which comes on with age. The retired ranks of business tell how soon men drop who cease endeavor and devote energies to self-nursing Literature sometimes hits the scientific mark. Says Amiel: "Happiness gives the energy which is the basis of health. To make any one happy, then, is strictly to augment his being." And, finally, religion yields new view, new health, new life, in the convert's first rush of enthusiasm. This psychic phenomenon forms the sole truth-capital of the faith-healers.

There is proven, therefore, the existence of a psychic source of vital power in the organism; also, that there are definite forces which can be made to act upon this well-spring of life.

Who shall enter this "transcendental laboratory of nature," and smite the life-giving rock if not the man of science who knows humanity to the core? Even the pill-limited doctor, with worried look and disbelief in spiritual essence, can help one out of a perspective as narrow as his own—out of the death-yielding weariness of monotony—by ordering a change of climate.

It is a law of mental impressions that they wear themselves out and become altered by continuance. The popular melody grows odious in time. Bury it long enough, and it is heard again with pleasure almost pristine. And this explains the wonders wrought by change of scene and climate. The old ruts through which wearied nerve force runs without change are temporarily abandoned for new-made grooves which give vivid impressions, like vigorous electric sparks. The old ruts, meanwhile, freshen up like furrows on the finger when rings are laid aside; and returning to duty is like resurrecting the pristine melody.

A wearied woman in kitchen toil struck two pots together, and her eye brightened at the peculiar note. It recalled a long-forgotten railway trip. "Testing car wheels with a hammer sounds like that," she said; and the memory of excursion freedom drove her heart faster and sent more blood through the capillaries of her eye.

Sunken in monotony, the very exhaustion itself resists the idea of change. Devotion to the routine becomes more and more morbid as the necessity to break away from it is greater. The change need not always be abandonment of business. The time, place, and character of meals can be altered. The time of rest can be lengthened, shortened, changed. Mental occupation of leisure moments, the amusements—even the devotions—can be directed. The ferryboat cure has given results shaming the Kneipp cure, the water cure, the faith cure. The three-cent daily ferry trip taken as a sacred duty, under advice, gives more than oxygen to the pent-up housewife. The imagination takes hold upon the bustling travellers and shipping seen, and follows them into larger freedom and more genial climes. The meeting-house, the revival, the confessional, are each in their place powerful "cures"; they enable shut-up souls to "lay hold upon the ideal by the link of religious aspiration." Feeble of resource, indeed, must be the doctor who does not sometimes prescribe an anthem.

Judicious variation of monotony conserves energy and postpones age.

Is there not, then, reason to conclude that lightning rods and life-boats and air-tight compartments and fire-escapes as life-savers are not to be compared with that wisdom which can garner such a harvest of rich decades for the nation?

EUGENE COLEMAN SAVIDGE.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXIV.

MARCH, 1897.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE, AND COMPANION OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

THAT recent happy accord of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, England and America, which, under the name of the "Treaty of Arbitration," approaches, as all good men hope, final ratification, and which will mark a new epoch in the history of Christian civilization, brings with it a special necessity. This is that the two peoples should continually better and better understand each other. Every sincere effort, however humble, towards such an end is permitted and desirable, and consequently I have gladly accepted a request to lay some of the chief facts regarding Indian famines, and the present visitation in particular, before the American public, that they may more justly judge the stupendous tasks undertaken by the Queen's government in India, the faithful spirit in which that government administers its prodigious charge, and some of the reasons why, without expecting any such complete success as is really impossible in saving the lives of the imperilled millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, American observers may perceive the sincere nobility of England's purpose, and may appreciate—nay, even admire—a self-imposed responsibility without parallel in the history of righteous and capable rule.

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All countries depend for existence on that wonderful dispensation of rain which, lifted in the form of cloud from the ocean by the rays of the sun, and wafted back to the original river sources, descends to fertilize the earth, thus furnishing an analogue of the circulation of venous and arterial blood in human bodies.

Well does the Koran praise Allah for his gift of that soft and serviceable tribute of the sky, "which might be black and bitter if he willed," a true and exquisite miracle of nature. But India positively lives by the rain, as a child by its mother's breasts. Twinned like those maternal inventions of creative beneficence are also the sources of India's sustenance, to wit, the southwest and the northwest monsoon. From May or June until September, with the first there comes, almost all over the Peninsula, after the hot weather, and what is called the "*burra choop*," or "great silence," a copious flood of rain, turning the dry, yellow soil into emerald green as if by magic; this is the sign for beginning agriculture. If all be well it will soak the land sufficiently to let the peasant get into it first the *kharif*, or summer crop, to be reaped in the autumn, and next the *rabi*, to be sown later, and reaped in the spring.

The *kharif* sowing is principally of millets, pulses and rice—the *rabi* sowing is of wheat, barley, and certain late leguminous crops. But unless the southwest monsoon has brought very copious and constant downfalls, India always eagerly expects that the northeast monsoon will repair the supply by supplementary contributions during November and December. The *kharif* crops are of both early and late kind. The *rabi* crops take four months to come to harvest. Here then, speaking broadly, is the ordinary programme of India's agricultural year, and such, with certain alterations in the seed-sowing of *kharif* and *rabi*, is the usual rotation system of the Indian farmer. Every now and then the cycle is not exact, and because of spots on the sun, or reasons remaining unexplained, Nature's accepted plan goes amiss. By one or both monsoons the fruitful water is withheld, or is given only from niggard clouds; and then, in all epochs of India's history, death in his most cruel shape has stalked over the land and has slain the ryots and their families by millions.

See what it means, moreover—on what a colossal scale of

horror and ruin—this fatal event of a deficient rainfall. To feed only the Northwest and Oudh takes fifteen and a half million acres; to feed Bengal fifty-four and a half millions; to feed Bombay twenty-four and a half millions, and to feed Madras thirty-two million acres of properly watered lands! The population of these—only a portion, remember, of the vast country—would mount up to at least 115 millions of souls, and, speaking generally, they all depend in less or greater degree upon those timely *kharif* and *rabi* rains. Americans, with huge areas of soil still happily left to conquer, may ask why the area of cultivated ground is not increased. The reply is that, enormous albeit Hindostan appears in extent upon the maps, there is not much good ground remaining to be taken up. There are rich regions where the climate is deadly, as in the Terai; there are poor tracts where population is scanty; but neither for the old-fashioned Hindoo peasant nor for modern men with new methods and machinery does there exist any considerable margin of unused soil.

Could, then, the native cultivator double his yield by manures? He certainly employs none which are artificial and imported, like the nitrates; but he knows what he is about with his own simple materials, and when high authorities mock him for using up all the cattle-droppings for fuel cakes, he laughs silently because he knows that the ashes of *gauri* are just as precious to the soil as the natural commodity unburned. But practically the tilth is never seriously mended in India, except close to the villages and for sugar-cane, opium, or garden crops, unless it be by burning and scratching into the red or grey soil some jungle branches and dead leaves.

Neither have Western machinery nor scientific farming methods found any success. What can Sussex, or even Massachusetts, do with the husbandman who will insist on carrying a plough or a wheelbarrow upon his head, and whose fathers for 3,000 years past have stood upon a pointed stick drawn by a buffalo in order to make a two-inch furrow. The Hindoo lives directly and placidly from the bountiful hand of Heaven, which he calls "Indra." Dwelling in his village he tills only so much of the culturable jungle as can be easily reached morning and evening by his slow-moving cattle. He has not the

capital nor the mind for costly Western implements; and his winnowing-machine is still and always the wind blowing from Heaven. *Jowarri* and *bajri* are for the humble; wheat, flour, and rice for the Brahmans and the rich, with plenty of *dal* and pulses to make up for the meat which the strong Sahib and savage Mohammedan devour. Such is his simple fare—millet-cakes and boiled leaves of rape and gram with Mhowa fruit, mango, plantain, and cocoanut—by these the blameless existence of the Hindoo sustains its innocent span. Fowls and eggs are held by most in abhorrence; no cheese is so much as known; and about 180 millions of that wonderful people never taste animal food at all, unless in the shape of milk, curds, and *ghi*, which last is clarified butter.

Thus all hangs upon Indra and the rain. If the southwest monsoon is exceptionally late in setting in, or premature in its cessation, or scanty and irregular, or excessive during its period of duration, great mischief may be done, and any failure of the rain at this season is damaging not only to the crops then growing, but also to the winter crops which are sown after the monsoon stops, and to which a thoroughly moistened seed bed is essential. The early and late falls are looked for to soften the soil and admit of the ploughing preparatory to sowing the *kharif* in the one case and the *rabi* in the other, and delay in putting in the seed beyond a certain period is prejudicial to the growth and maturing of the crop. The millets and pulses of the *kharif* crop are hardy plants, and can bear a great deal of irregularity; but any partial cessation of the rainfall exceeding a month in duration, or, as it is called, "a break" in the rains of the monsoon, will do them great injury, especially if, as is sometimes the case during such a break, a hot, dry wind also sets in. Rice is more delicate, and perishes if the plants are either too deeply submerged, or their roots left dry for a very few days, and for this reason the winter rice of Bengal and the sea coast is a precarious crop, dependent on the continuation of rainfall in September and October, after the monsoon has generally ceased in Upper India.

In such words official documents in India have recognized the importance of the God of Rain, and the Queen's government alone, among all past and present rulers, has undertaken the daring, the extraordinary charge, to supply the shortcomings of

Indra. Bygone Maharajahs and Mogul lords did much for policy, rather than philanthropy, in the way of helping Heaven by tanks and canals, and India is the best-irrigated country in the world except Lombardy. Great princes, chiefly for the sake of revenue, made those marvellous "anicuts" and "tars" and "jheels" of Mysore, Madras, Hyderabad, and Karnul, and private people have everywhere sunk the innumerable and most useful wells, for there is always water under the dry soil at from ten to forty feet, and the Sanskrit Mantra says, "He who plants a tree begets a son, and digs a well goeth to Swarga." But ruling, as God knows we do, for the sake of the Indians first, and for revenue and reputation and power afterwards, the British in India have outdone all ancient works of artificial irrigation by such vast gifts to the land as the Ganges Canal, the East and West Jumna Canal, and those of the Bari Doab, of Agra, of the Lower Ganges, and the Soane, and the Sirhind. These cost tens of millions sterling and water millions of acres, otherwise arid, and far more quickly, too, than the bullock and the well, where the one leathern bucket, the mussak, asks six days to give to one acre its needful drink. Of course, where there is water there is always plenty. The Indian earth, lying red and yellow under the ever-fierce sun, demands but moisture to break into verdant foison, and the rich black soil of the Deccan will of itself hold water enough for every crop in ordinary years.

And now, see what this means: that the Queen's government in India has solemnly and publicly accepted responsibility to the utmost limit of its unchecked power and enormous wealth, for all those years when the shortcomings of Indra and the fault of the still incomplete irrigation works bring the people to the "noose of Yama." The average population in the districts under our rule is 211 to the square mile. Oudh, Bengal, and the Northwest Provinces show an average of over 400. I should put at about 200 millions, all told, the tale of souls within the Queen's India, excluding feudatory states, and of these 140 millions would be Hindoos, 45 millions Mohammedans, and 15 millions of all the other religions. A vast preponderance of this population is rural. In Bengal, the Northwest and Oudh 93 per cent. of the people live in villages, of which, taking all India together, there will be, say, one village for every two square miles.

Here is an interesting and valuable table of the propor-

tions into which the adult male population is divided as regards employment :

	Per cent.	Estimated number of adult males.
Professional, including government service..	3.6	2,232,000
Domestic ...	6.2	3,844,000
Agricultural	56.2	34,844,000
Commercial	5.2	3,224,000
Industrial	13.1	8,122,000
Laborers	12.3	7,626.000
Independent and non-productive	3.4	2,108,000
	100.	62,000,000

Of those 2,232,000 classed as professional, about one million are employed under public authority, and include 223,000 police and village watchmen and 571,000 municipal, local, and village officials; about another million are employed in private professions, 629,000 being engaged in religious or charitable duties, 189,000 in literature, science and education ; 218,000 in the fine arts.

Thirty-four and three-quarter millions, or 56.2 per cent., are returned as agricultural. As to this it must be remembered that :

(1.) The agricultural population is not restricted to adult males, large numbers of women and children being engaged in agriculture.

(2.) Many artisans and professionals, besides their trade, own and cultivate land, and must be added to the population that lives on the soil, as must also the greater part of the laboring population. So that, speaking broadly, it is probable that 90 per cent. of the rural population, or rather more than 80 per cent. of the total population, is closely connected with the land.

Now, therefore, the immense problem grows plainer and alas ! darker. All India depends on the rain, and 80 per cent. of her children quite directly—so that when dearth-years come the laborers, the weavers, the potters, and the beggars, making about 40 per cent. of the 200 millions, begin immediately to famish, the rest quickly following. This is always the case. I find in the Blue Book just issued to Parliament the usual notice :

"In all provinces classes on relief are mainly low castes and laborers, with many weavers in Madras, Bombay, and Central Provinces, specially employed in weaving."

Let me take from the same publication, which is only a few days old, the open repetition of that solemn pledge which the Queen's government has undertaken in the face of the world and of India, to fight for all these lives of Her Majesty's dark-skinned subjects, as though it were a great war waged for vital Imperial interests. Lord Elgin and his Council, dating from Calcutta December 23, 1896, wrote to the Secretary of State for India as follows :

"On a former occasion, when Southern India was suffering from famine in 1877, a sum of something like £700,000 sterling was collected in England to be applied in India to the alleviation of distress. The application of this money led to a correspondence between Lord Lytton's government and the Secretary of State of that time, which terminated with Lord Cranbrooke's Despatch No. 46, dated 16th of May, 1878, and which the Famine Commissioners had before them when they discussed the subject in paragrapns 187 and 188 of their report. In the course of that correspondence it was laid down 'that the government is responsible, as far as may be practicable, for the saving of life by all the available means in its power,' and that 'it is not proper or expedient that the government should ask for private subscriptions to supplement its own expenditure on famine, especially as it is clear that such subscriptions can make no appreciable difference' in the amount of an expenditure which must be reckoned by millions. To these principles we steadfastly adhere."

Let these official words be noted. Her Majesty's government to-day, as before, adhere to the principle of "saving life by all the available means in its power." In accordance with such an unparalleled vow of duty, never accepted before in the annals of Empire, an all-embracing "Famine Department," has long been established, a "Famine Fund" has been instituted—officers of keen ability and devoted energy watch, inspect, enquire, and report constantly and ubiquitously, and the Indian people, so far as it knows or cares anything at all of politics, knows that the British Raj, as no conqueror, or power, or mighty Maharaj ever previously attempted, this British Raj which keeps the *burra choop* for them—the "Great Peace"—and lets scrupulously alone their religions, their women, their liberties, and their property, stands also self-charged before Heaven with the resolve to rescue them from death and misery at cost, if needful, of the last rupee of the Sirkar's treasure chest, whensoever that wrath or indifference of Indra comes against it. The ancient governments offered little or no resistance, believing, indeed, that "the sky of brass and the soil of iron" was merely the Divine way of

preventing the inhabitants of India from quite out-growing the productive capacity of their land.

You will hear in America echoes of those voices, ill-informed, egotistic, prejudiced, or positively treasonable and mischief-seeking, which say that India is unfairly taxed for army expenses, for home charges, and domestically. Do not believe this, until the true figures have been examined and compared with those of old times—of Akbar and the Peishwas—and then those figures, properly understood, will satisfy all reasonable minds that this great guardianship of India—committed to Britain for divine purposes—is as honestly and unselfishly conducted, as regards finance, as it has been gallantly won and heroically defended by arms, and faithfully and unsparingly ministered to by those silent lovers and servants of India, her matchless civilian officials. To keep the land safe from exterior dangers, to organize and maintain that vast machinery of internal administration, to toil unweariedly under that fierce sun at the material development of the prodigious peninsula, while always standing on guard as concerns the Muscovite, and the monsoons—these things necessitate a full treasury and a well-paid *personnel;* nor is there a point in which the economy and honesty of Indian finance might not find a fair defence. Suffice it to remark on this head that while the land revenue, now much reduced from bygone rates, is really a quit-rent paid to the government as landlord in accordance with immemorial Hindu and Mohammedan customs, the salt tax, so much clamored about, does not cost the individual peasant more than sevenpence a year, while the total fiscal burdens, producing thirty-seven millions sterling, may be set at four shillings per head. Here is the authoritative truth about the Queen's assessments as regards those whom the famines chiefly affect :

"The agricultural laborers pay taxes on their liquor and salt, amounting to one shilling and eightpence (or 13½ annas) per head, or each family pays about a fortnight's wages in the year. The artisans pay about two shillings (16 annas) each, or about the average earnings of five working days. Traders pay three shillings and threepence (26 annas) each. But any native of India who does not trade or own land, and who chooses to drink no spirituous liquor and to use no English cloth or iron, need pay in taxation only about sevenpence a year on account of the salt he consumes personally; and on a family of three persons the charge amounts to 1s. 9d., or about four days' wages of a laboring man and his wife."

Since, then, there lies no undue burden on these poor and gentle peasants; since India is naturally so fertile that, besides feed-

ing her own two hundred and seventy millions she sends abroad in certain years thirty million hundredweight of grain and pulse, and twenty million hundredweight of rice; since Her Majesty's government stands openly bound to save her from famines at whatever imperial cost, how is it that we have failed in past visitations to rescue from perishing a terribly large number of people, and shall, too, probably witness the termination of this present dearth mournfully marked by another awful loss of innocent lives; for sanguine indeed would be that Englishman of adequate information who hoped to escape from the dark story of 1896-97 without deaths reckoned by the lakh—perhaps by the crore. To answer this I must go deeper than all official documents, and explain some of the hidden social causes in India that render absolute victory in these vast and honorable periodical struggles of the Sirkar with Destiny sadly impossible and never to be expected.

Civilized citizens, accustomed to an elaborate and expensive system of poor relief, have perhaps never asked themselves what is the ordinary social and civic manner in India of providing for the pauper population. I remember being asked by a newly appointed President of the Poor Law Board in one of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinets to talk with him about his new portfolio. "Why not begin," I said, "by examining the methods pursued in such a land as India? With a subject population of 200 millions, and 70 or 80 millions more, practically dependent upon Britain, the lessons of such a field ought to teach you much!" "Bless my soul, yes," he ejaculated, "I must look into that! What is the Poor Law system of India?" And mightily astonished was the able Minister when I replied, "There is none at all!" Yet so, indeed, it is; and the reasons of this, immeasurably creditable morally and socially to the Hindu people, are well worth grasping by such as would comprehend the inner aspects of Indian famines. First of all, India is the home of the Ideal—religious, metaphysical, and domestic—to an extent which makes those ridiculous who speak of her creeds as ignorant, or her inhabitants as "heathen." You never see any but the most wretched woman begging for alms there. Why? The explanation proves how elevated, even if mistaken, the average moral sense is of the people. Every woman, not deformed, or an outcast, or insane—at least in the higher castes—has been betrothed at an early age to a boy, whose

household thenceforward adopts her entirely. If the little husband dies, before or during marriage, the disaster is regarded universally as the penalty for sins committed by the female in a previous life. The widow must submit, and will submit, not marrying again, but hoping, by patience, to rejoin her lord after death, and his family will, until her demise, loyally support her, for his sake. Practically these views obtain all over the land, and as every female child becomes betrothed all women are definitely provided for. If the rash ardor of certain crude reformers could have its will, and alter this, so as to promote the remarriage of Hindoo widows, all those who became wives for a second time would find neither of the two allied families willing to sustain a wife belonging in the next world to two husbands, or to none at all. Besides this, the sentiment of the *Bhao-bund*, or blood relationship, is all powerful in the land, and never repudiated. As also in Japan, where there are no poor laws and no paupers, the ties of kinship are everywhere acknowledged, discharged, and repaid; and the household cakes will be distributed to all who put forth the claim of poverty, hunger, and relationship. Add to all this, that charity is not so much a virtue, in India, as a habit, a religious necessity, an indispensable passport to further prosperous existences, and it will be seen why India, in a most tender and effective manner, fulfils the law which Christians only, or principally, talk about. A Sanskrit verse says that

> "When the door is rudely fastened, and the asker turns away,
> Thence he bears with him thy good deeds, and his sins on thee do lay."

And any one who reads my story of Sita and Bularam, an episode of the poem entitled "In an Indian Temple," will discern to what terrible lengths can go the passion of hospitality, and the sacred ardors of charity in India. And what the upper castes do the lower largely imitate, so that at the beginning of a famine there is always an immense taciturn effort everywhere to do all for herself with India. Her people bow to the will of the gods, and shift alone as long as possible, and long after the latter rains have failed, and distress ought to be loudly proclaimed, they eke out with humble pride their failing stores of meal and pulse by bamboo seeds, jungle fruits, boiled leaves of trees, and the *conjee* of thrice-cooked rice.

Then, again, the self-respect of Hindus is prodigious; and they "lose face" in applying to any save a kinsman for food, which indeed, as many Americans will know, is, especially if thus obtained, uneatable for high-castes when not lawfully prepared. A Hindu servant whom I desired to cure surreptitiously of his deadly weakness after fever, by beef-tea, told me, quite sweetly, that he would have poisoned me, upon recovery, if I had carried out the idea. Again, the *purdah-nashin*, the "curtain-dwellers," those women who must not be seen in public—a foolish fashion adopted from the Mogul, and never really Aryan—cannot announce their misery, nor take an alms-bowl to the Relief Camp. There is a vast category of these—women and children—who begin slowly and certainly to perish as soon as the famine begins, and who must and will succumb at last, unreached by the great hand of the government, or only reached when despair has brought them—haggard, wasted, and shameless—to snatch that last meal, which is desperately craved for, but the very eating of which is poison to the enfeebled and ulcerated stomach.

And this last remark brings us to one most subtle and fatal fact about Indian famines—so momentous in connection with any hope of successfully contending with those scourages that it has always to be borne in mind from the very outset. I ventured, indeed, in a recent conversation with Lord George Hamilton, at the commencement of the present trouble, personally to draw the minister's particular attention to it. Starvation is essentially a slow disease the fatal crisis of which really arrives early, and oft-times unsuspected by the victim and his would-be helpers. The physical condition of the Hindu race is not a strong one. Lofty as those Buddhistic doctrines are, which Brahmanic India has adopted from "The Light of Asia," about abstaining from the slaughter of animals, and from flesh-food, human bodies are all, I fear, imperfectly fitted by nature for an exclusively vegetable diet, which must, moreover, be consumed in large bulk to get adequate nourishment. The Hindu mothers allow their little naked children to eat boiled rice until the string tied round them appears buried in the skin of the distended stomach, and from youth to age the people are badly prepared internally for the crisis. Under daily stress of hunger the mucous membranes become impoverished, and their functions impaired. The little store of fat in the tissues wastes quickly away. The poor, thin

blood lacks current and substance to feed the failing limbs; and the man or woman has really died weeks before that day upon which—walking skeletons of bone and shrunken skin—they have found the government distributor, and, with or without some futile effort to carry a basket of earth or break some *kunkur*, have taken with lean fingers the food which they could no longer digest—food which, as I have said, actually poisons them by setting up in their stripped intestines a wasting diarrhœa. This is how scores, perchance hundreds of thousands, of victims, will this year perish, with the Queen's bounty in their hands and the savor of the goodly nourishment in nostrils already pinched by death. Furthermore, there arrives in the latter stages of the famine-death, after those fiercer pangs of the hungry belly, and those first furies of the starved body, a horrible lethargy, the expression of a brain fed with pale blood deficient in volume and nutrition. In this condition the miserable victim has already really ended his existence, albeit apparently alive. That sad and gaunt spectre which the government officer has just pitifully accepted as a candidate for "free doles" died last moon in the far-off village to which he has clung too long. It was a corpse to which the warm *conjee* was so kindly granted. He, patient sufferer, is defunct now almost before that rice broth had cooled which might once have been his salvation.

It must be mournfully added that the chronic insanitation of Indian towns and villages adds measureless perils to famine, weakening many who might have tided over a brief time of fasting to the finishing point of fate. British hygiene has done something for the cities in the way of pure water, civic regulations, medical dispensaries, and so forth. It might do more if properly supported by the sluggish native municipalities. But if the death rate of the Peninsula, even in ordinary seasons, were closely studied, it would be seen what a mere "bagatelle" the loss of even five million lives by famine is, contrasted with that "15 per thousand" which is the average *excess* rate of Indian mortality-records over those of London or Boston. Nay, that Indian death rate often rises to 100 per 1,000, and the only medical solace is that the survivors must be protected by an inherited immunity. Graceful and picturesque and pastoral as must seem to the traveller that Hindu village existence, where all is

so peaceful and so sunny, the sanitary expert shudders at what he sees—and smells—about the lively tank and around the gossiping well. An official report says very truly :

"The Indian village is subject to one class of unhealthy influences, which sufficiently accounts for the chronic low condition which makes the inhabitants ready victims of famine or epidemic disease. The inadequate and impure water-supply of a year of drought is only an exaggeration of the deficiency and impurity which are at all times the characteristics of too many cities and villages. Wells, even where deriving their supplies from uncontaminated sources, are often liable to many forms of pollution ; and the ordinary tank, in which personal ablutions, washing of clothes and utensils, and watering of cattle are alike conducted, becomes in time of drought a source of pestilence."

At the hour when I write these lines, all who know Indian domestic life in the towns and villages are shuddering at the thought that the new bubonic plague, which is an importation into the Peninsula from China, may join hateful and horrible hands with the famine and stalk together through the decimated swarms of the native population. Hitherto there has not been any marked contact between the two. Bombay, Kurachi, and Poona, where this evil pest has appeared, are all very well-fed centres. But if such a combination should strike certain regions which figure dark upon the famine map, even the power and wealth and splendid dutifulness of the Queen's government in India would probably stand paralyzed and nerveless before such a human catastrophe as history has never yet chronicled.

It is necessary, for any completeness of view, to say something about the methods of supplying grain foods in India. Never does a famine year occur but voices arise clamorously bidding the Sirkar to purchase and import vast quantities of cereals wherewith to rescue the peasants. Happily no Indian Viceroy has been or will ever be so ill advised as to comply with that mad demand. If he did, he might indeed freight a mighty flotilla of steamer with bags of rice and casks of flour, and just when the rain fell, and the stress was ending, he might display a handsome but useless stock in trade as a colossal corn-merchant. But he would have killed dead the trade of the Bunya, and by that same man and his little shop—much abused as they both are—the Hindu people contrive to exist. Squatted in the midst of their sacks and pots filled with lentils and millet, rice and maize and barley and grain, Bapoo and Gunesh, the village corn-chandlers, are the pipes

by which the vast ordinary fertility of India flows to her children. In olden days the pipes ran unevenly because of the distances of place from place, and consequent bad communication for produce. Even now if the total out-turn of foodstuffs in the land could but be spread by some mechanical and commercial miracle over the entire surface of its necessity, India would see very few die of famine in her confines before next May or June bring the glad rain and good low prices. At this moment a rupee, which will only buy nine seers of corn in Sholapore, easily purchases twenty-six seers in Kashmir. But the main future hope of the country is to get this equilibration of supply achieved by the indigenous agencies helped—nay, it may be, forced—by the ever-developing improvement of roads and extension of railways. There is this fortunate point about a bad famine year, that it starts all sorts of deferred rural and municipal works, and in that way provides fresh weapons for a future battle. Each sad campaign of this brave war of redemption turns faults into lessons, and leaves the forces of beneficence stronger. Whatever the government can do in lowering the railway rates for the carriage of grain, facilitating steam transport from the foreign rice markets, remitting dues, and doubling official solicitude, it does by long habit of vigilance and liberality. But it must never turn grain-dealer. Too true it is that Bapoo and Gunesh—those useful but crafty shopkeepers—make sharp use of a dearth to pile up their profits, and that in many a spot there are grain pits, and the *goladars* filled to bursting in the midst of people dying or dead of hunger. But India would be lost, indeed, in the future if her ancient mode of supply were frightened out of being by the crushing competition of the Sirkar in the market. It is a thousand times better that the indignant mob should, now and then, beat to death with their *lathies* an unscrupulous *marwarrie*, or a wicked *bunya*, who will not sell his grain at fair prices, than that one rash if splendid act of imperial impatience in this respect should paralyse India's immemorial custom—usually a very effective custom—of distributing the food-stuffs to her population.

It will be seen, by this stage why, when London, through her present very distinguished Lord Mayor, desired to start a compassionate subscription for the famine-stricken, eastern portion of the Empire, there was official hesitation on the side of

the Viceroy and his Councillors. So late as December 17, 1896, we find Lord Elgin telegraphing:

"We venture to recommend no action be taken in England in regard to subscriptions for the relief of distress in India until the situation has more fully declared itself. Definite decision depends upon winter rains."

Some public outcry was made at this, and the Mansion House subscription has since been set on foot and has attained already generous proportions. As a manifestation of sympathy and deep desire to help our distressed fellow-subjects in the East, those kindly donations now pouring in, that noble list of rich and well-to-do Londoners and others freely giving, after the example of Her Majesty, who heads the honorable catalogue, possess indubitably an infinite value. On the last similar occasion the then Chief Magistrate of London was enabled to send seven hundred thousand pounds sterling to the Indian authorities, and, no doubt, a very handsome amount will be despatched by the present Lord Mayor, Mr. George F. Phillipps, before the stress and the subscription close together. Yet, from what has been written, it must be perceived that any such effort of private charity, in face of so prodigious a calamity, is really like sending a basket of fruit or a bouquet of flowers to a sick friend as far as any substantial aid from the movement can go. At the time when Lord Elgin sent that message he was spending a lakh of rupees and more per day in actual relief of famine victims, the number of whom was given at 1,183,000 even at that early stage. He has to confront the dread days of February, March, and April; for little help can come from land or labor or fall in prices before May and June. The daily lakhs now being expended will swell to weekly crores; the returns of destitute men, women, and children whose mouths the Sirkar must fill will mount to millions, and, in presence of such a prospect, a few hundreds of thousands of pounds from sympathizing British citizens cannot seem to those primarily engaged in this great battle of life and death more than a trivial and merely complimentary matter. The Viceroy and his officers will have to lavish imperial treasure with "both hands" to fight, perchance, the plague as well as the famine—to make war against the offended Hindu gods for the rescue of the Indian people, all with the sad certainty that failing some happy caprice of nature they can only win in the end a drawn battle. Like bugle notes, however, before the fighting, sound forth these general orders and

declarations which we take from Lord Elgin's latest printed despatch:

"Relief arrangements adequate. In connection with the present distress, machinery previously elaborated has worked well, and organization being rapidly expanded to meet growing demands.

"Numbers on relief will now increase rapidly, and continue to grow till reaping of spring harvest in March, April, gives employment, and must remain large until Autumn crops reaped in September.

"Landlords, often assisted by government loans, doing much for their tenants, and private charity active, especially in larger towns. Advances are being freely given by government, generally without interest, for construction and repair of wells and embankments to extend and secure spring crops, and for employment of famine-stricken in agricultural improvements.

"Stamp duty remitted in case of all loans, public or private, for relief of distress.

"Government forests thrown open to grazing and extraction of jungle products, and surplus grass sent as fodder to affected tracts.

"Food stocks reported ample in Burma; adequate in Madras, where rayats of affected tracts hold large stocks; sufficient for a year in affected districts of Bombay generally; sufficient in Punjab, where dealers of one affected district said to be holding up enormous stocks through southeastern districts, importing from Sindh; sufficient for the present in Northwest Provinces and Oudh and Central Provinces, where spring crops are expected to carry them on to autumn harvest; and, except in one district, sufficient for the present in Bengal, where rice can be promptly imported from Burma.

"Adequate arrangements have been made for supply of relief camps inland.

"Railway rates for grain have been reduced.

"Government has publicly proclaimed its rigid policy of non-interference with private enterprise, and abstention from purchase on its own account, save possibly in definite tracts, under special conditions of difficulty."

It will be seen in what a high and stern temper of honor and duty this British government in Calcutta sets itself to the periodical task of contending against nature for the vast multitudes of human life entrusted to it. And it will save lives by the million, while it perhaps loses—inevitably loses—so many millions for the reasons above displayed. But assuredly here is a spectacle of conscientious rule which effectually justifies our presence in India, which makes our Raj there a fact welcome to humanity and to civilization, and which may especially impart satisfaction to intelligent minds in the United States, since the credit of any such measure of success as these faithful Indian officials shall attain against odds so formidable belongs to the genius and to the energy of our common race.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

PRISON LABOR.*

BY CARROLL D. WRIGHT, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

THE prison-labor question is ethico-economic in its character. It is to a greater degree ethical than economical. This is true both from the point of view of the State treasury and from that of the producer of goods and the wage-earner.

The only statement for the whole country as to the relation of the earnings of State prisons to the expense of running and maintaining them fully is for 1885, as given in the Second Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor. At that time, taking all the institutions of the country into account whether conducted under one system or another, the total labor income was 49 per cent. of the running expenses and 35 per cent. of the total expenses. By "total expenses" is meant all expenses for repairs, construction, etc., beyond the purely current running expenses. If the expenses and income under the lease system, which has been a source of profit, be eliminated, the labor income under all other systems was 46 per cent. of the running expenses and 32 per cent. of the total expenses. Therefore, while here and there a prison has been made to pay, in the sense of bringing into the treasury more money than was taken out of it, the rule is, and has been for many years, practically as shown in the federal report cited. At the present time the

* The official reports consulted are the Tenth and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor (1879, 1880); Second Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor (1886); Eighth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor (1892); Report of the Commissioner of Labor for Michigan (February, 1884); Fourth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois; State reports on convict labor of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Iowa, Wisconsin; recent reports of Hon. Austin Lathrop, Superintendent of State prisons for the State of New York; "The Unavoidable Uselessness of Prison Labor," by Sir Edmund Du Cane (*Nineteenth Century*, October, 1896); "Condemnation of Criminals not Punishment," address by Edward F. Brush, M. D. (*Popular Science Monthly*, February, 1897).

proportion of expenses derived from prison labor is less, undoubtedly, than ten years ago.

Considering the labor and product account, we find that in 1885 the total product of all the penal institutions amounted to $28,753,999, which was $\frac{54}{100}$ of 1 per cent. of the total value of the products of the manufacturing industries of the country in 1880, while the total product of the higher penal institutions only, that is, prisons of the grade of State penitentiaries, was $24,271,078, equivalent to $\frac{45}{100}$ of 1 per cent. of the total value of all manufactured products in 1880. In 1895, as shown by Bulletin No. 5 (July, 1896) of the Department of Labor, the total product of the higher penal institutions only in the United States was $19,042,472, being a little over $\frac{20}{100}$ of 1 cent. of the total value of the products of the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1890. These values, both for 1885 and 1895, are for the value of the goods after the materials have been manipulated by the prisoners. They do not represent the value which has been added by them, but the value of the materials on which work has been bestowed and the work itself. From a wage point of view, the labor of convicts in 1885, from which resulted a product of the value of $28,753,999, amounted to only $3,512,970, or $1 of convict-labor wages to $8.19 of finished product of the labor of convicts. The ratio at the present time is probably less. The total value of the labor expended by the convicts in the State penitentiaries and prisons of like grade at the present time does not much exceed $2,500,000, or a little more than $\frac{1}{100}$ of 1 per cent. of the total wages paid in the manufacturing industries of the country in 1890.

Thus it will be seen that, whether the State treasury is considered or the competition with labor taken into account, the prison-labor question, from a purely economic point of view, need not excite much attention. It is perfectly true that here and there the products of prison labor enter into sharp but very brief competition with goods made outside, and the fear that prices may be lowered and wages affected injuriously by throwing prison-made goods on the market is thus created. In the many investigations which it has been my privilege to make in relation to the prison-labor question I have found few instances where prices have been affected in the least, and never a case where wages have been lowered in consequence of the employment of

convicts in productive industry. Nevertheless, the moral effect of the supposed competition and of whatever real competition has occurred has been sufficient to create a demand in nearly all the States of the Union for some regulation of the employment of convicts under which competition can be entirely or largely removed, and for the last twenty years or more political platforms have often contained a paradoxical plank demanding that convicts should be employed, not only as a matter of health but as a source of revenue to the State, but in such a way as to relieve honest industry of competition. It is an absolute impossibility to prevent competition if convicts are to be employed in any way whatever. It must be admitted by all sane men that they should be employed and constantly employed upon intelligent labor. The problem, therefore, so far as the economics of the question is concerned, is either to reduce the competition to the lowest point or to manufacture goods in such a way and under such conditions that prices and wages can in no sense be affected. This is the whole of the economic side of the question from the productive point of view.

The ethical side of the problem is far more important, not only in the interest of the community at large, but in the interest of the wage-earners. It is also the more important side of the question when the prisoner himself is considered. No State, under the ethical aspect of government, has any right to expect to make profit, or to permit contractors to do so, out of the labor of prisoners when this profit is at the expense of their reformation. No man with a particle of humanity in him would, for a moment, demand that prisoners should be employed in the old, cruel and barbarous systems known as penal labor, such as running a treadmill or turning a crank. The revolt from these methods, however, carried prison reformers to the opposite extreme, and they assumed that men in prison should be set at work in the same industries and under the same methods existing outside of prisons.

Their position was plausible, their theory fine and probably sound if it had been possible to reduce it to practice, but the reformatory elements came in to defeat their purely theoretical plans, and it is now considered by intelligent penologists that the whole system of prison labor should be adapted to the reformation of men.

In the address of Doctor Brush,* it is stated that: "All men of a scientific turn of mind who have made a study of criminal anthropology are fast approaching the physicians' position regarding such questions. Every criminal is more or less a diseased portion of the body politic; some can be saved, some must be removed, and some must be destroyed; but the notion of punishment should not complicate the judgment in deciding what disposition is to be made in either case. The insane were formerly regarded with feelings of hatred and vindictiveness, but to-day this is only a shameful recollection." Dr. Brush might have added that the notion of making profits out of the diseased members of the body politic should be relegated to the regions of shameful recollection.

The prisoner must be approached now from the physician's point of view. The convict is a morally sick man, and society's rights and duties are limited to his cure, or if incurable, to such treatment as shall not debase him. This is the attitude of the public toward the mentally and physically ill, and why it should not be, to a certain degree, the attitude toward the morally ill is a question that will be discussed more in the future than it has been in the past. The criminal is an undeveloped man in all his elements, whether we consider him as a worker or as a moral and an intellectual being. His faculties are all undeveloped, not only those which enable him to labor honestly and faithfully for the care and support of himself and his family, but all his moral and intellectual faculties. This being the case, he should be treated in all respects in such a way as to develop his blunted moral and intellectual faculties. It is this position which makes the return to purely penal labor absolutely impossible under modern thought. Our civilization will not tolerate it; but in assuming this attitude the rights of others should be as carefully guarded as the rights of the prisoner.

The various systems which have been adopted have thus far proved ineffective from the ethical and unsatisfactory from the economic point of view. The contract system is the most profitable one which can be applied to prison labor, but the necessary presence of the contractor and his men in the prisons and among the convicts has been found to work disadvantageously

* Presidential address delivered before the Society of Medical Jurisprudence at its annual meeting, held January 13, 1896.

when reformatory measures were being carried along at the same time. The piece-price plan was thought to be a remedy for the evils of the contract system, but the prisoners themselves soon learned that their labor was being exploited for the profit of a private contractor and that the State was getting only the minimum results. The public-account system was then resorted to, under which the institution carries on the business of manufacturing like a private individual or firm, buying raw materials and converting them into manufactured articles, which are sold in the best available market. A few years ago many labor reformers insisted upon the adoption of this public-account system, on the ground that all profits would then accrue to the State and the irritation resulting from the contract or the piece-price system be avoided. The contrary proved to be true. Under the public-account system the State or the county sold goods in the open market; but the State could not fail, and therefore it was not necessary at all times to dispose of the goods even at cost. The private contractor, in order to preserve his solvency, was obliged to get back at least the cost of his goods. The State was not under such necessity. The irritation coming from competition, therefore, was increased, and the public-account system found to be inadequate from an economic point of view, although it had some advantages from the ethical standpoint, for whatever profit was derived from labor under it was for the benfit of the public treasury. The lease system, now rapidly going out of vogue, played no part in the ethical question involved, but it was a most profitable sytem to the States which employed it. The abuses under it have brought it into disrepute.

There is now a system of labor, which is advocated very largely and which has been adopted in the State of New York as an experiment, with the motive behind it of reducing competition or practically removing all competition. Under this modified public-account system now being used in that State, goods are made for the use of the State itself in its various institutions, whether penal, reformatory, or eleemosynary, on the theory or the supposition that the State needs goods enough of various kinds to keep its prisoners practically employed. Should this prove true, the new method will probably be a solution of the economic problems involved, while the ethical demands will be

as well satisfied as under any system that can be adopted. There are two reasons, however, to my own mind why this method may, in some degree at least, prove to be a failure. The first is that the requirements of the State of New York can be supplied through the labor of only a portion of its prisoners. A calculation for one of the States for which the facts were obtainable leads to this conclusion, for the amount of employment which could have been utilized in that State in one year was less than $50,000, if its prisons had been managed under the present New York system. An examination of the wants of the United States government a few years ago for furniture, clothing, mail bags, harnesses, wagons, infantry, cavalry and artillery equipments, clothing for the Indian service, etc., shows their value to be a little less than $4,000,000, while the total product of the prisons of the country in 1885 amounted, as already stated, to very nearly $29,000,000. The labor, then, of a very large proportion of the prisoners of the country, if this system had been uesd generally, would have been exhausted in a very few months, and idleness would have been the rule for the remainder of the year. If our State governments supported large bodies of troops and the Federal government had a large standing army, the plan might have some force in it, although in some European countries, where the consumption of goods of the coarser grades, such as shoes, army clothing, camp equipage, etc., is very large, the plan has not been made to work very successfully, for the reason stated, and because of the objections of army officers to the manufacture in prisons of the goods they require for the equipment of their forces. These objections arise not only on account of the quality and make of the goods, but on account of the impracticability of massing a force in any way so as to supply goods upon emergencies.

The second reason why the manufacture of goods for the State will not succeed to the fullest degree anticipated by its advocates has been pointed out by Sir Edmund Du Cane in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1896. Although that writer, one of the most intelligent and experienced in the whole world on the subject of prisons and prison labor, believes in this method of employment, he very frankly points out the difficulty arising from the great variety of patterns of articles to be made, etc. This, perhaps, may be the least of the obstacles in the way of the success

of the system. He states that, however desirable industrial labor for prisoners may be from a moral point of view, it is impossible to apply it to more than a small proportion of those sentenced to imprisonment, both on account of the law applicable to prisons and on account of the shortness of the sentences of the large majority. He thinks the difficulties of the state-manufacture method are of much the same kind as are found in utilizing convict labor for the construction of public works.

Whatever the difficulties, they must be met and will be met, either successfully or unsuccessfully, in the interesting experiment now being conducted by the State of New York. It is to be hoped that success will follow such experiment, for while the manufacture of goods for the use of the State does not avoid competition—for outside manufacturers would be deprived of business *pro tanto*—the element of price is entirely removed. The value of the goods made can in no sense whatever affect the price of goods manufactured outside of prisons, nor can there be the slightest influence upon the wages paid in the regular industries of the State.

Mr. Lathrop, Superintendent of Prisons for the State of New York, wisely insists that work must be found for the prisoners, and he feels that the question of the employment of convicts is practically solved by the adoption of the method described. Nevertheless, Warden Sage, of Sing Sing, has adopted some measures which he thinks may be applicable for furnishing employment to idle prisoners, and so he is following some of the methods adopted at Elmira, which has been called a "technological university." A good deal has been said of late against the introduction of technological studies into prison life. An examination of some of the facts pertaining to prisons, however, may lead to the conclusion that such methods are wise from every point of view. The average age of the convicts of the United States is not far from 26 years. Therefore, the men constituting this body are undeveloped men, so far as age is concerned, and, as already stated, they are undeveloped in their moral and intellectual faculties—in fact, they are undeveloped in all directions, except to a certain extent in the criminal tendency which comes from their environment. They are also, to a very large extent, short-term men. A careful classification of the convicts of the country shows that six-eighths are short-term prison-

ers, one-eighth incorrigibles, and one-eighth amenable to reformatory efforts. These proportions are fairly correct; they may be a little too large or a little too small, but practically they may be admitted. It cannot make very much difference what system is employed, so that prices and wages are not affected, when the short-term men are considered. There is not much to be gained, whether in the interest of the State, or of the community, or of the convicts, in putting them at work under one system of labor as against another. They must be employed; their minds must be occupied, and their hands utilized. It cannot, from the very nature of things, be worth while for the State to erect costly plants for the sake of employing them under one or another system of labor. No one can argue with reason that the short-term prisoner himself is to be particularly benefited by any such employment. The chief point to be insisted upon is that his labor shall not be debasing. If he can be employed in making blankets, furniture, coarse boots and shoes, and the infinite variety of things that may be needed in the State institutions, without the introduction of power machinery, not only the State will be the gainer, but also the prisoner himself. He does not stay in prison long enough, as a rule, to be taught in the higher methods of manual training, and what little he can learn by running some machine is of little consequence in his after life. If he stays long enough in prison, the State should see to it that he comes out better equipped to earn a living than when he entered it.

Looking at the one-eighth representing the incorrigibles, composed of men who should never be returned to society under any circumstances whatever—men of purely criminal minds, released from prison only to again return to it—it must be conceded that it matters little what method or system of labor is employed, so long as they are kept steadily at work in the interest of the State, and in labor that shall not debase them. Crime is their only element, and the whole interest of society is that they should be incarcerated for life. It cannot be argued reasonably that there is any necessity, in any direction whatever, of employing them under one system as against another; they should be kept in honorable and skilful employment; their intellectual and moral powers, so far as they are susceptible of development, should be strengthened, and they should be made to live their lives in an orderly, systematic, and honorable

way. There can be no question, however, in regard to the method of their employment as a method, for they are not to be returned to society. If they can be kept at work making goods for the State, that is the very best thing that can be done with them, and in doing this they may learn how to use their minds and hands. The incorrigibles should not be employed, however, to the detriment of the short-term men, nor of the remaining one-eighth, which may be called the reformable portion. This one-eighth consists largely of young men supposed to be in prison as the result of some spree, or through indiscreet action, accident, or the lack of understanding the ways we call right and wrong. They are not supposed to have become convicts through criminal minds or through tendencies which they prefer to retain. Such men should not only be sentenced on the indeterminate principle, but every effort which the State is capable of making should be made to bring them into harmonious relation with law-abiding citizens. The manufacture of goods for the State, with all their variety, is the very best work on which this reformable body can be employed. If there be not work enough to keep the whole body of prisoners employed steadily, it should be concentrated upon the incorrigibles and the short-term men, while the reformable fraction of prisoners should be given the benefits of the training which Warden Sage proposes to introduce.

From a mere modernized penitentiary the Elmira Reformatory has been developed into a great compulsory educational establishment for employing felons and corrigibles. Moral, mental, and manual training have been systematically coordinated, with the end in view of turning out practical, self-helping, self-controlling citizens. As the editor of *The Summary*, a periodical published at the Elmira Reformatory (the editor himself being an inmate of the institution) puts it, the reformatory prescription consists of a trinity of M's—mental, moral, and manual training—and these ingredients have been used in varying proportions, according to the needs of the patient. The reformatory has firmly established itself as something more than an experiment, although its wise manager, Dr. Brockway, continues to rank it as an experimental station, inasmuch as opportunity is constantly afforded for the trial of plans that offer promise of aid in accomplishing the ends aimed at.

Looking at the matter squarely, then, the economic side of the question is not of sufficient importance to demand drastic treatment. The question of profits has been lost sight of by the force of necessity. It is the State's duty to treat its moral invalids with the same fairness in recognizing their illness that it shows to its mental and physical invalids. It certainly has no right to expect to make profit out of either. Its whole duty, then, is to approach all three classes, the dependent, the delinquent, and the defective, from the point of view of the physician. Their bodies must be kept in the best condition, and their moral and mental attributes trained and strengthened. By giving more attention to this ethical side of the problem the best economic results will be reached sooner or later.

Prisons have not been so effectively deterrent as it was formerly supposed they would be; punishment has not accomplished the ends sought. Revenge is not a part of the State's duty, but the protection of society is its sole duty, and criminals are a part of society. That method of treatment, therefore, which will reduce the number of criminals and bring them back to society as cured and industrious citizens will also eventually reduce the expense to the State and the annoyance and irritation and danger which come from the presence of a body of criminals. Whatever conduces to this result, whether it be the employment of prisoners solely for the benefit of the State or teaching them how to employ their minds and hands when they leave the prisons, must be the true course; the size of the deficit in the State treasury resulting therefrom or the trifling competition which follows are of but little account. In place of the old rule for the running of prisons—profits, with incidental reformatory results, the new rule will hold sway—reformation, with incidental profits.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

THE HISTORY OF A POEM.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

COVENTRY PATMORE died, at the age of seventy-three, on the 26th of November last. In another place I have endeavored to recall the personal characteristics of this extraordinary man, and something of his conversation. To-day I hope to make some additions to the knowledge of his famous poem, *The Angel in the House*, the history of which has been almost without a parallel for its vicissitudes. There have been published exaggerated statements as to the sale of this book, but I believe it is well within the mark to say that 200,000 copies have, during these forty years, been circulated in England and America. It has been extravagantly praised and unjustly scorned, but it certainly has not been neglected by the great public, and some account of the circumstances in which so popular a poem was produced may not be unwelcome to the readers of this review, especially as Patmore lived a life of extreme seclusion, and rigorously barred his doors against interviewers. With the statement that for sixteen years I enjoyed the intimate friendship of this great writer, I close these words of necessary introduction.

In his twenty-third year Patmore became acquainted with the lady who was to become his wife and his Muse. At this time he was a thin and hungry-looking youth, the author of one small volume of unsuccessful poems. A lady who recollects him at this time tells me that she never saw him eat a mutton chop without wondering if it would be the death of him, so starved and haggard did he appear. In point of fact, however, although frail and sometimes hypochondriacal, Patmore had then, and preserved through life, a fund of muscular and constitutional health. Like many men of imagination, he was a tireless walker and a voracious eater, but indulged in no manner of games or athletic

exercises. His brother and he were admitted in 1845 to the house of Mrs. Orme, the daughter of a prominent and popular Nonconformist divine, then lately dead, Dr. Andrews. With Mrs. Orme resided a young sister of twenty-one, Emily Augusta Andrews, whose carven features and rich color survive for us in the art of Woolner and of Millais. Coventry Patmore fell in love with her, but he had no fixed income at that time. He told me, long afterwards, that £75 represented what he had to live upon in the year which closed November, 1846, when, through the instrumentality of Lord Houghton (then Mr. Monckton Milnes), he was appointed a supplementary assistant in the Library of the British Museum.

The official salary thus secured was not wealth, and hardly comfort, but it was a competence, and on the strength of it Patmore proposed to Emily Andrews and was accepted. On the 11th of September of the next year the young people were married in Hampstead.

Dr. Garnett, whose acquaintance with Patmore began in 1851, tells me that the poet was once speaking to him of these events, when he added the quaint information that, wishing to be sure that a congeniality of taste existed between Emily Andrews and himself, he had lent her Emerson's "Essays"—still rather a new book in 1845—asking her to mark the passages that had struck her most, and, on getting the book back, was delighted to find that the marked passages were those which had also particularly struck himself. The story is characteristic, yet who shall say whether a man, genially in love, could fail to admire the thoughts which had attracted the lady of his affections? In any case, whether Emerson was their hymeneal *flamen* or no, the marriage was made in Heaven. All who have consented to recall their memories of that household unite in describing it as the most cheerful, the most graceful, the most dignified that ever was supported on such a tiny pittance. Mrs. Patmore was "a Mary in the House of God, a Martha in her own," one of the simplest, sweetest, and most inspiring women that ever contrived to make a poet happy.

In spite, however, of the unity between Patmore and his wife, there existed differences which were of essential importance. Serene and gentle as she was, Emily Patmore had very distinct views about religious matters. Her father, at the time

when he presided over the services at Beresford Chapel, had been one of the most influential leaders among those who called themselves Independents or Congregationalists. With this Christian body, Emily Patmore preserved her sympathy, and she was, in particular, opposed to all approach of the English Protestants to Rome, holding the new-fangled tenets of the Puseyites in abhorrence. Her husband, on the other hand, was a churchman, and one whose proclivities were "high"; by the very tenor of his mind and his leaning towards ascetic mysticism, Patmore was foredoomed to become a Catholic. Long before he took the step to Rome, in 1865, he was half-persuaded to do so, and it was certainly nothing but the presence of that Protestant angel in his house which kept him a professing Anglican during her lifetime.

It would be a mistake to search the private history of the young Patmores for an exact parallel to the adventures of Felix and Honoria, but there were not a few touches which were strictly autobiographical. The name of the heroine was not, indeed, as has been incorrectly stated, that of Mrs. Patmore herself, but of her mother. In the Dean of Salisbury, Honoria's dignified and gentle parent, Patmore was drawing from fancy and report a portrait of his own father-in-law, Dr. Andrews, whom he had never seen, since he died in 1841. In lifting the whole scene a little higher in the social grade, and in particular in making his heroine the daughter of a dignitary of the Established Church, instead of a dissenting minister, Patmore was probably yielding something not merely to poetic display, but to his own superior interest in the ritual of the Church of England. Patmore told me that his wife and he spent their honeymoon at Hastings, and that an exclamation of hers, on descending to the beach for the first time, inspired, long afterwards, the beautiful lines with which "Amelia" opens:

> "Whene'er mine eyes do my Amelia greet
> It is with such emotion
> As when, in childhood, turning a dim street,
> I first beheld the ocean."

The earliest instalment of the *Angel in the House* was published late in 1854, by a firm of publishers long since extinct, Messrs. John W. Parker & Son. It was anonymous, and the reason, Dr. Garnett tells me, why Patmore did not put his name

on the title page was that his father's book of reminiscences, *My Friends and Acquaintance*, had just received so bad a reception from the critics that the son thought his name would prejudice his cause. The authorship, however, was a poor secret, for a number of fragments, including the beautiful piece beginning, "Lo! when the Lord made North and South," had appeared in 1852, under the author's name, in the volume called *Tamerton Church Tower*. But the name certainly was a disadvantage, for Peter Patmore, who had been Colburn's reader, and who had now fled the country to escape his creditors, was perhaps the best-hated man of letters then flourishing in Europe.

This earliest instalment was simply entitled *The Betrothal*, and it was followed in 1856 by *The Espousals*, a volume of not quite so many pages. In 1884 Coventry Patmore, knowing my great interest in the history of *The Angel in the House*, very kindly presented to me copies of these original editions as altered and arranged by him for the second edition of the united work. This precious relic lies before me as I write, and the alterations, all in the poet's beautiful handwriting, are so very numerous that in many cases, for pages together, the manuscript entries exceed the print in bulk. In later reissues Patmore was incessantly tinkering the text, so that to form a variorum edition of *The Angel in the House* would be a task before which the boldest bibliographer might shrink. But the main radical changes were made in 1857, and since then the poem has been, in essential form, what it is to-day.

One change which must strike every one who studies the abundant alterations made, particularly between 1854 and 1857, is a metrical or rather a rhythmical one. When Patmore, as a young man of twenty, began to write verses, he seemed to possess a most defective ear. How far the extraordinary eccentricities which mar his volume of 1844 were willful or accidental, I am unable to say, but to read many of those early lyrics is like riding down a frozen lane in a springless cart. He had his peculiar theories of stress and accentuation, but I think, also, that he had much in the Art of Poetry to learn. When he came to publish *The Betrothal*, in 1854, the lesson was already half prepared, and I attribute the increase in smoothness and felicity to the close companionship with Tennyson which he had been enjoying.

But in 1856 Patmore gave his mind closely, for the first time, to the study of English metrical law, and the proofs of the results lie scattered broadcast over the pages of his MS. One example will show this as well as a hundred. In 1854 he had printed :

> "For thus I think, if any I see
> Who fall short of my high desire,"

but this could not satisfy the fastidiousness of 1857, and it was changed to:

> "For thus I think, if one I see
> Who disappoints my high desire."

As everyone knows, *The Angel in the House* is written in a uniform measure of alternate rhyming eights, the commonest metre for humble hymns and ballads that has ever been invented. Patmore was often attacked by the critics for using this humdrum, jigging measure, and I once ventured to ask him why he had chosen it. He replied that he did so of set purpose, partly because at that particular time the poets were diverging into the most quaint and extravagant forms, and he wished to call the public back to simplicity; but partly because it was a swift and jocund measure, full of laughter and gaiety, suitable, not to pathetic themes, but to a song of chaste love and fortunate marriage. No doubt there is truth in this, and the simplicity of Patmore's measure pleases us still when the fantastic variety of his friend Woolner in *My Beautiful Lady* (1863), a poem which once threatened to be a serious rival, has long ago become a weariness.

That Patmore, as he used hotly to aver, did not neglect the polishing and fashioning of his facile metre, a comparison of the different texts amply proves.

But the alterations which he made were of a far more radical kind than any mere rhythmical ones. He cancelled long passages, added new ones, removed stanzas from one part of the structure to another, and almost in every case these bold and essential changes were improvements. There can be no question, and the point is one of great interest in the career of a poet, that in 1857 Patmore was in enjoyment of a new flush of creative talent. There is, therefore, a peculiar interest in what he wrote at that time, and I do not scruple to print here one or two fragments which occur in my MS., but which I cannot discover were then or have ever since been printed. What whim constrained the

poet finally to exclude this exquisite little "epigram," with which he had closed the seventh canto of his work ?

"REJOICE EVERMORE."

"I err'd this day, oh Lord, and am
Not worthy to be called Thy son;
But if Thy Will be, Heavenly Lamb,
That I rejoice, Thy Will be done!
Death I deserve; I am yet in life;
Ill is my wage, thou pay'st me good;
These are my children, this my wife,
I feel the Spring, I taste my food.
Thy Love exceeds, then, all my blame.
O grant me, since Thou grantest these,
Grace to put 'Hallow'd be Thy Name'
Before 'Forgive my Trespasses.'"

Still less reason does there seem to have been for ultimately rejecting "Love of Loves":

"'The Man seeks first to please his Wife,'
Declares, but not complains, Saint Paul
And other loves have little life
When she's not loved the most of all.
We cannot weigh or measure love,
And this excess, assure you well,
If sinful, is a sin whereof
Only the best are capable."

It cannot, on the other hand, but appear to me probable, that Mrs. Patmore, in her rigid antagonism to Popery, would decree that the following beautiful and highly characteristic section savoured too much of Rome to be preserved. As the poet composed it, it should have come between "Love and Honour" and "Valour Misdirected":

THE VESTAL FIRE.

"Virgins are they, before the Lord,
Whose hearts are pure: 'the vestal fire
Is not,' so runs the Poet's word,
'By marriage quench'd, but flames the higher;'
Warm, living, is the praise thereof;
And wedded lives, which not belie
The honorable heart of love
Are fountains of virginity."

One more epigram is far too delightful to be lost:

NOTA BENE.

"Would'st thou my verse to thee should prove
How sweet love is? When all is read,
Add 'In divinity and love
What's worth the saying can't be said.'"

There is plenty of evidence of the great seriousness with which Patmore composed and revised all portions of *The Angel in the House*. He did not regard it as a mere work of entertainment, or even as an artistic experiment, but as a task of great social and moral importance which he was called upon to fulfil. This sense of the gravity of his mission took, in 1854, a form which he proceeded immediately to reject, no doubt because the expression of his feeling, though natural to himself, might strike a reader as arrogant. The canto now called "The Friends" was originally intended to begin with these lines:

> "May these my songs inaugurate
> The day of a new chivalry,
> Which shall not feel the mortal fate
> Of fashion, chance or phantasy.
> The ditties of the knightly time,
> The deep-conceiving dreams of youth,
> With sweet corroboration chime,
> And I believe that love's the truth."

The expression here might not be judicious from the lips of a very young writer, but it was essentially justified. The curates and the old maids, who were presently to buy the poems of Patmore as the sweetest, safest sugar plums of the sheltered, intellectual life, were themselves responsible for the view they took of *The Angel in the House*. They imagined the grim and rather sinister author to be a kind of sportive lambkin, with his tail tied up in bows of blue ribbon. But Patmore was a man of the highest seriousness; he aimed at nothing less than an exposition of the divine mystery of wedlock, and no one should consider that he has fathomed, or even dipped into, the real subject of the poem, until he has mastered the wonderful sections at the close, called "The Wedding" and "The Amaranth." Here the ideal of nuptial love is described and expatiated upon, as perhaps by no other modern poet, with the purity of a saint and the passion of a flaming lover.

In the original draft, Vaughn, the supposed writer of the poem, and his wife confess that they expect it to be cruelly cut up by the reviewers, but anticipate the consolation of a warm letter of praise from the laureate. Of this latter satisfaction, they were at least certain; since 1846 Tennyson had been the nearest and the most admired of Patmore's friends, and the influence of his comments and encouragements is certainly marked in the tex-

ture of *The Angel in the House.* But Patmore had good reason to dread the cruelties of the professional critics. His earlier volumes of 1844 and 1852 had received abuse of a kind such as we can now hardly conceive of. *Blackwood's Magazine,* which had sent Keats back to his "gallipots," had learned no lesson from the passage of years; it had called Patmore's verses "slime," "the spawn of frogs," and "the ultimate terminus of poetical degradation." It is only fair to say that, before his death, Professor Wilson apologized for the virulence of this disgusting article. Other reviews, without being so offensive as this, had been very disagreeable. In those days, a young poet had to fight for his place, and the more original he was, the harder was the struggle. There was none of the gentle dandling of the immature which is now the fashion in our literary sheets.

On the whole, however, the reception of *The Angel in the House* was not unkind. The *Athenæum,* it is true, published a very cruel article, which began as follows:

"The gentle reader we apprise That this new Angel in the House Contains a tale not very wise About a Person and a Spouse. The author, gentle as a lamb, Has managed his rhymes to fit. And haply fancies he has writ Another *In Memoriam.*"

If this is read aloud, it will be seen to be a not uningenious parody of the measure of the original. The whole review was composed in this form, and was the work of the then famous musical and literary critic, H. F. Chorley.

This, however, was far from being the general attitude of the press, and several of the leading literary papers gave warm recognition to the merits of the new poem. More important, by far, was the reception of it by the leaders of thought, and in this Patmore was greatly helped by his social *entourage.* His sister-in-law, Mrs. Orme, delighted in the company of intellectual people, and gathered them about her. Mr. Ruskin, who was, I believe, a connection of Mrs. Patmore's by marriage, was from the first an enthusiastic believer in *The Angel in the House,* and he wrote that he wished all English girls to know its pure and beautiful language by heart. Mr. Ruskin was a warm and persistent admirer; in many of his writings he insisted on the ethical value of the poem, and as late as the publication of *Sesame and Lilies,* when Patmore and he had ceased to be in personal sympathy, Mr. Ruskin wrote: "You cannot read Pat-

more too often, or too carefully. As far as I know he is the only living poet who always strengthens and purifies" Mr. Ruskin must be considered as having given more in private conversation than in writing the start-word to the success of *The Angel in the House.*

The Patmores were not disappointed of their letter from the laureate, but a less expected admirer was Carlyle. With him, too, they had become acquainted through Mrs. Orme. He slipped *The Angel in the House* into his portmanteau, as he was starting on a journey to Scotland, and wrote a number of letters on the subject to the gratified poet. It is characteristic that Carlyle considered the book would have been more serviceable if it had been written in prose instead of verse, but he was outspoken in commendation of its spirit and tendency. Meanwhile, the sale of *The Betrothal* of 1854 and *The Espousals* of 1856 was slow, and it was not till these two were combined in *The Angel in the House* that the wider public took up the tale. I have mentioned that on the MS. title page of the united work, which I possess, the date is 1857; but the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny, I believe, caused the poet to delay publication for a year. In 1858, after so many sorrows and such a shedding of the nation's best blood in Russia and in India, the public mind in England was eager for domesticity and rest. The tender purity of Patmore's poem, its direct appeal to the primitive emotions of the heart, precisely suited English feeling. *The Angel in the House* began to sell in hundreds, then in thousands, and it soon became the most popular poem of the day.

The author proceeded to expand it. In 1860 he published *Faithful for Ever,* in which Frederick Graham, the rejected suitor of the Angel, marries a woman not his social equal; but one who, by dint of worthiness of soul and a striving after higher things, becomes a help-meet in the best sense. It cannot be said that this theme lends itself well to poetry, and the form Patmore now adopted, that of letters in octosyllabic rhyme passing between the characters, was ill adapted to his purpose. *Faithful for Ever* was soon melted into its successor, *The Victories of Love,* and it is now by no means easy to detach it from the general texture of the whole.

All this time the health of Emily Patmore had been steadily undermined by consumption. On the 5th of July, 1862, she

passed away, and the Angel in the House was buried in Hendon Churchyard. Whether or not the final section of his poem *The Victories of Love,* in which the pathetic parting of married lovers is dwelt upon with exquisite tenderness, was written before the death of Emily Patmore, appears to be doubtful, but the dates suggest that it was largely composed in premonition of that event. Without dwelling on so private and so delicate a subject, there can be no indiscretion now in saying that certain of the most poignant odes in the *Unknown Eros* embalm memories and episodes of this long-drawn, sad farewell. *The Victories of Love* was composed in a vein more resigned, if not less ardent, and in the sermon near the close of it Patmore distinctly prophesied of those psychological mysteries to which, under the influence of his second marriage, his intellect was to give itself so freely.

It is worth noting that "The Victories of Love" appeared in 1862 in successive numbers of *Macmillan's Magazine,* where they must have greatly surprised the readers of that periodical, utterly unaccustomed to so strange a sort of serial. But I am told by Dr. Garnett that the offer of £100 for this use in the magazine was gladly accepted by Patmore, who was somewhat overborne by the expenses of his wife's long illness. In the next year *The Victories of Love* appeared as a small volume, and in course of time, having long swallowed up *Faithful Forever,* it has itself been absorbed in the general text of *The Angel in the House.*

The success of the poem now seemed more assured than ever. The cult of it had spread to America, where Emerson and Hawthorne cordially recommended it. But at the very height of its popularity, Patmore himself struck a double blow at it, from which it was long in recovering. In 1865 he married a second time, and he became a Roman Catholic. The ordinary sentimental person, who used the poem as a kind of litany of nuptial aspiration, and the conventional country matron or curate, to whom it represented literature purified from all worldly dross and dedicated to Church and State, were equally scandalized and disgusted. The real ethical beauty of Patmore's ideas, the charming art of his best illustrations—what, in short, constitute him a poet of a high order—had never touched these deciduous admirers, and they determined, in their thousands, never

again to turn the pages of a favorite who had become the husband of a second Angel, and a Papist into the bargain.

This offence given to the common mass of readers was attended by a change of front among the real admirers and censors of poetry. About 1865 a new poetical school had arisen, with Mr. Swinburne at its head, which demanded more refulgent color, more fiery emotion, a more revolutionary aspect of life and manners than Patmore chose to encourage. There had always been present in *The Angel in the House* elements which laid themselves open to ridicule; there were realistic touches which went out of fashion with the chignon and the crinoline. Young critics took heart to laugh at Patmore; young parodists made themselves very entertaining at his expense. With singular rapidity the poem which had been in universal favor from 1858 to about 1868, within ten years more sank into almost complete desuetude, an object of critical contempt, a book to be mentioned in the same breath with Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*. The first sign of recovery was given, perhaps, by Dr. Garnett's *Florilegium Amantis*, a collection of extracts from Patmore's collected poems in 1879. Gradually the public and the critics came back to him; the sales of *The Angel in the House*, which had fallen to almost nothing, rose to heights unknown in the days of its early success, and when Coventry Patmore died the other day, the event was chronicled by every serious organ in England as one of great literary importance. He lived to see his name placed high among those of the immortals. There is, perhaps, no modern work which can be named the reputation of which has suffered such vicissitudes during the lifetime of its author.

EDMUND GOSSE.

HOW TO REFORM BUSINESS CORPORATIONS.

BY V. H. LOCKWOOD.

It has been said about business corporations that "upon the character of their future, more than upon anything else, depends the nature of the conclusion of the industrial revolution" that is in progress. It is my belief that the selfish and dishonest management of business corporations has been the chief cause of the great inequality in the distribution of wealth during the past forty years; whereas, if they were honestly and safely conducted, they would afford a safe and satisfactory investment for small sums and thus tend to equalize the wealth of the people.

A railway president, by bearing or bulling the stock of his railway company, of whose interests he is the chief trustee, can in a few days and without any consideration transfer to his own pockets a million dollars from the pockets of the little holders of stock who stand shivering on the outside of the management. By prostituting his position of trust to his own ends, the director or officer can readily enrich himself at the expense of others. He can indirectly prefer himself as creditor, and if he desires he can paralyze the company for the benefit of another company in which he has a greater interest.

Stock can be watered, assets diverted, stockholders frozen out, the management put in control of nearly all the stock, a huge sham structure can be reared upon a really invisible and infinitesimal base, often to do a business that needs no corporation at all, whereby creditors are peaceably robbed and the holdings of the poor are confiscated. The directors and officers, who are actual trustees of a legal trust fund, are not in most States required to hold more than one share of stock, or to be worth seven cents, or to have any skill for the business, or to give a bond or other

security for honest management of the trust, unlike any other trustee in the whole scope of the law.

Two or three men at the head of the management of a combination or trust can, at will, abolish the law of supply and demand, set aside the principle of competition which has governed the commercial world since the beginning of commerce, close factories, tell thousands at a time whether they can work or not, determine who shall and who shall not do business, and dictate to the public both their market and also the price they shall pay.

The foregoing are but a few of the many injurious things that corporation managers can do in the present state of the law. At the same time, the corporation is a mighty agency for good. It is a necessity of a highly civilized people. It is the only practical means for carrying on a gigantic enterprise or a business where a large number of people are interested. It enables enterprises, that are of great public importance but involve a large element of risk, to be undertaken. It affords the only means for persons with small sums of money to invest them. A vast increase in working capital has been brought to commerce and industry by corporations. They have proven a blessing for the race and their continued existence is assured.

But, for the very reason that they are growing in numbers, size, wealth, and influence, the State must have better control of them. Their newness to the law has rendered it difficult to legislate well regarding them. The time, however, is now ripe for reform and revision of the corporate laws of the States. Experience has taught us the defects of such laws and the nature of corporate activity. Now we can contrive a remedy. The people who have suffered, actually or fancifully, from the dishonest conduct of corporations are clamoring for reform. Our statesmen and students of economics are calling attention to the need. In fact, there is a demand from all sides to reform business corporations so as to make them less injurious and more useful.

In this era of industrialism the people are compelled to look to the state for help. It is idle longer to expect, as did the economists of the past, that the selfish interests of men will so operate against one another as to force competition in manufacture when entrenched behind corporate bulwarks to give the public the largest service, the lowest prices, the greatest privileges, and the fullest justice. The law of competition, while

sufficient by itself for individuals, cannot execute itself in the face of the modern means for combination. The telegraph, telephone, quick postal and transportation service, and daily newspapers make it now easy to combine, and to work effectually in combination, whether incorporated or not. Hence, the state must assist in upholding the law of competition by the exercise of a wise, effectual, yet just control. Since corporations can be created only by the state, there is no reason why the latter cannot and should not dictate such terms and conditions for the privilege as are best fitted to make corporations more useful and less harmful.

Such reforms, however, should be carefully considered; moderate and not revolutionary; based upon the experience of civilized countries during the past forty years, so as not to defeat the usefulness of corporations that is so patent to all. The most advanced systems of corporation laws in Europe are found in France and Belgium, with Germany next. In the United States Massachusetts is quite in advance, with the District of Columbia close behind. The National Bank act is considered, from the standpoint of corporation law, the best type in this country of a single act. Several States are very far behind Massachusetts and some of the other States and nations, and if they do nothing more in the near future they should at least move abreast of Massachusetts. In doing that it cannot be charged that they are experimenting or theorizing. Let us examine the reforms which experience and the laws of some States and nations suggest.

The first step to protect innocent stockholders, as well as creditors, is to throw greater safeguards about the incorporation and the commencement of business. The *raison d'être* of corporations aggregate at common law was to avoid the inconvenience of partnerships comprising a large number of members. If so many enter the business that they cannot well conduct it by reason of numbers, a corporation is proper; otherwise not. Therefore, no less than seven persons should be allowed to do business as a corporation. A less number should be forced into partnership action and liability. This is the law in France and some of the States.

All the capital stock should be not only subscribed but actually paid up at par value, so that the real assets of the company when incorporated will equal the capital stock. All the stock

must be subscribed before incorporation in Belgium, France, Germany, and Massachusetts, and by the National Bank act. The purpose is to prevent a company from imposing on the public by representing that they have $1,000,000 capital when only $1,000 has been subscribed. If the stock is not all subscribed, corporations should be prevented from advertising more than what has been subscribed. Better than this would be a requirement that they print on their stationery, etc., the amount paid in cash, or better still, the true excess of assets over liabilities, as shown by their last report.

All the stock subscribed should be actually and fully paid up before incorporation. Upon this proposition most students of the matter agree, although in the States great diversity exists. In Massachusetts no corporation can transact business until the whole amount of its capital stock has been paid in, and a certificate of that fact, and of the manner in which it has been paid, signed and sworn to by the president, treasurer, and a majority of the directors, has been filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The National Bank act requires fifty per cent. to be paid in before a charter is granted and ten per cent. per month thereafter. In Washington State three-fifths must be paid in before incorporation is complete; in the District of Columbia and Missouri, one-half; in France and Vermont, one-fourth; in Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, ten per cent.; in New York, $500; in several of the States, nothing.

The purpose of requiring the stock subscribed to be fully paid in before proceeding to do business is to secure creditors, and to put the business squarely on its feet at the outset and thus protect the stockholders. Experience has shown that the rock on which most corporations have foundered was lack of sufficient working capital at the beginning. It is as absurd to permit a $1,000,000 corporation to begin business with $100 as to do the reverse. It indicates fraud and too feverish a speculative spirit, both of which should be prevented by our corporation laws.

In paying for stock the full value thereof should in all cases be required to be paid in cash or its full equivalent in property or labor done. The statutes of many States already have this provision, but provide no effectual mode of enforcing it. The

word of the promoters or officers is taken, but their doctrine is that the stock is paid up when the management is satisfied. Business men know that a large part of corporate stock is transferred for a song and most of the remainder for ten or twenty per cent. of the face value. A patent of doubtful validity and value, or an oil well or equally dangerous asset, is put in at a fabulous sum. All this child's play should be prevented.

In France, when anything besides cash is offered in payment of stock, its value must be determined by a special meeting of all the stockholders. The persons interested cannot vote. At such meeting a committee must be appointed to determine the value and report to the stockholders at another special meeting where the value is fixed by a vote. The resolutions at all these meetings must be signed by all the stockholders. In Massachusetts a statement that the valuation of the property offered is fair and reasonable must be made, signed, and sworn to by the president, treasurer, and a majority of the directors, and endorsed by the State Commissioner of Corporations and filed with the Secretary of State.

Of these two methods the latter is the better. The French method is clumsy, and if all the stockholders at the time are promoters, as is often the case, it would be no safeguard. Under the Massachusetts rule the only reliable check is the Commissioner of Corporations. It is believed, therefore, advisable for the law to forbid any stock to be issued until the Commissioner of Corporations, if there be one, or the County Auditor, or some other proper official, has examined the payment or property offered and has certified on the back of the certificate that the stock has been fully paid up at par in cash or its actual equivalent. And an officer of the corporation violating this provision should be imprisoned, not fined.

Such provision would also prevent the watering of stock after the corporation has begun business. It is needless to point out the harm of this habit of corporation managers. Especially is it harmful in quasi-public corporations. It should be stopped and would be by the above method. Most of the States have already enacted that stock shall not be sold below par, or that fictitious stock shall not be issued, or that stock shall not be issued for anything but money or property received or labor done. But these statutes provide no sufficient means of enforcing the provisions.

After a charter is granted to a corporation, greater safeguards should be thrown about its management for the benefit of both stockholders and creditors. It is my opinion that the law rather overlooks the officers and directors. The directors of a corporation are nothing but trustees. It would have been better to retain that name. They have charge of a trust fund for the benefit of the stockholders who are not in the management, and for creditors. The trust is as sacred as that of a receiver, assignee, or administrator. Yet these are not only required to give bond or good security for honest management of the trust, but are always under the eye of the court, and can take no important step without a prior order of the court. Directors of corporations have exclusive charge of larger assets, and a more varied and difficult business usually, without the supervision of a court or other public official and without bond or other security. The directors and officers often look upon the trust funds with the eyes of a thief, and proceed by various well-known methods to put as much of it in their pockets as they can. And this notorious and wholesale plunder is done under form of law.

Therefore, if we can, we should alter the law to suppress this indirect, insidious, legalized transfer of wealth without consideration, usually without consent or by fraud; for, as said above, in this way more than any other has wealth in the last forty years been unequally distributed. I am aware that these directors and officers are the agents of the stockholders, who should select good directors and secure themselves. But forty years' experience has shown that they do not or can not do it. The management hold a majority of the stock often, and the scattering minority of stockholders are helpless. I am aware, too, that creditors should investigate the financial ability of the corporation and the character of the men in charge before giving credit, but the means of corporation officials for misleading creditors and then diverting assets to defraud them are so varied and inscrutable that creditors are likewise helpless.

There are two methods of preventing the mismanagement of corporations, both of which should be adopted. One consists in requiring security of the directors and officers for their faithful discharge of their duties and subjecting them to greater liability for the corporate debts; and the other in supervision by strangers to the management. The latter has been successfully employed.

In Belgium and France a separate Board of Auditors must be selected by the stockholders to make an examination every six months of all the details of the management as well as of the business, and report at the stockholders' meetings. In Germany three supervisors are elected for the same purpose. In Massachusetts there are commissioners, inspectors, and examiners for all special classes of corporations. For general corporations a State officer, called the Commissioner of Corporations, is in control. He refuses to grant the charter until all the stock is subscribed and paid up at par in money or its equivalent, and all other legal requirements are complied with and he has certified the same. He is required to make examinations and reports of the same and to bring instances of neglect or omission to comply with the law to the Attorney General. He shall also prescribe the schedule for the annual reports. Under the National Bank act the Comptroller of the Currency through examiners keeps a close watch over their transactions.

Therefore, it is believed to be well to provide for the examination of corporations by suitable public officers at least once a year. In addition, an annual report, by a schedule that would clearly and truly disclose the amount of real assets over real liabilities, should be filed in the offices of the Secretary of State and County Recorder. The penalties for failure to make such reports according to law should be severe and easy to enforce. At present annual reports are required under penalty in Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, except monied and railway companies, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Belgium. In Iowa a similar statement must be kept posted in a public place. In Indiana manufacturing and mining companies are required to publish such report in a newspaper, but the penalty is not such as to cause any satisfactory observance of the law. A heavy fine should be imposed on the officers who fail to make such report or falsely make it, and the management should be personally liable for all debts created during such laches.

It is, however, of greater importance that the directors furnish security for the honest discharge of their duties, and also be held personally liable for the debts of the corporation with certain exceptions. Either a bond should be required from every director and officer, or he should deposit stock in the corporation as se-

curity. A public officer should determine the amount of the bond or stock required, and both should be deposited with him for the security of the creditors and stockholders. I think this is not required in any State, but in Belgium the directors must deposit one-fifth of the capital stock, or at least stock of 50,000 francs par value. In France they must deposit all the stock they have and mark it unalienable during their term of office.

The argument for the personal liability of directors and officers is drawn from the analogy of limited liability partnerships with silent or dormant partners, and from the history of corporations. Under the old law all stockholders were fully liable, like active partners. That was wrong, for the stockholders outside of the management are but silent partners, who usually cannot know the facts about the management, and, if they knew, would be powerless to remedy the difficulty. Furthermore, full liability of all stockholders misleads creditors. They think the vague and indefinite security far greater than it practically is. Under the new law all stockholders are limited in their liability. This is again a wrong to the outside stockholders as well as the creditors, for the active directors and officers are active partners in entire charge, and they can build up or wreck a business as they see fit. They should always lose and never profit from a wreckage.

The South Sea Company, of London, in 1720, was selling its stock at 1,000 per cent. guaranteeing 50 per cent. dividend per annum. When it failed and the fraud was discovered, the estates of all the directors were confiscated for the benefit of its victims. In France, in one species of corporation, the directors are personally liable as partners. Under the National Bank Act and in some States they are liable for twice the amount of their stock. In many of the States they are fully liable in case of violation of some statute. It is believed that their liability should be made general, at least where sufficient bond or other security is not required.

How to prevent directors and officers in control of a corporation from speculating in its stock to their own advantage, or otherwise using their position for selfish purposes, is an important problem as yet unsolved. All agree that a great amount of robbing, peacefully and legally, is done in this manner. The evil is the same as that which is

provided against by the law in the case of other trustees, by forbidding them to deal with the trust estate. In this direction, it is believed, the only remedy can be found. A director or officer should not be permitted, directly or indirectly, to buy or sell the stock of the corporation during his term of office.

A further safeguard lies in giving small stockholders a preference in voting for directors. In England one vote is allowed for each share held by a person up to ten, one additional vote for every five shares from ten up to one hundred, and one additional vote for each ten shares above one hundred. In the United States the chief modification of the old share voting system is the cumulative system. It has been adopted in California, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri, New York (if so stated in the articles of association), Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and West Virginia. The cumulative system is to be recommended, for while it leaves the owners of the majority of the stock in control, it places behind the scenes one or more directors in sympathy with the minority.

Finally, a very important change of policy needed in many States is the reservation of the right to modify or repeal the charters of corporations as expressed in the general corporation laws of the State. This is the law in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Nevada, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. It is favored by Professor Cooley and many others qualified to judge wisely of the matter.

In Massachusetts it is enacted that every act of incorporation passed after 1834 shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal at the pleasure of the legislature, except that full power to wind up the business in case of repeal shall always exist. Such is the law in the other States named, except Oregon, where it is provided that general corporation laws are subject to amendment, alteration, and repeal, "but not so as to impair or destroy any vested corporate right."

To some of these suggested reforms there will doubtless be strong objections raised. But in some States they would have no effect on existing corporations unless they subject themselves to

the new act, taking privileges under it, which would be a matter of choice. Such legislation is only for corporations hereafter organized. The incorporators would in such case understand the conditions on which their privileges are granted. It would in no case affect honestly conducted corporations, and persons proposing to conduct corporations otherwise have no standing in the discussion. However, it might be well to provide that some of these requirements should not be employed except when requested at any time by the holders of 20 per cent. of the stock. The choice should never be left to the majority or confined to the time when the company is being incorporated.

The most difficult problem that must be solved in corporation reform is the proper handling of trusts or combinations to control the production and price of an article. This may be done by a central corporation formed by managers of a score of establishments or without such corporation by a trust agreement. The effect in either case is to abolish the law of competition in trade to increase the price of the product. Having fixed the prices, by fair or foul means, if necessary by threats, by the freezing out process, or by force and violence, they endeavor to maintain the prices fixed. It is needless here to discuss their methods, for they are well known. They are contrary to the spirit of the common law, and hence have been vigorously assailed by all courts when acting upon the common law.

From their beginning trusts have constantly increased, amid various vicissitudes, until now nearly all articles of general manufacture are controlled or influenced by them. At the beginning of the craze for them it was prophesied that they would fail because of conflicting interests of members, the looseness of the organization, and the disfavor of the law. They were consequently expected to go out of style. But such has not been the case, and it is not seen how such combinations can be wholly prevented in view of their advantages to members and the modern means that enable concerted action.

Some endorse these combinations because they seem to be a natural development of modern industrialism, and anything natural in its development should not be checked. They assert that the government should by law recognize trusts and eliminate what is injurious, to bend them to the benefaction of the public. This is a very plausible plan, but it means for us to

abandon the law of competition and to embrace socialism. For the logical conclusion would be the assimilation of all business by the state, the state being the ultimate combination beyond which we cannot go.

We cannot yet afford to abandon the law of competition and individual liberty, hence legislatures and courts should continue, as heretofore, to suppress and discourage trusts. The courts should treat the contracts of trusts, as Judge Thompson says, like gambling debts and counterfeit bills, and the legislatures should reinforce the common law by defining illegal combinations, declaring their acts and contracts void, and providing severe penalties for violations of the law. Anti-trust laws now exist in Alabama, Louisiana, Michigan, Montana, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. Not only should contracts forming trusts be made void, but trusts should be prohibited from enforcing any kind of contract. They should have no standing in court. In any action brought by them, the defense that the party is a trust, or acting in behalf of a trust, should bar recovery. They should be consistently treated as outlaws. Without ability, directly or indirectly, to come into court or to enforce any right or contract, coupled with the power of courts to dissolve them on the action of the Attorney-General, and with severe penalties on all parties participating in the formation and business of trusts, they will, it is believed, be rendered almost harmless. But in this all the States should act in concert. One or a few States cannot do much in this direction. Nor has Congress much power in the premises.

V. H. Lockwood.

THE FRENCH NAVY.—II.

BY M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

In 1881, the accession to power of Gambetta's administration, upon which so many hopes were based, gave some strength to the new school by the selection for the Navy portfolio of Commandant Gougeard, who, in spite of his heroic behavior during the war of 1870, had been retired with the grade of "Captain." His appointment was, indeed, a kind of revolution.

Gougeard found himself suddenly at the head of the Admirals who, in fear of his independent temper and of his desire for reform, had broken his career. All who knew the energy—we may say almost rudeness—of the new Secretary of the Navy, did not doubt that, from the very day of his commission he would apply himself to laying a basis for the future organization. In this assurance they were not deceived. He undertook all the reforms, reforms of the staffs and the material; the creation of a high school for naval war; plans for the construction of fast modern ships, and for placing the harbors and coasts in a condition of defence. And then his successor, Admiral Jauréguiberry, by a few strokes of the pen, reduced all his patriotic labor to nothing.

Then came the Chinese campaign of 1883–1885. Our navy distinguished itself by a few acts of heroism; but it must be admitted that it did not meet a fleet worthy of the name. Beyond the torpedoing of the two Chinese frigates anchored at Schei-Poo, the squadron of Admiral Courbet only resorted to two methods of operation; bombardment and landing.

Once only did Courbet meet a division of five Chinese ships, which he endeavored to run down. He could not overtake them, however, owing to their superior speed. Here is a telling incident: During the chase of the Chinese squadron, the ironclad "Le Bayard" displayed a speed superior to that of the cruisers, and kept

ahead of the racing platoon ; yet the "Bayard" had never developed a speed higher than thirteen knots.

Thus the Chinese campaign fully revealed our inferiorty in speed, and also our lack of serviceable cruisers. The official reports of Admiral Courbet are full of complaints in regard to this particular, a fact which was not altogether a surprise to his comrades who had remained in France. For, while he was fighting on the Chinese coast, one of our most distinguished general officers, the Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, wrote him the following letter, which discloses a great deal in regard to the true state of our naval forces :

"TOULON, March 12, 1884.

"MY DEAR COURBET:

. . . . . .

"What shall I tell you about our navy? I do not see a particle of energy anywhere. It seems to me they do not know their own position in regard to ship-building. Great speed is absolutely paramount, yet we continue to build ships which are neither fish nor flesh, so to speak.

"However, they are now drawing plans here for two torpedo cruisers of 1,200 tons, and two torpedoes of thirty-three meters to be added to the fleet, which will permit us to make interesting studies. We have worked a good deal here in Toulon on the practical use of the 'Whitehead' torpedoes, and the results have been satisfactory. Unfortunately, however, this is not general, and at the other ports they do not even succeed in regulating them.

"On the whole, we find only dullness and repetition all over the line. No heart, no authority. Most of our comrades do not dare to take command, and the auxiliary department bury us under the moss. Nothing manly.

"Farewell, my good friend, . . .

"(Signed) B. DUPETIT-THOUARS,
Vice-Admiral."

This letter had been written eighteen months, when Admiral Aube became Secretary of the Navy. At this time Admiral Réveillere made a sketch of the situation identical to that penned by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars.

"At the time when Admiral Aube gave a new impulse to the Navy, it was practically held together by a mere *coat of paint.* It was like a vessel cleaned up and splendid to look at, on the decks of which, however, there took place antiquated drillings under the careful supervision of a glittering staff. And when Admiral Aube exclaimed: 'All this is but a deceptive painting, your ship is sinking, she is like a pre-historic vessel, the timbers of which are worm-eaten, and which will sink at the first shock,' one may realize what shouts of rage met this utterance of a mar-sport.

"We were very proud of our Navy, and this pride seemed justified. The Navy looked so well. Its renown was unstained. It was still the same old

Navy, and that was indeed its misfortune, for everything around it had undergone changes."*

Trained at an epoch when sail only was used, Admiral Aube was passionate for progress. Like Gougeard, he was one of the heroes of the war of 1870. He had command of a brigade of the army of the Loire, and gallantly did his duty, chiefly at the battle of Beaune-la-Rolande. He had not gained any promotion by it. *Capitaine de vaisseau* at the time the war broke out, he did not become Rear-Admiral until ten years after. High-minded, he considered it his duty to express his ideas of reform before all. He had published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a series of articles much appreciated. Under his direction a young journalist of talent, Mons. Gabriel Charmes, carried on, through the press, a vigorous campaign in favor of the new ideas—for we must still, in 1896, designate as "new ideas" the proposals of reform, at least dating back to 1849 !

The strong articles in the *Journal des Debats*, in which paper Mons. Gabriel Charmes is nowadays replaced by Mons. Weil, who used to be his opponent and the reputed spokesman of the syndicate of the Metallurgy; the various papers of Mons. Charmes together with his essays on the subject in the *Revue Bleue*, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, resulted in the publication of a vivid book *La Réforme de la Marine*, in which the young writer brought before the public the reforms which Admiral Aube proposed to attempt a few months later.

This campaign, which threatened the interests closest to the heart of a clique, which was at once military, political, and industrial, brought an opposition the more earnest from the fact that the author belonged to a set where the high influences of the middle-class oligarchy were most powerful. The feudal admiralty and its faithful ally, the Metallurgy Syndicate, were simultaneously menaced, so that as soon as the consequences of the proposed reform appeared plainly, some of the newspapers which supported the "new navy" passed cynically from one camp into the other. I have already told how Mons. Emile Weil, supported by the *Creusot*, in his controversy with Mons. Gabriel Charmes, had at the end taken the place of the latter on the staff of the paper which is the accredited mouthpiece of the French high *bourgeoisie*.

* "*Guerre navale de Demain.*" (Preface of the Admiral Réveillere.)

However, the ideas were launched. A group of publicists seemed to be set upon a strong campaign in the press in favor of the *Marine Nouvelle;* and Mons. de Freycinet, charged with the task of forming a Cabinet in January, 1886, deemed it advisable to call to his side Admiral Aube, to whom, in so doing, he had even to forgive some ill-disposed writings in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the faults and mistakes of the (1870-1871) war in the provinces.

The accession of Admiral Aube to power is unquestionably the greatest event in the patriotic struggle against the routine and system of "*favoritisme*" which has kept the French navy in shackles for a century. From the very first hour, the new Secretary of the Navy showed by his acts his desire to cut loose from the past, to follow out to the end his plans of reform, and to perfect reform in spite of all interested opposition.

What were his plans? To enumerate them it is sufficient to quote the following extracts from a paper published by Admiral Aube in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* under the title of "*La Guerre Maritime et les Ports Militaires de la France:*"

"The ironclad navy has outlived its time, and together with *the great war*, of which it was the weapon, it must disappear to make room for a new navy, the implement of the wars of the future; wars of cruise—that is, mercantile wars.

"The instruments of these wars are, for the greater part, gunboats and topedoes for defense, with cruisers, all having a maximum speed, and all vessels of that class reduced to minimum dimensions, so as to insure autonomy and effective power.

"The number, the speed, and the invisibility, constitute the important factors of the superiority of these engines of war. The tactical and technical science of the future wars is to be created. Like any other science, it will be the outcome of a patient and scientific observation of the facts. The staffs which will set in motion the engines of that war are also to be created and organized. Their value in actual operations will be exactly measured by the degree of experience acquired during peace.

"The axiom remains true: in the navy nothing can be improvised.

"For all these reasons the reorganization of our navy, both of the services and the material, is paramount, as an urgent and patriotic necessity."

Those were only general considerations. It was the province of the reformer in the Cabinet to pass from the theory to practice. Admiral Aube's administration was, in every point, an active one. As soon as he became Secretary of the Navy it did not require a long survey for him to gather all the proofs that he had judged but too correctly, that, in case of war, the French

navy was not in a position to fulfill efficaciously the task which would confront it. Unable to shuffle off his duty, he denounced squarely the evils and took the necessary steps to avert them.

Upon his order, Mons. Peschart d'Ambly, who had been for a long time "*Directeur du Materiel*" of the Navy Department, made an exact list of those of our battleships actually in trim to fight. This list was the irrefutable proof the lamentable incapacity of the great chiefs. It proved, beyond possible argument, that the hundreds of millions of francs expended for the defence of the country had melted in the crucible of the "Rue Royale" —that is, had been squandered in unproductive outlays.

This frightful revelation decided the Cabinet, under the threat of the resignation, three times tendered, of Admiral Aube, to admit the principle of an extraordinary expenditure for the fleet, amounting to two hundred millions, besides the ordinary credits. Of this amount one hundred and forty millions were appropriated to the building of cruisers and gunboats of low water draught, and torpedoes, all to be of maximum speed. The remaining sixty millions were reserved for the establishment of second-class navy yards at Porto Vecchio (Corsica) and Bizerte (Tunis), and also for torpedo stations on the coasts.

It was possible to begin the realization of these plans, as soon as the Committee of Ways and Means had granted a first yearly instalment of thirty millions on the extraordinary credits of 1887. A second instalment of thirty millions was asked on the credits of 1888, but needlessly, for Admiral Aube had resigned previous to the vote of the credits.

In the Spring of 1887, the Committee which prepared the credits for that year had tried, with the support more or less concealed of some members of the Cabinet, to influence the Secretary of the Navy so as to obtain from him a reduction in the amount of the second instalment. But nothing could shake the strong belief of the courageous Secretary, that he was defending one of the foremost interests of France. Therefore, he answered by a peremptory refusal, which he explained in a letter, the most striking passages of which are these :

"To Monsieur Rouvier,

"Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means :

"Mr. Chairman, I regret to have to affirm that no reduction—such as you seem to contemplate—can be accepted in regard to the credits demanded,

without jeopardizing the effective fighting value of our navy. The debentures for the navy are of two entirely different kinds; the staff and the material.

"The staffs of the fighting forces are at present reduced to their minimum. They are composed in the main of "specialities": skilled mechanics, engineers, stokers, cannoneers, torpedo men, helmsmen, etc., who are rendered as useful by their mechanical abilities, acquired only through long and slow training at sea, by continued studies, and by the preparation obtained in our special training schools, as by their number.

"As they stand now, we may rest satisfied as to the technical capacity of the staffs, but it is also a fact that in regard to the number of men they are in most of the special services below the requirements of a great war.

"Concerning the material, I do not need to repeat again that it does not meet the contingencies of a naval contest with one or several European nations—should they even be second-rate maritime powers.

"The proofs of this inferiority I have stated several times, whether before the Council of State or the Committee of Ways and Means. I have been successful enough to obtain a first instalment of extraordinary credits, which, despite their evident insufficiency, will at least enable our navy to face, within a few years, all the chances of a naval contest in the European seas, or better in the "national seas," the Channel, the Atlantic, and especially the Mediterranean; but only in these waters.

"To allow a reduction in the credits so necessary to the defence of the country, would be to sign the abdication of France—that is, to agree to leave her unarmed—and this at what moment? At the time when a war seems near at hand, at a time when all the maritime powers, England, Germany, Italy, and Spain, are taxing themselves with the hardest sacrifices in order to bring their navies to a footing consistent with the naval contests of the future.

"No one should believe that I could consent to be the tool of such abdication or such impotency. You should be aware of this. However, it is perhaps best for me to again assure you of my immovable resolution, so as to leave you and your colleagues the liberty of judgment admitting a different view of the future, and of the measures that it requires.

"THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,

"(Signed) AUBE.

"MAY 2, 1887."

A few days later Admiral Aube retired from the administration, and his successor, M. Barbey, did not hesitate an instant to give up the extraordinary credits for the renewal of the fleet and the defence of the coasts. Nevertheless, it remained as an established fact that the Secretary who had just retired, had given, within the short period of seventeen months, an unusual impulse to his department. I will recall only:

(1.) Experiments with the torpedoes, action and shooting, correctness of aim in shooting at a moving object.

(2.) Experiments in the art of navigating the torpedo boats, and on their autonomy.

(3.) Experiments on the respective value of various implements of war and on the new tactics (extensive naval drillings resumed in 1887). The establishment of extensive drillings at sea has since been adopted by all the maritime powers.

(4.) Experiments on the resistance of partitioned structures against the shooting of torpedoes.

(5.) Establishment at Toulon of a workshop for the manufacturing of torpedoes. Until that time we were dependent on foreigners, and we are yet so to a certain extent, the Navy Department having taken great care not to give to the works of Toulon the necessary extension.

(6.) Experiments on the effects of "melinite" projectiles.

(7.) Experiments on the application of electricity to submarine navigation.

(8.) Building of a small boat with great speed and low-water draught, with a floating carriage, for a gun of powerful calibre.

(9.) Survey of the strategic positions most suitable as a base of operations for a cruise war.

We should remark that the plans for new ships prepared by Admiral Aube comprised only vessels with a maximum speed; cruisers, gunboats with a low-water draught, torpedo boats; but not a single ironclad.

The Secretary estimated that a first-class cruiser should be put in service, at the latest, three years after the laying of the first timber of the keel. What is our position in the matter? The order for putting in slip "Le Jauréguiberry," a battleship of 11,824 tons, dates from April 8, 1891, and it is not yet in service at the time I am writing. The last tests have just been interrupted by the explosion of a boiler, which killed outright six marines.

The order for laying in slip the coast vessel "Le Bouvines," 6,610 tons, dates back from December 18, 1889, and this ship has just been put into service.

For "Le Dupuy de Lôme," a cruiser of 6,300 tons, the order for starting to build was given on November 26, 1887. The mishaps at the trials of this vessel have been so numerous that she was not put in service until 1895.

On the other hand, "The Majestic," a British ironclad, of 14,910 tons, was entered in service not more than two years after the laying of the first piece of keel.

The Germans endeavor to follow the example of the English, with the hope of overtaking, and even excelling them. The "Kaiser Frederic III.," a German ironclad of 11,500 tons launched in July, 1896, at Wilhelmshafen, and of which William II. said at the time of launching that she was equal to the most powerful ships of the other European navies, and superior to many of them, was built within sixteen months, having been keeled March 5, 1895.

This constitutes a remarkable progress in the rapidity of building, in comparison to the last ships of the same class, as the "Wörth," "The Brandenburg," and the "Kurfürst-Wilhelm," which required respectively thirty-two, twenty-four and twenty-one months. But the Germans are not yet satisfied, while they claim with reason that in this respect they come next to the English, and much ahead of the French.

Finally, Admiral Aube succeeded in realizing a permanent and full equipment of our navy. He had stated this principle, that the modern ship, an implement of delicate workmanship and of infinite intricacy, is really available only when she stands in the full sea-equipment, and that we may not reckon, at the time of a declaration of war upon the vessels in reserve.

With Mons. Barbey, who succeeded Admiral Aube, the maddest sort of reaction towards the old-fashioned, hackneyed navy took place in every service of the department. Mons. Barbey had for his principal merit to be the docile instrument of the conceptions of the old Admiralty—if we may so describe the vague reasonings of the chiefs, most of them raised through favoritism, and each of them systematically hostile to all progressive endeavors.

They hastened to return to the organization of a navy, powerless against England, to the great relief of all the blockheads whose quietude had been disturbed by Admiral Aube, and especially to the complete satisfaction of the influential manufacturers of steel plates.

Mons. Barbey took the opposite side of all the ideas of his predecessor, undid all that he had achieved, and re-established all that he had demolished.

To mark more forcibly his profound disdain for the outgoing reformer, the new Secretary had the cynicism to refuse to Admiral Aube a commission at sea, when the turn of the latter

came. In fact, he was not even willing to grant his predecessor a "*prefecture maritime.*" Admiral Aube was successively denied all the positions to which he had a right; he had to atone by this kind of ostracism for his patriotic efforts to make the French navy a powerful implement of victory in the whole machinery of the national defence.

As the question was no longer to obtain from the navy the most powerful effort, there was no further need for the extraordinary credits of the fallen Secretary; they were useless to merely maintain the old wanderings of an eye-catching fleet.

Thus Mons. Barbey gave up at once the demand for the remaining 140 millions, on the 200 granted in principle.

He went even further; he reduced to fourteen millions the second yearly instalment of thirty millions, which Admiral Aube had proposed to include in the credits for 1888. Further, he postponed the building of the cruisers laid in building slips by Admiral Aube, to such an extent as to nullify ten millions of the thirty millions constituting the first extraordinary annuity, already voted for.

Thus, of the two hundred millions which the Committee of Ways and Means and the House of Representatives of 1886 had estimated as the total amount of the extraordinary credits indispensable to the reconstitution of our naval power, one hundred and seventy-five millions remained unclaimed.

It is true that three years later, after a campaign through the press, marked notably by the publication of a pamphlet "*Le péril maritime,*" written under the inspiration of Admiral Aube by his secretary, Mons. Paul Fontin, they were obliged to accept, after several interpellations, the increase of credits imposed by the Parliament on the Secretary of the Navy. But these credits, which he had to spend against his will for new ships, were applied no longer to a "*fleet for speed,*" but to heavy iron clads, which render us powerless towards England.

As a logical consequence of this programme, the studies in regard to submarine navigation were discontinued, because the appearance on the scene of the small submarine torpedo will give the last blow to the iron-plated mastodons. They suppressed purely and simply the small vessel with high speed constructed by Admiral Aube, by stripping the "Gabriel Charmes," from which they even took away her name.

It goes without saying that none of the new credits was applied to establishing bases of operations (Porto Vecchio and Bizerte), which according to Admiral Aube were of first necessity for our action in the Mediterranean. The work begun at Porto Vecchio was suddenly stopped ; the flotilla devoted to the movable defence of Corsica, which would have become the means of a counter-attack in case the enemy had shown itself on our coasts, was entirely mustered out. The Admiral du Prémesnil who commanded in Corsica, was recalled, and they proceeded to complete the dismemberment of our forces as they had been organized by Admiral Aube : coast vessels in the Channel, cruisers at Brest, squadron ironclads in the Mediterranean. All the vessels were again grouped regardless of any rational idea, and as Admiral Aube had succeeded by means of reduced staffs in permanently and fully equipping the battleships, they proceeded to dismantle most of them, and came back to the system of reserve vessels.

True, they have since been obliged to restore the movable defence of Corsica, but, unfortunately, in a manner very different from the organization of Admiral Aube. They had also to return to the reduced staffs of the latter, under the name of "Squadron of Reserve," but this measure was not applied to the ships of the movable defence, and this explains the grave shortcomings of the torpedoes.

In 1894 I published in *La Justice*, simultaneously with Mons. Paul Fontin, in the "*French Navy*," official documents which proved that the vessels of the movable defence of Toulon were by a large majority unserviceable. The sensation was such that the Secretary and Admiralty were obliged to yield, at least seemingly, to the exigencies of public opinion. An extra parliamentary commission of inquiry was cunningly selected by the Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of explaining to the very same Secretary how his own incapacity and that of his advisers had brought such results.

At this very moment the kind inquirers are still laboring upon this puzzle. They have already dodged—by devices of various kinds—most of the questions upon which they were to stimulate discussion. It matters little to know how long a time they will continue to scribble uselessly the official papers. The same questions which, almost fifty years ago, confronted the

Dufaure Commission are still pending to-day, as the Admiralty has refused to bring them to any solution before the Inquirers of 1896. Only the Dufaure Committee had produced positive results, and it required the "*coup d'etat*" of December to prevent its being brought to a successful end. For the miscarriage of 1896 no force is necessary. It is sufficient to leave the Commissioners of the Admiralty—for these so-called Inquirers are nothing else—to proceed and drown themselves in a flood of satisfactory resolutions. Those who wish to satisfy themselves in regard to the character of the present inquiry, and of the retrograde movement of the present generation, will have merely to compare the minutes of 1849 with those of 1896. It is the most crushing evidence against the so-called reformers of our epoch.

By one of the chances of the preliminary see-saw, Mons. Lockroy became Secretary of the Navy during the course of the inquiry. We might have expected from him important reforms. Instructed in the desiderata of the navy by officers belonging to the school of Admiral Aube, Mons. Lockroy knew as well as any one the evils of our organization and the wretched results which it has brought forward.

Although capable of rational judgment, and having a clear understanding of the work he was undertaking, experience proved that he was greatly deficient in regard to methods, character, and will power. Mons. Lockroy, fallen from power, is now busy writing an explanatory book on his Secretaryship. This volume will no doubt be of great interest, but should not a member of the government have acted, instead of writing? If Mons. Lockroy had acted, he would not be to-day under the the necessity of working up explanations—his acts would speak for him. There is no reason to doubt his good will, but not daring to oppose the so-called head men of our navy, he managed to coax, to tack, to be of the same opinion as every one else, and to recoil before any manly decisions. Not speaking of the personal favors that he may have indiscriminately granted, the greater part of his labors amount to again bringing under consideration three of the Articles of Admiral Aube's programme: 1st, Submarine navigation; 2d, Flotilla of gunboats, 3d, Projectiles with explosives. But by a contradiction unexplainable in any other person but him, he has completely forgotten

the important factor of speed, and he had not the courage to do away with the steel-armoured monsters, against which he had hurled so many eloquent phrases.

He has laid in building slips an ironclad to cost 27 millions of francs, and has prepared plans for another in his estimates of the credits for 1897, which reaches the figure of 30 millions. To Mons. Lockroy belongs the honor of having reached for the first time this amount for the cost of a single battleship. No necessity to say that he entirely neglected the question of the bases of operations!

Even the studies which he ordered have been conducted without either energy or system. As an illustration, for the flotilla of gunboats, the Secretary had to contend against his own subordinates, who were so obstinate as to take no account of his wish. He was not able to exact obedience, and the transformation of the despatch boat, "La Dragonne," which could have been done two or three months after his appointment, was not yet accomplished when the administration was overturned. Thanks to this process, it is Admiral Besnard, a determined adversary of the "*petite marine*," who will be in charge of the experiment. One may guess what will be the result.

Concerning the equipment, the mistakes were still heavier. Since 1891 I had denounced on the floor of the House the inertia of the marine artillery, which has allowed for two years the Italian and English vessels to be covered with rapid-fire guns, without putting our fleet in shape to return shot for shot. Space does not permit me to treat now extensively upon this interesting subject, which I intend to resume in the future.

A delegation of the Commission of Inquiry has taken upon itself—without daring to consult the Commission, and without having the courage to name a reporting Secretary—to decide that everything was for the best in the artillery department. I should not be surprised if the question was not so absolutely buried as the Commissioners believe.

Such is the actual state of the claims of the "Young Navy" against the hackneyed and impotent Admiralty. The question is whether France is to be satisfied with a navy inferior in number and speed—to mention only those two factors in a fight—which admits of pompous promenading and platonic exhibitions, but leaves her unable to face her redoubtable rivals with

any chance of success, such as the enormous sacrifices to which the nation has cheerfully consented should assure her.

Certainly not ! France, mutilated, expects of her army and of her navy to efficiently keep watch of her frontiers on land and sea, so as to insure a perfect integrity of the territory. Against so many foes, the enterprise is vast. Thus no chance must be neglected. Thus the government of the Republic owes to the bravery of the combatants on sea and land to supply them with the best implements of warfare. To achieve this end, it is necessary to follow day by day the progress of science, and when the changes commanded by the progress of science are opposed, it is indispensable that mere routine be crushed in order that the country be saved !

Against abuses and ignorance, against presumptuous incapacity, against favoritism, routine, and the thousand forms of folly of the administration, which twenty years ago came so near crushing us forever, the new generation has the duty of struggling to the end. At least let the teachings of past defeats be of some benefit. Let the new generation turn away from the fallaciousness of official optimism, let it exact full light, make out plain truth; and, to uphold France, let it reckon no more on former so-called saviours, sadly embodied nowadays in impotent officials, but on the eager watch, on the stubborn labor of every hour, on the will forever present to give at any time its full effect to the courage of a nation of which the curtailed territory proves that the greatest bravery is powerless to command victory if it is not assisted by systematic preparations during time of peace.

G. CLEMENCEAU.

DRINK AND DRUNKENNESS IN LONDON.

BY A LONDON POLICE MAGISTRATE.

THAT the English are a drinking people it is impossible to deny in the face of the revenue returns; but that we are a drunken people is a very different proposition, to which, I am glad to say, I am unable to assent. Of the mass of our population but a very few are habitual drunkards; while of the numbers brought before magistrates charged with drunkenness a large proportion make but a single appearance, and are never seen again. Their names, however, serve to swell the returns, and an impression is thus created that there are more confirmed drunkards among us than is actually the case. Every one must be struck by the orderly conduct of large crowds in the metropolis. Whether it be at the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, at any of the great football or cricket matches, the Lord Mayor's Show, or a royal wedding, of all the thousands assembled you rarely see a single person drunk.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the prevalence of drunken habits amongst a certain number of the wage-earning classes is the cause of a vast amount of misery, and of a certain kind of crimes. Premeditated murders, burglaries, forgeries, conspiracies, frauds, etc., requiring sobriety for their success, can in no case be ascribed to strong drink; but many crimes of violence are directly attributable to its effects upon persons not naturally cruel or vicious, whilst the wretched poverty and misery that a drunken head of a family brings upon his unfortunate belongings can only be understood by those who have had exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with such cases.

Sometimes it is the wife who is in fault, more frequently the husband; but in either case the poor children have to suffer. When the husband is more or less given to drink the wife seems

often to be stimulated to increased exertion, and many an admirable example of devotion to duty has in the course of a somewhat lengthy experience come under my notice. How often have I longed, on hearing a wife's complaint that her husband would do no work, but spent all his time in the public house, that I could send a stout policeman, armed with a heavy whip, to lash the lazy rascal out of his bed where he would be found sleeping off the effects of the last night's debauch. Where does he get the money for drink? you naturally ask. Sometimes he beats it out of his hard-working, sober wife; sometimes he is treated by friends, for to have been "fou' for weeks thegither" is a strong bond of union, as we have it on no mean authority. The wives, though complaining, are generally free from vindictiveness. "The best of husbands if he would only keep from the drink," is their constant cry, and when a charge of assault has been made, or a summons granted, as often as not the wife declines to prosecute, hoping against hope that her husband may reform.

As already said, the proportion of habitual drunkards compared with those who only occasionally drink to excess is but small. After a time, however, they become conspicuous, as the newspapers help to make them notorious by recording the number of their appearances in the police courts. Judging by my own feelings, I cannot but think that most magistrates dislike the frequent reappearance of the same individual on the same kind of charge. It carries with it a reproach like that which a doctor in full practice may be supposed to feel when his (let us say dyspeptic) patient returns again and again. His mere presence suggests that the treatment has failed. But how such treatment as a magistrate can, under the present law, prescribe for the drunkard could possibly succeed, it is difficult to imagine. Probably it was never thought or intended that it would have curative or reformatory effect. Instead of making him better, it is more likely to make him worse. The highest sentence that can be pronounced at present is a month's imprisonment with hard labor in a common prison. When the man or woman comes out of jail at the end of the month, weak from low diet and feeling depressed and miserable, what more natural than that he should immediately have recourse to stimulants, the want of which, his feelings tell him, has brought him to such a pass. Thus it often happens that on the first day of his recovered

freedom he is drunk again, and appears in court the following morning, to the great discomfiture of the magistrate, who can only repeat the same treatment which has so lamentably failed.

That the system requires attention, nobody who knows anything of its working can doubt; and this has been generally recognized. Indeed, several bills have from time to time been introduced into Parliament within the last twenty years, the main object of all of them being to give greater powers of restraint over inebriates; but not one of these bills has found its way into the Statute Book. The subject, however, has been constantly pressed upon the notice of successive governments, and in 1893 a Departmental Committee, at the head of which was Mr. Wharton, M. P., was appointed to inquire into the treatment of inebriates. This committee held many sittings and obtained much evidence from persons conversant with the subject, and I believe all were agreed that our present system had proved a complete failure, so far as the reformation of the habitual drunkard was concerned.

In the course of the enquiry Mr. Murdoch, of the Home Office, a member of the committee, produced an act of the Legislature of Victoria, in which colony several attempts have, it seems, been made to deal with the subject of habitual drunkenness This act is styled "The Inebriate Asylums' Act, 1888," and it begins by repealing the "Inebriates' Act, 1872," and also a subsequent act amending it, thus showing that the subject had engaged the attention of the Parliament of the colony for a considerable time. The principal provisions of this act of 1888 may be shortly stated. "Inebriate" is defined to mean "any person in reference to whom, whether by himself or by any other person, any application for detention or treatment shall be, or shall have been, made under the act." The governor in council is empowered to direct that any asylum, or any part of any asylum, or any other building named in the order, shall be an asylum for inebriates. He may appoint as superintendent of any such asylum a person who must be a medical practitioner. The asylum may be separated into two divisions, with a different scale of accommodations and of fees to be paid by patients and residents. Any person desirous of being committed to an asylum for inebriates may make application to the Master-in-Lunacy, or to any judge of county courts, or to a police magistrate, or to any justice who,

after satisfying himself that the applicant has habitually used excessive quantities of intoxicating drinks, may order him to be detained in an asylum for inebriates, there to be held under curative treatment for a period not exceeding three months.

We now come to the most important part of the act, which, it will be seen, goes far beyond anything as yet adopted in the mother country. By sections 8 and 9 it is provided that upon the application of the husband or wife, or any relative or friend of any person addicted to the habitual use in excess of intoxicating drinks, either of the authorities above named may, upon proof of the reasonableness of the application, summon the inebriate to show cause why he should not be committed to an asylum, and if upon the hearing it is shown that, by reason of his abuse of intoxicating drinks, the person summoned is unable to control himself and incapable of managing his affairs, or is dangerous to himself or others, or is suffering under or recovering from *delirium tremens* or chronic alcoholism, or is in imminent danger of death from the continuous use of such drinks; and if two medical practitioners certify in writing that the person requires curative treatment in an asylum for inebriates, he may be sent to one for a term not exceeding three months. Under the tenth section the inebriate may apply to any of the same authorities to have the order reconsidered, and they have power to rescind it and to make such order as to costs as they deem fit. By the fifteenth section the same authorities, or any of them, if in their opinion it is necessary or desirable for the curative treatment or care of an inebriate that a second or subsequent order of detention should be made, may make one. Power is given to apprehend any escaped inebriate, and to take him back to the asylum, there to remain until the expiration of the period named in the order; and there are various other provisions for the protection of the inebriate when in confinement, for his punishment when unruly, for the payment of his maintenance, and other matters.

It will be seen, however, from the short abstract I have given of the act, that it attempts at all events to deal with this class of cases by a curative method, while we have been content to rely on punishment alone. It should be added here that Mr. James Munro, formerly Prime Minister of Victoria, who gave evidence before the committee, stated as his opinion that the act had not been attended with much success, owing, as I understand him,

not only to the scale of charges being too high, but to other faulty arrangements. Moreover, the experiment was made on a very small scale. However, notwithstanding this rather discouraging account of the operation of the Colonial Act, the committee, after taking a large body of evidence from clergymen, distinguished physicians, governors, and chaplains of prisons, police magistrates, and others, made amongst others the following recommendations in their report:

(1.) That power should be given for the compulsory commitment to a retreat of persons coming within the definition of an habitual drunkard, as laid down in the (English) act of 1890, on the application of their relatives or friends, or other persons interested in their welfare, such application to be made to any Judge of the High Court, County Court Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate, or Justice sitting in Quarter or Petty Sessions, who shall decide on the propriety of the application.

(2.) That reformatory institutions should be provided, aided by contributions from imperial and local funds, towards the cost of their building and maintenance (as in the case of existing reformatories and industrial institutions for juvenile offenders), for the reception and detention of criminal habitual drunkards, who might be subjected to less rigorous discipline than in existing prisons and to the performance of such labors as may be prescribed. (3.) That magistrates should have the power to commit to such reformatory institutions for lengthened periods with or without previous punishment or imprisonment habitual drunkards (*a.*) who come within the action of the criminal law; (*b.*) who fail to find required sureties and recognizances; (*c.*) who have been brought up for breach of such recognizances; (*d.*) who are proved guilty of ill treatment or neglect of their wives and families; (*e.*) who have been convicted of drunkenness three or more times within the previous twelve months.

It seems to be generally agreed amongst the witnesses who were examined by the committee that it was quite hopeless to effect the cure of a habitual drunkard within a less period than twelve months; and this such high authorities as the late Sir Andrew Clark and Sir Richard Quain gave as their opinion. Lengthened periods of detention for the habitual drunkard, even if they failed to cure, would have this good effect at least, that his pernicious example would be removed for a time.

Before going further, perhaps it may not be without interest if I recall one or two cases of habitual drunkards that have come under my notice. The most notorious of these was a woman named Jane Cakebread whose name must be familiar to all readers of the London newspapers. She was a curious creature who never seemed to be in the least disconcerted by her frequent appearance in court. Tall, spare, and strong, with a plain but rather pleasing countenance, she always appeared in the dock as neat as circumstances would permit. Whatever her language and conduct may have been in the street, as to which the constable used to give awful accounts, in court it was uniformly correct. She seldom or never found fault with the constable who had arrested her; owned she might have have had a glass or two too much, but made light of the matter and promised amendment. What she liked above all things was to be allowed to talk of the great respectability of her relations at Bishop's Stratford, and, when you allowed her to run on for a little about them, everything went smoothly and well. She was satisfied with her sentence, whatever it might be, curtseyed to the Bench, and, as she tripped out of court, nodded and smiled at the jailer as if to say: "You needn't show *me* the way to the cells," and by her contented and cheerful aspect and demeanor would so please every one in court, magistrate included, that the sadder aspect of the case was lost sight of in a general sense of satisfaction.

Such was Jane Cakebread in the days when my interviews with her were frequent. Years have passed since then, and she is now, I believe, confined in a lunatic asylum, but, knowing her as I did, I can scarcely believe that she is subject to any delusion except the belief that she could go on through years and years of hard drinking without sooner or later incurring the inevitable penalty. She had a splendid constitution, and, as she never seemed in the morning to feel any ill-effects from the bout of the previous night, she was probably a stranger to the salutary check which a bad headache supplies. A century ago she might have held her own even with the three-bottle men of the time.

Another notorious woman, whose name is scarcely less known than Cakebread's, generally chose to call herself Totty Fay, though she had a number of more high-sounding aliases. My first acquaintance with her arose out of a most scandalous escapade, which was succeeded by others more or less serious, all

having their origin in drink. She became a confirmed drunkard and lost any good looks she ever possessed, and when last I saw her in court had a dirty, bedraggled look, her feathers and other finery being in a woeful condition. Like Jane Cakebread she had always the same story, with but slight variation, to lay before the Court. It ran somewhat after this fashion: "I am a most unfortunate young lady, your Worship, or I shouldn't be here before you to-day. You see, sir, it's like this: my poor, dear landlady, a most kind, amiable woman, had a distress for rent put in yesterday, so I went with her to the public house just to be out of the way of the beastly broker's men; and, well, I don't think it was the little drink we had so much as the grief I felt for the poor woman. But, your Worship, am I to be handled like this by a common policeman? Look here, you fellow" (showing her bruised arm to the constable), "what right have you to handle a young lady like this? I will report you to your betters and have the coat off your back, see if I don't."

Sometimes it was her dear mother whose unexpected arrival in town had led to a little conviviality; but in every case her references to herself as an unfortunate young lady formed the staple of her harangue, which I always found it more politic to allow her to deliver at length. I have lost sight of her now for several years, and I understand that she is undergoing a long term of imprisonment for a more serious offence than being drunk and disorderly.

I am not much of an optimist, yet I declare—taking these two women as representing the worst of the class of habitual drunkards—that I believe they might have been reformed, if taken in hand in time. That is the essential condition in all such cases—they must not be too far gone.

Of the many drunkards of the other sex who have come repeatedly before me, I retain but indistinct recollection. They seem to be less imaginative (dare I say it?) than the women. At any rate, they either have nothing to say, or nothing that strikes and fixes itself on the memory. Two I recall as being something out of the ordinary run. One is a shoeblack, a short, thickset fellow who seems steeped in drink, which is not surprising, seeing that he has made more than two hundred appearances in the same court. He always promises not to get drunk again, and I have occasionally accepted his promise on the con-

stable's admission that he went quietly to the station. But, of course, he is soon back again, when he is reminded of his promise before sentence. This he generally takes very resignedly.

Another, quite a young fellow, is a decidedly dangerous customer, though he has only one leg. But he can get about nimbly and quickly on his wooden leg and with the help of a crutch, even when pretty far gone in liquor. When he sees a constable coming to arrest him, he promptly makes for the nearest wall or railing, supported by which he shoulders his crutch, and makes ready for battle, so that unless the constable succeeds in summoning assistance, he has rather a risky time of it before he takes his man. This youth I believe to be an irreclaimable blackguard.

Passing reference has been made to the repeated efforts of members of Parliament in our own day to deal by fresh legislation with drunkards and drunkenness, and the appointment of the Royal Commission, now sitting under the presidency of Viscount Peel, to inquire into the whole subject of liquor and the licensing laws, testifies to the anxiety felt throughout the country upon a subject so closely connected with its well-being and good government. The Commission is large and representative, and has already taken a mass of evidence from men of various professions, occupations, and pursuits, whose experience enables them to speak with knowledge on some of the many questions which appertain to an enquiry so comprehensive, an enquiry which the chairman seems resolved to make full and exhaustive.

What the recommendations of the Commission, if any, may be in regard to the treatment of habitual drunkards, it is, of course, impossible to predict. But I think it may safely be surmised that they will not differ materially from the conclusions of Mr. Wharton's committee. For three hundred years and more we have been levelling laws against tippling and tipplers, and those who supply them with drink. None of the punishments as yet devised has proved effectual in repressing the evil. Let us try another plan, a plan in which, although punishment finds a place, reformation is the chief endeavor and object. How can you cure a drunkard by sending him to a common prison, with hard labor, for a month? The thing is impossible, absurd. Why, then, not try a method which at least has a more hopeful look? It may fail, in many cases it probably will fail, for confirmed drunkards are not easily redeemed. But at all events it

gives promise of some success, and it must be remembered that every cure benefits not only the individual himself, but his family and all his surroundings.

So much having been said, I am bound to confess that I look more to education, with its softening and refining influence, to abate the evil, than to anything that can be effected by acts of Parliament, however well framed and however carefully carried out. In the last century gentlemen were not ashamed to come reeling into the presence of ladies, after the prolonged sittings over the bottle which were then in vogue. And the ladies themselves do not, all of them, seem to have looked with much disfavor upon such excesses. I have myself seen a letter from one young lady to another, in which the writer tells of a youth of their common acquaintance having, by way of making himself agreeable, left the topers early in order to join the ladies. Instead of commending him for this conduct she speaks of him as a "soft hash." It was about the same time, the latter part of the eighteenth century, that three Scottish gentlemen, of good family and condition, came together with the avowed object and intention of drinking each other under the table, a meeting made memorable by Burns' humorous and spirited poem, "The Whistle":

> "A Bard was selected to witness the fray,
> And tell future ages the feats of the day,
> A Bard who detested all sadness and spleen,
> And wished that Parnassus a vineyard had been."

Feats indeed! Alas poor Bard! what a distance have we travelled since those days! Education, the influence of a clergy of higher attainments and with higher ideals than obtained in the days when Parson Adams was a type, have had most to do in bringing about a better and healthier state of things; and why may not education do for the masses what it has done for the classes? At present a drunken man in the streets causes nothing but amusement to his "pals"; let us hope the day may not be far distant when he will inspire disgust. It is to education that we must look, then, in the main, but it must be of the right kind, the kind that teaches to enquiring youth what the true foundation is upon which all good citizenship must be built.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM.

I. THE LEGISLATIVE SOLUTION.

BY THE HON. LLOYD BRYCE.

In view of the fresh attacks against trusts in the State of New York and the indication of repressive legislation against them, a study of the railroads becomes especially valuable just now. They offer the most complete objec lesson in connection with legislation we possess, and a calm, unimpassioned review of their past and present condition may serve, if not to check, at least to direct governmental interference along such lines of reform as are least hazardous to all concerned. Being in no wise an authority on the subject, I desire to state that I have availed myself of the coöperation and the assistance of the best experts and statisticians in the presentation of this statement.

Liberal facilities, rapid, safe, and reasonable transportation, with equality in rates for all, are great demands of the times. In answer to these demands the Interstate Commerce Law was passed about ten years ago. It is generally conceded that we have secured cheap transportation—probably the cheapest in the world. Only a few days ago Edward Atkinson demonstrated that the improvement in our railway service enables the people to move food, fuel, fibres, and fabrics at one-third the former charge ; that a charge of $31.41 per head for this purpose had been reduced to $10.47, thereby effecting a saving to the entire nation of a fraction under fifteen hundred million dollars in a single year. In some quarters the charge has been made that railway rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices especially of agricultural products. This illusion is dispelled by official figures which show that between 1873 and the present time the general ton-mile rate for the United States has fallen nearly sixty per cent.; that the lake and rail rate on wheat from Chicago

to New York has fallen at least 75 per cent., and the all-rail rate not far short of 65 per cent. On corn the fall has been 62½ per cent., and on provisions fully 50 per cent.

Here we have good evidence of reduction of freight rates for the people of the country generally, and the agricultural interests in particular. In the following table is given the average charge for carrying one ton of freight one mile on thirteen of the important railways of the United States:

Year.	Charge per ton per mile.	Year.	Charge per ton per mile.
	Cents.		Cents.
1865	3.08	1890	0.77
1870	1.81	1893	0.76
1875	1.36	1894	0.74
1880	1.01	1895	0.72
1885	0.83	1896	Less than in 1895.

The above railways performed about one-third of the entire freight transportation, and we find that seven and one-fifth mills, or probably at the present moment, seven mills, will pay for as much transportation over their lines as could have been obtained thirty years ago for over three cents. Nor do these averages give an adequate idea of railway progress in cheap transportation. Much of the freight on our great trunk lines is carried at half a cent per ton per mile, which means the transportation of one ton of freight two hundred miles for one dollar. Indeed, the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1895 reported that it carried 8,173,218,403 tons of freight one mile, at the rate of five and six-tenths mills per ton per mile. Is it surprising that it is generally conceded by those conversant with the subject that "nothing like it in the history and development of the human race has been known"?

A glance at the passenger barometer likewise shows a decline, though the constant demands of the American public for better and more expensive accommodation and higher speed makes the decrease less marked. The average passenger rate has fallen from over three cents per mile in 1870 to less than two cents in 1894; in round figures, say a reduction of one-third. Relatively speaking, our passenger rates are lower when compared with those of foreign countries—much lower when density of population and the character

of accommodation are considered. In England, for example, the third class, or Parliamentary trains, carry passengers for a penny a mile—that is, an English penny, or two cents American money. The cost of first-class travelling in England, with a population of 541 to the square mile will average double this, while ninety-nine per cent. of the people in the United States, population to the square mile only 21.31, travel first-class at an average cost, including the unsettled areas of the country, where population is less than three to the square mile, for two cents per mile.

Unless the decline in receipts is stopped, wages must be reduced, facilities must be curtailed and forces of employees lessened. Taking an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men out of active employment in one occupation is a pretty serious business. That means an annual loss in wages alone of not less than $187,500,000. Here we have the direct loss. The indirect loss comes from the irreparable injury to the properties by reason of not keeping them up, ultimately entailing additional losses. The reduction of rates between 1890 and 1895 represents a loss of revenue of over $100,000,000—$15,500,000 in passenger traffic and $87,000,000 in freight traffic. This presents the thought, can the people afford to force an industry in which nearly one-fifth or twenty per cent. of the total wealth of the country is invested to a point where so much of the original investment pays nothing in dividend and interest. The loss of dividends and interest on bonds brings hardship to hundreds of thousands of people of limited means who have invested in these securities. This is no less severe than the loss of work and wages to the laborer. The latest report shows that seventy per cent. or over two-thirds (an aggregate of nearly $3,500,000,000) of all the outstanding stock of these corporations paid nothing in 1895. The same is true of seventeen per cent. of the bonds. A careful study of these railway budgets would bring out the appalling fact that probably half of these investments are non-productive—certainly five thousand millions of them.

It is important both to the commercial and investing world and to the people of the country, that these investments should earn a reasonable income from the actual investment. I use the term actual because the companies seek no dividends for watered

stock. They are content to earn a reasonable profit on what it cost to build the roads originally, with profit and interest on subsequent betterments and improvements. It must be borne in mind, as to water in railway capitalization, that while it may have been true originally in special cases, it is not true of the railways generally, because the original cash cost of the railways does not by any means represent the final cash cost in their present condition. To prove this, it is only necessary to take the construction accounts which have been paid in cash for years past on the various railroads, and add this to the original cost. Another standpoint from which to look at this is that the great majority of the railroads in the United States have been sold under foreclosure, and have had issued upon them at each foreclosure less and less interest-bearing securities, for no other reason than that the properties had been unable to earn the interest on the former indebtedness. Nearly all of the preferred stocks, and a very large proportion of the common stocks, of the railroads of the country to-day, have been issued in the place of securities which theretofore were interest bearing and represented cash, and the new stocks have been accepted by the present holders solely on the ground that the old fixed charges could not be earned and paid, and that the stocks merely represented ownership which should receive returns only in case they could be earned *

While the mileage of our railways has been multiplied by three hundred per cent. since 1872, the dividend on the investment has increased only 32 per cent. As a result, the investing public, both at home and abroad, will not take these securities. If our railways could secure stable and reasonable rates, and railway wars be stopped, the favorite investment for European capitalists would be American railway securities. Such a result, as has been well said, would start a flow of money to the United States, and give a new impetus to every kind of trade.

And now a word on the cost of transportation. A careful computation by leading experts shows that in thirteen years there has been a decline of 27 per cent. in the price of transportation. That is, railways, as a whole, are now receiving less than

* The reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission showing the millions in stock and bonds which have been cancelled, written off to profit and loss, will astonish those who talk about "watered stock" if they would only take the trouble to look into the subject before making assertions.

three-quarters of what they received thirteen years ago, while yearly the demand for additional facilities has increased. Has there been a similar decline on the raw material out of which transportation is manufactured? Not at all. In the first place, sixty per cent., or $60 of every $100 paid out, is paid direct for labor.

The cost of labor is the same now as then. In fact, the price of labor, unlike the railways themselves, is no longer a market price, established by competition, in which one man competes with another until low wages face them both. The competitive conditititions, therefore, are ameliorated by organization, by agreements between themselves, that below a certain wage they will not offer their services. If anything, the price, then, of sixty per cent. of the raw material used in the manufacture of transportation has advanced. Of what does the forty per cent. consist? Of materials such as fuel, steel rails, ties, car-wheels, bolts, spikes, and lumber. Into all these products labor largely enters and comprises the indirect labor of railways. Some articles are cheaper, but taken as a whole the cost of running these roads has not been reduced, except in cases where men have been absolutely laid off, who should have been employed in order to keep the properties in good condition.

The history of our country shows that unremunerative railway rates destroy prosperity and threaten public welfare. It is a mistake to suppose that this demoralization falls only upon the capitalist. It affects every one, including even those who clamor loudest against the railways. The ills arising from unremunerative railway rates injure, first of all, the workman, as he is thrown out of employment or his wages reduced. It injures, in fact, over one million railway employees, or persons directly employed by our vast system of transportation, and affects the comfort and happiness of 4,000,000 human beings. Then come the hundreds of thousands who have invested in railway securities, from whom, in many cases, it takes away the income on which they live. This reduces general consumption. Again, it reduces the ability of large holders of these stocks and bonds to engage in new enterprises, because it wipes out their value and destroys so much live capital—or rather destroys securities upon which capital could be borrowed. The co-related or allied industries follow. Further reduction of rates cannot be

made without reducing the wages of labor. When railways are prosperous and remunerative, millions are expended in new equipments, improvements of plant, and betterments all along the road. And lastly, it may be said, all trade and industry, wherever railways penetrate, are injuriously affected, and it is this last wave of the enlarging circle of distress that is most severely felt.

In a problem so vast as this, and covering such a wide range of interest, the general welfare of the country must be considered and not the advantage of the few. Those who want the whole railway question to revolve around their State, their city, their farm, their store, their mine, or their manufactory, must ultimately come to grief. Unhappily, too much State legislation has been guided by this spirit. The individual gain by competition which put down prices to unremunerative points must be paid for by the people. Hence, while we have cheap transportation, we have no equality in rates, because business is demoralized and property confiscated. In the breaking down of business honesty and lawful trade the country suffers. One of the most judicial administrators of the Interstate Commerce law has shown us that it is a superficial view of the subject which holds that the public interest always requires the lowest rates, or which believes that reductions in rates are even presumptively for the public welfare. What the public really needs is the persistent maintenance of efficient, safe, and reasonable transportation service, with rates properly adjusted, as between competitive points of production and consumption, always free from individual discrimination, and steadily permanent from year to year.

How to reach this ideal condition is a question that is perplexing statesmen and causing anxiety in railway circles. The railways themselves put their case, or perhaps I should say their grievances, briefly as follows :

(1.) Increased and unfair taxation.

(2.) A demand for physical improvements that cost enormously, and give no return for the capital invested.

(3.) Legal restrictions that, if lived up to by all, would result in ruin to some and undue advantage to others ; consequently, the laws are not enforced and the railroads are placed in the position of being law-breakers.

(4.) An over-supply of railroads, which entails excessive

competition and renders possible (if, indeed, not necessary) a compliance with the demand that railroads become "geographical equalizers," and which, when taken in connection with the present development of civilization, seems to force large aggregations of capital, permitting such aggregations, through competition, to demand and secure unfair discrimination in their behalf.

A glance at the individual accounts of railroads brings to light remarkable freaks of direct taxation, in certain roads reaching 20 per cent., or one-fifth, of the net earnings. For some reason the Interstate Commerce Commission makes no mention, by itself, of railway taxation, a serious omission in what are otherwise complete and satisfactory reports. This omission makes an over-statement of about $40,000,000 annually in the net earnings of railways, and is therefore misleading. In a recent memorial of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company to the Legislature of the State of Kansas it was shown that out of every dollar the Santa Fe earned in Kansas it paid back at once about 70 cents for labor and supplies and about eight cents more for taxes. In 1895, the net earnings in Kansas were about $1,800,000, out of which about $800,000 was paid for Kansas taxes. Surely the representatives of the Santa Fe were justified in asking what other industry or business in the State was taxed 44 per cent. of its income. A similar memorial addressed to the Missouri Legislature last month by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad brought out the fact that out of an annual business of $30,000,000, $21,000,000 was used right in the State in expenses. These are but typical cases; many others could be given showing the innumerable burdens placed upon these properties by State legislatures.

The present difficulty seems to lie in the fact that State legislatures are not only inclined to pass laws still further reducing the rates of transportation, but there is a strong tendency to increase not only the direct but the indirect taxation of railways. Coming, as it does, at a time when, as I have shown, a condition of affairs exists almost beyond control of the railways, involving reduction of rates and of earning capacity, it is even more serious than it would be during more prosperous times. By "indirect taxation" I mean doing away with grade crossings, the requirement of improved terminal facilities, additional watchmen, and

other demands for the benefit and safety of the public—demands just and right in themselves, and easily attainable with a remunerative rate of transportation, but which become burdensome under extremely low and unprofitable rates.

Among the remedies proposed are joint ownership, more rigid economy, consolidation of management, State ownership, the legalization of freedom of contract between railways, including right to divide business and lessening expenses at competitive points. There is undoubtedly a tendency of late years to joint ownership and consolidation of interests, and, as a rule, these changes have not been detrimental to the shippers, the public, and the railways. It has been truly urged that no combination of carriers, whether formed in evasion of existing law, or organized under legalized pooling, can be more powerful or alarming than actual consolidation. And yet the experience has accomplished an acknowledged fact that consolidation has not resulted in any increase of charges ; but, on the contrary, has been attended by considerable reductions in rates and improved facilities, and the better accommodation of the public.

That all the great railways are practising economy, and equiping, as far as income will justify, for the keener competition, must be admitted by those who have even studied the question superficially.

The question of state ownership, as yet, is hardly discussed in the United States. Those who oppose it take the ground that government ownership will not reduce rates, but that it will deaden invention and initiative. The railway systems of this country and England are undeniably better examples of what private enterprise can do than those who favor state ownership can point to as illustrating government control. In efficiency the advocates of private enterprises have the best of the argument. In the United States the railways run a train thirteen miles annually for every man, woman, and child. In England the figure is eight, in Germany four and one-half, in Belgium three and one-half. In Australia, where public control and ownership is absolute, where the roads are operated by the same race as our own, they have not yet run trains at a speed equal to eight hours' time between New York and Boston. This affords, it seems to me, a reliable indication of the probable efficiency of state-owned railways. This plan offers but few attractions and

many obstacles. To adopt it means to throw away more that is good than could possibly be gained.

The national legislation inaugurated ten years ago is admittedly in the right direction, and in its extension and perfection may be found the best way out of the difficulty. The ship may be leaking, but that is no reason why we should scuttle her in mid-ocean, or turn back when there is a fair chance to reach the port we started for. The railway companies of the country recognize the usefulness of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and have aided the Commissioners in the enforcement of the law. If it had not been for the fatal experiment known as the "anti-pooling" section of the law of 1887, the work of the Commission would have been far more effectual, the railway problem much nearer solution than it is to-day, and equality of rates between large and small shippers much nearer accomplishment. The Interstate Commerce law, in asserting and insisting that rates shall be reasonable, that there shall be no unjust discrimination, moved along the line of sound principles. In all these provisions the Commission has had the support of the railway interests, or it would not have achieved its present success. To this extent, in matters relating to the publicity of rates, of the returns for statistical purposes, and other provisions, the work of the Commission has been successful. The section of the Interstate Commerce bill which destroyed the freedom of contract with the common carrier, was based on no principle, imbedded in no common law and antagonized the best experience. That section was an experiment, an experiment of which its author, Judge Reagan, now says :

"Further study has caused me to believe that the section may be amended, so as to benefit both the railroads and the people, by allowing the railroads to enter into traffic arrangements with one another."

The State Commissioners of Railways, at a convention in Washington in 1894, adopted a resolution of similar import :

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this Convention that competing common carriers may safely be permitted to make lawful contracts with each other for the apportionment of competitive traffic or the earnings therefrom; provided, that conditions and restrictions be imposed which protect the public from excessive and unreasonable charges."

It has been fully established that under the present act unjust discrimination on the part of common carriers is more flagrant and more hurtful, because more secret and insidious, than for-

merly, and results more detrimentally alike to people, to shippers, and to the railroads. If all the railroad companies charged according to their published rates, there would be no trouble, but the tell-tale earnings and increasing cost of commissions and enormous amounts paid for soliciting business tell the story so plainly that even Judge Reagan thinks his favorite section five (which helped to do the mischief) may be amended. The proposed law would remedy much of this. The railways would be benefited in a large class of expenses, which they are now obliged to maintain through being unable to unify and concentrate their business. Not only will the railways be satisfied with this, but the shippers, who seek no individual advantage. At the annual meeting of the National Board of Trade held in Washington, January, 1897, an important report of the Committee on Railroad Transportation was adopted, looking to a remedy through the medium of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Among other things this report says:

"That the great majority of railroad managers and of shippers on railroads are sincerely desirous of remedying these unjust discriminations, there can be no doubt; and, with the co-operation of this majority, with the Interstate Commerce Commission, it would seem that they might be gradually eliminated, but, as a condition necessary thereto, railroads must be given the power to enforce their agreements upon each other, which they are now prohibited from doing by the prohibition of pooling in the Interstate Commerce Law. This law should be so amended that [pooling under the authority and supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission should be allowed."

The Interstate Commerce Commission has accomplished a good work, and it would seem to be wise to continue in the same direction. And the idea is emphasized, by reason of the fact that the railways, the representatives of the shippers, the officials of States having charge of railway matters, and the Commission itself are substantially in accord on this point. There may be differences of detail, but the bill to amend the Interstate Commerce law now before Congress meets with the approval of nearly all conflicting interests. This proposed measure is practically the Patterson bill which passed Congress by a large majority and was approved by the Committee in the Senate two years ago. It was subsequently reported by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, but never reached a vote, on account of pressure of other business and a short session. The bill is in the interest of the public, the shipper, the

railway employee, and the railway. It will also strengthen in many ways and make more effectual the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The public and the shippers will have a uniform, just rate, which will not discriminate against the smaller shippers and which cannot in any way become extortionate or unjust under the protection afforded by the bill. The railways, should this bill become a law, will thereunder obtain merely the lawful schedule rate, something they have not been able to maintain under the present law, because that rate is constantly fluctuating and generally in the interest of large shippers alone.

Few realize that one mill, or one-tenth of one cent. per ton per mile additional upon the tonnage of 1895, would have yielded over $80,000,000 additional income. Thus the infinitesimal fraction of a dollar, the mill, is all that stands between the prosperity and insolvency of railways. That extra mill would give employment to 200,000 day laborers for twelve months, as they are badly needed on the tracks and road-beds, in the yards, and shops of our great railways. It would have given food and raiment to 800,000 human beings in all parts of the country during the year. The saving of that mill merely added to the millions of some of the great individual shippers. The farmer received no benefit from it, for his product must go through the temple bar of a shipper with "a rate." The small shipper gained nothing, for he paid the "schedule rate." It is important for the public to realize that it would have been far better to have entrusted this mill to the railways, not for safe keeping, but because they are the great distributors, not only of freight and passengers, but of money. Whether it be one mill or two, the railways must earn enough to enable them to keep pace with the times in furnishing all facilities to the public and carry on needed improvements upon the property.

As to what are just and reasonable rates on all competitive business, that would, under the proposed law, be subject to review by the Interstate Commerce Commission and by the courts. This would seem to be just and reasonable, and a law which permits of an agreement for the purpose of maintaining fair and reasonable prices and of paying a living wage cannot be contrary to public policy. In fact, the measure should be so framed as to protect the public and the shipper against high rates and en-

able the railway companies to get the schedule rate from all. Our railways are entitled to a net earning that will put them on a solvent basis, open up the workshops and give employment to a larger number of men. In short, the railways want, as a popular President of a great system remarked the other day, "common justice and that of the commonest sort."

LLOYD BRYCE.

II. A MERCANTILE VIEW.

BY JAMES J. WAIT.

THE writer is not in sympathy with the demagogue who seeks to win votes by abusing railroads, nor with the citizen who regards a corporation as his natural enemy. The transportation companies are so identified with the development of our country that we can afford to forgive them much. Any one who has seen, for example, the rice crop rotting on the ground for want of a market, in one part of China, while famine prevailed in an adjoining province, must realize that a railroad, even with the most riotous stock-jobbing and rate-manipulation, is so much better for the public than no railroad at all, that he will be disposed to deal gently with the erring. It will, perhaps, not be denied, even by railroad men, that their methods were largely to blame for the widespread disapproval and hostile legislation of the immediate past. The injunction "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is well illustrated by the history of the granger movement. Nevertheless, any statements herein which may be construed as criticisms of the practical operation of our railroads are made more in sorrow than in anger. For the stock-jobber and wrecker, no apology is offered, except that they are no worse than those who pursue similar methods in other lines of business.

With a few notable exceptions, discriminations have not been practised by railroads with a discriminating intent, but with the object of securing to their lines a share of the traffic at rates which they knew, or had been led to believe by shippers, were in effect over competing lines. If the shipper was correct in his statements there was little actual discrimination. If his statements were not true the moral responsibility for the discrimination rested upon him, and not upon the railroads. The

railroad manager, who had been misled by shippers, who finds every concession in passenger fares abused through the scalper's office, or his revenues depleted by false weights and a wrong description of property offered for transportation, who detects merchants shipping cutlery as iron bolts and dynamite as dried apples, easily acquires that habit of thought toward the public which makes some individuals feel that it is no crime to beat a railroad, because they believe the railroad will beat them if it has a chance. One of the most important steps towards making the railroads honest with the people is to educate the people to be honest with the railroads, and to convince the latter that such is the public sentiment and intention.

The commercial relations of the railroads to their patrons are controlled by six great legislative bodies, briefly described as follows :

The Joint Traffic Association, covering the territory from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi River, north of the Ohio River.

The Western Freight, the territory between Chicago, St. Louis, etc., and the Missouri River and St. Paul.

The Trans-Missouri, between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains.

The Southwestern, covering Texas business.

The Southern States, the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio River and the Virginias.

The Transcontinental, governing business destined to and from the Pacific Seaboard.

The personnel of these associations is composed of representatives from the various railroads within the prescribed territory, or those interested in the business controlled by the association. They have a chairman, or executive head, and three of them, the Joint Traffic, the Southwestern, and the new Western Freight Association, have each a board of managers, whose powers are apparently partly legislative and partly executive. The contracts or agreements upon which the associations are founded are not made public. They are popularly supposed to be pools, in which settlements are made by money payments or diversions of traffic. The explanation given by the railroads is that they are for the purpose of providing uniformity and stability in rates, and to secure for each road its fair share of the traffic, "so far as they

can legally do so." Each association is split up into sub-associations and local committees, and, together with smaller ones not mentioned, the total number approaches one hundred.

An action in the courts has been brought against the Joint Traffic Association, which will be watched with interest by both the friends and the enemies of railroads. It is certainly a fact that rates have never been so well maintained between New York and Chicago, and similar territory, as during the life of the present association. It is certainly in accordance with public policy that rates should be stable, and that, within proper limits, the railroads should be allowed to protect themselves against ruinous competition. If it is right for the wage earner to associate with his fellow for mutual protection, why is it not also right for the corporations ? The abandonment of such a plan by the railroads would lead immediately to a state of commercial anarchy. If every road proceeded to adjust its tariffs without consultation with its neighbor, the confusion would be a practical embargo upon business. The situation even now is badly mixed, and the services of experts are required constantly by the shipping public.

A glance at the territory of these associations shows that they overlap. To the novice there is apparently conflicting jurisdiction, and to this is due in a large part some of the troubles which cause much complaint. The principal difficulty, however, arises from the fact that the individual roads, members of these associations, have conflicting interests. They severally serve sections of the country, or trade centers, which are in active competition, and hence much of their legislation is in the nature of a compromise rather than in accordance with strict equity. Some of the associations are dominated by a particular interest, which is sufficiently strong to coerce the others. This, of course, has the usual result in acts of piracy on the part of the weaker lines, and reprisals by the victim. The public would not be concerned in this if the effect was confined to the railroads, but there can be no serious misunderstanding between the roads without an immediate injury to some person, locality, or branch of business.

During later years a system akin to lobbying has grown up, by which persons or localities have sought to influence the acts of these associations. Large mercantile and manufacturing in-

terests have endeavored to secure an adjustment of rates which would give them an advantage over some competitor. Communities, especially smaller cities and new jobbing centres, have complained that they are unable to compete with the great central markets, and by every device, including downright misrepresentation, have sought, and frequently with success, to use the associations for their own ends. There are some cities and some divisions of territory which are practically as much discriminated against as if we had a system of protective tariffs between the States. The amazing spectacle was recently seen of a number of prominent merchants appearing before one of the associations with the claim that the rebate system had been a necessity of their business, that a large portion of the United States was naturally tributary to their city, belonging to them by divine or some other right, and the demand for rates so arranged as to exclude other communities from competition within their domain.

It has also become common for producers of staple articles which are sold largely during one season, such as canned goods, fence-wire, etc., to make, in strongly competitive territory, delivered prices for future shipment, which are impossible except through a reduced freight rate or a cost price which would leave no profit in the business. When the time for shipment arrives, reduced tariffs are made public in full conformity with the law, and the goods carried accordingly. This is as great a discrimination as was possible under the rebate system, for the reason that other merchants and manufacturers, deprived of the fore-knowledge of reduced rates, are unable to compete, and by the time reduced rates are in effect, the market has been stocked.

In many parts of the country the relation of the carload rates to the rates charged on less than carload shipments is such that a large dealer is practically subsidized to the detriment of his smaller competitors.* A noticeable fact is that some railroad men realize these things, and are outspoken in condemnation, but from the very nature of their associations, which require a majority, or in many cases a unanimous vote, the individual road, or several companies acting together, are powerless to correct the evil.

* In extreme cases a difference of 260 per cent. of the rate and nearly full value of the goods.

The remuneration which the railroads receive for their services is fixed by these associations through their rate schedules, each of which consists of two to four parts : A classification, or list of all commercial articles assorted into several groups, varying in the different publications from 6 to 10; a table of rates showing the prices at which articles of the different classes are to be carried ; a list of exceptions to the classification, or a list of "commodity" rates, that is, reduced prices applying upon articles specially mentioned.

There are three general classifications : The official, applying in Joint Traffic Territory; the Western, containing about 10,000 items, applying west of Chicago and the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast, and the Southern, applying east of the Mississippi River and south of the Ohio River. In addition to these are State classifications, like that of Illinois, and local classifications of various railroads, applying upon their own lines. These classifications also overlap.

A shipment from New York to St. Paul through Chicago would be carried the entire distance under the official classification. A shipment from Chicago to St. Paul would be carried under the Western classification. A shipment from Birmingham, Ala., to St. Paul, would be carried to Chicago under the Southern classification, and from Chicago to St. Paul under the Western. A shipment from San Francisco to St. Paul would be carried under the Western classification, unless the Trans-Continental Commodity rates were less. A single shipment may be carried under three different classifications, as for instance, one from Colby, Wis., for Lebanon, Ky., would be subject to the Western classification to Chicago, or other basing point, the official to the Ohio River, and the local Louisville & Nashville classification to destination. Shipments from New York or Chicago to San Francisco are governed by the Trans-Continental Commodity rates, which are so numerous that they practically amount to another classification. There is a wide variance in the grouping of many articles in these publications, resulting in discrimination. A shipment has actually been carried from Muncie, Ind., for example, to Kenosha, Wis., for a less charge than for a similar shipment from Chicago to Kenosha, thus violating the long and short-haul clause of the law, although the tables of rates taken alone were made in conformity therewith.

The multiplicity of tariffs is astounding. On one road, having 502 miles of track, there were in effect, October 1, 1895, by actual count, 1,605 distinct publications dignified by the name of "tariff," and in addition numerous rate sheets, billing orders, percentage sheets, and circulars, some of which, like the Irishman's duck, do not hold still long enough to be counted. Since the passage of the Interstate Commerce law, every charge upon interstate shipments must be covered by a tariff printed according to a prescribed form, and filed with the Commission. The law might well be styled "an act for the benefit of printers." The yearly printing bill of one of our large systems amounts to over $75,000, and their printer has frequently $60,000 worth of type kept standing in the forms for them. These tariffs, posted, as required by law, for the information of the public, are practically a sealed book. They are so intricate that the ordinary man can make nothing out of them. The elementary method of ascertaining a rate must be, first, fixing the geographical location of the points between which the shipment is to be carried, in order that the documents pertaining to the proper association, or carriers, may be consulted; second, examination of the classification for the group in which the article belongs; third, an examination of the table of rates to ascertain the figures in dollars and cents; then a further hunt for exceptions to the classification or commodity rates which may affect that particular article. Then in some cases, as for example, a shipment from Chicago to Phœnix, Ariz., the rates from Chicago to the Pacific Coast, plus the rate from the Coast back to Phœnix, must be examined to see if they will not make a lower combination than the regular published rate from Chicago to Phœnix. In other sections the rates will vary *via* different gateways, and a number of combinations must be figured before the lowest can be ascertained. By this time the novice is thoroughly confused, but confusion may be worse confounded, so far as competition is concerned, by the fact that commodity rates frequently permit several articles to be loaded together in a mixed carload at the carload rate, and that these specifications vary with the territory, and with the last grist of legislation turned out by the association. The minimum weight which is necessary to make up a carload also varies, and there are many apparently arbitrary regulations to entrap the unwary.

It would seem that an easy way to avoid all of this would be to apply to the representatives of the railroad companies for information, and hold them responsible for the figures given, in the same manner as a man contracts for any other commodity. But, unfortunately, here the law steps in. It is illegal for a transportation company to charge more or less than the figures prescribed by their publications on file with the Interstate Commerce Commission. If a railroad representative makes a mistake and quotes too high a rate the inquirer will probably be underbid; if too low, and a loss results, the shipper has no recovery except through the good graces of the carrier, and the opinion has been given that such recovery is under the law a penitentiary offence. Certainly, if it were not illegal, it would only be necessary for some one to "blunder" in order to beat the law. It may surprise the managers of some of the railroads to know that a shipper can sometimes procure almost as many different rates applying to a complicated territory, as there are railroads to apply to. The confusion is such that a thoroughly posted rate man is not always to be found, and hence it is incumbent upon the shipper to personally confirm the rates he uses. Shippers handling special commodities only, such as lumber or coal, find their way through this labyrinth with comparative ease; but, just about the time they acquire confidence, changes are made which upset their calculations. In the complicated lines of business, such as the grocery trade, for instance, there is a never-ending struggle to keep informed, and the most active and best-posted shippers are misled. The best evidence of the complication of our system is that traffic men sometimes express astonishment when shown the figures and effect of schedules which bear their signatures. It is also apparent that one of the purposes of the Interstate Commerce law was to insure publicity of the dealings between the railroad and its patrons, for the protection of the unfavored shipper, and if it became the general practice to rely entirely upon the statements of the railroads concerning their rates, discrimination similar to that of past years would be easy.

The immediate effect of the passage of the act to regulate commerce was a general wiping out of the rebate system. It did not take long, however, to convince the railroads and "big shippers" that they had little to fear from the Commission, and the old system was resumed with the exception that the discrimina-

tions were confined to a smaller number of the patrons of the road, and were harder for the victim to discover. Under the unrestricted rebate system, almost anyone who conducted his business on the proper basis, and was able to keep his mouth closed, could secure rates necessary to meet his competition. Under the new system he frequently could not tell what hurt him. The disregard of the law grew until there was the utmost contempt for its provisions! When the decision in the Brown case was handed down, confirming the right of the Commission to compel testimony, and after some prominent railroad attorneys had visited Washington, and been told they meant business, there was such a house cleaning all over the United States as would have fired with envy the New England matron. It is safe to say at this writing that rebates or special privileges are few, and such as do exist are probably confined to devices having at least a color of legality. The severe penalties of the Interstate Commerce law were really its weakness, as hitherto no man could be found who would be willing to testify concerning a penitentiary offence, which was to him simply a business transaction. Granting that the rebate system is practically ended, there are evils as great, which seriously affect the merchant. Although the discrimination against individuals is small, the discrimination against localities and trades has not disappeared, and there seems to be at present no feasible way of reaching it.

The remedies usually suggested for the present evils are government ownership, government operation, government control, and by the railroads legalized pooling. The old pools were certainly not a sure preventive of wars and rate manipulation. It was during their life that the abuses arose which brought about the Interstate Commerce law. The pools usually went to pieces because some line, dissatisfied with its portion of the tonnage, cut the rates to secure a larger revenue, or increase its pool percentage. It frequently happened that a road when ordered to turn over tonnage, or to pay over a balance, would decline. In one instance, where a forfeit had been deposited to the chairman's order, and was drawn upon by him, the offending road stopped the payment of the check by some legal process. With legalized pooling the roads could enforce their penalties, but it remains a debatable question whether by that means the abuses of the old pools would be avoided. Legalized pooling

under control of the Commission, as proposed, would not be safe until that body is better equipped, and is clothed with something more than "power to scold," as one railroad president has described it. If the railroads really wish the popular consent to a repeal of that part of the law, they should first maintain a more respectful attitude towards the Commission, cease from making tatters of its decisions, and divert the acumen of their lawyers into more patriotic channels.

Government ownership, or government operation, are not feasible in this country, until our public business generally is conducted upon a higher plane. A railroad train manned by political appointees, of the grade which one frequently meets in public offices, would not be safe for passengers; and anyone whose business takes him to the City Hall would be slow to entrust his commercial affairs to a similar outfit. Collection of claims, also, from the railroads, is hard enough, but anyone who has a claim against the government would be very glad to trade it for a similar one against a transportation company. If we leave where it is the ownership and operation of the roads, and endeavor to strengthen our present attempts at government control, we will be proceeding in the right direction. The Interstate Commerce Commission should have the support of public opinion, and also of the courts. The chairman has complained that the courts are against him, and that Congress is deaf to his recommendations. The shipper feels that an appeal to the Commission is practically handing down the question to posterity. An order of the Commission, dated May 29, 1894, was obtained by merchants of Cincinnati, requiring the Southern railroads to reduce their rates from that city into the Southeastern States, in conformity with the lower scale applying from New York. The roads paid no attention to this, except to go out of their way to defy the Commission. The matter has been in the courts ever since, and there is no guessing as to when it will emerge.

The anti-railroad legislation of the past has been largely in the direction of providing a schedule of maximum rates. So far as known, there is no Commission, national or State, whose power has been confirmed to fix a specific rate, or to advance too low a rate. Experience has shown that rates in the long run will decrease through competition, but that too low a rate may cause as great injustice and discrimination as a rate that is too high.

The personnel of the national and State Commissions should be more carefully watched. The work of the former is, apparently, performed by three members. Everything points to greater demands upon them for the future. Anyone who realizes the size of their undertaking will know that so small a number of men cannot hope to administer it successfully. There should be on the Commission, besides lawyers and politicians, at least one good business man of commercial training, and one man of experience in transportation, either as a railroad man or as a shipper. There have been unsuccessful cases under the Interstate Commerce law, where evidence was secured, but concealed by railroad technicalties, which are sometimes as obscure to the lawyer as legal diction often is to the ordinary citizen. The State commissions should be induced to act in harmony with the national Commission, or else the latter should have some authority or veto power over their acts, for the reason that any change of importance in rates, within a State, will immediately react upon interstate business. The Interstate Commission, if it is to amount to anything, should have the power, recently denied by the Supreme Court, of naming specific rates in its decisions and enforcing its decrees, subject, of course, to a court decision that they are reasonable and just. The Supreme Court decision, denying the right of the Commission to regulate the inland proportion of a through rate upon imports, is probably good law, although a vigorous dissenting opinion throws doubt upon it; but if so, the act should be amended, for it is not common sense from the standpoint of the merchant. Articles manufactured in competition with industries in the United States have been shipped, for example, from Wales to Denver, at a cost actually less in dollars and cents than the rate from Chicago to Denver. If a protective tariff is right, the transportation companies ought not to be allowed to abrogate it, and if it is not right, Congress, and not the railroads, should settle the question. One of the first steps to unravel the tangled skein of transportation would be uniform classification. There is now a measure before Congress empowering the commission to prepare one, and put it into effect. That it is desirable is self-evident, and that it is feasible is evidenced by the fact that the railroads spent years in an endeavor to secure such action by mutual agreement. A classification was actually prepared and submitted,

containing some objectionable compromises, although a step towards reform, but its adoption was defeated by one or two negative votes, out of the hundreds of corporations interested.

There should be friendly co-operation between the railroad associations, the public, the State and the national Commissions, to procure legislation strengthening the latter, and to uphold whatever is good in the railroad pools, and that there is much good in them no shipper can deny. The boards of managers are composed of broad-minded men, having large experience, who, no doubt, realize that the ultimate success of their associations lies in an administration producing exact fairness to persons, localities, and interests. If the personnel of the railway commissions can be kept upon as high a plane, and legislative bodies induced to act upon their suggestions, we can safely leave the solution of this problem to such a combination.

JAMES J. WAIT.

IN DEFENCE OF KANSAS.

BY THE HON. EDWIN TAYLOR, OF THE KANSAS SENATE.

In nearly every newspaper that comes to us from our old homes, we find this sentiment put forward with apparent sincerity: That our adopted State of Kansas has fallen into political idiocy, and that we, who were once the neighbors of those writers, have renounced common honesty, and have forfeited all claims to their respect. To some extent the pattern and example in this denunciation has been set by irresponsible writers, living amongst us, whose communications to the Eastern press have been characterized by an airy indifference to facts and results. But mainly it is due to an entire misunderstanding in the East of the conditions existing here a few years ago, which placed Kansas then on the top shelf of prosperity, and of the succeeding conditions which have turned so much of that fair-seeming fruit to ashes on her lips.

Ignoring any gibes at the dominant politics of Kansas further than to say that no one State which voted for McKinley is shown by the census of 1890 to have so small a percentage of illiteracy among its white population as Kansas; that nine-tenths of our large colored population, 46 per cent. of which in 1890, as shown by the census, was illiterate, voted for McKinley; and that the Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Armenians, and Russians, who neither speak our language nor understand our institutions, are overwhelmingly Republican—ignoring all that, it is the purpose of this paper to explain the extent and cause of her disasters; and, for the information of those who may desire to know the truth, put the blame of her recession where it belongs.

The State of Kansas is 408 miles from east to west. For the present purpose it will be considered as divided into two equal

parts—the eastern half and the western. With respect to its soil, the latter is probably superior to the former and to most like bodies of land on this earth. But it is deficient in moisture and excessive in sunshine and wind. The precipitation tapers, so to speak, from the east line of the State to the western boundary. On the eastern border of Kansas the precipitation is in round numbers 39 inches annually; 100 miles west it is 35 inches; at 200 miles west it is 25 inches; at 300 miles west it is 20 inches; at the western line of the State it is 15 inches. The great crops of wheat and corn that have made Kansas famous have practically all been raised in the eastern half of the State. The eastern fourth of the State contains more than one-half of its taxable property, and more than half its population. While its soil possibly may not be so extraordinarily fertile as that of western Kansas, it is yet, compared with Eastern standards, remarkably productive. Its expectation of rain during the year, and particularly during the "growing season" (April, May, June, July, and August) is several inches better than that of Eastern Ohio or Southern Michigan.* A great portion of this domain was "cleared up" by nature, ready for the plow. The settlers had only to take their improvements out of their pockets, as it were, and start their teams. The harvests in this portion have been plenteous, and while the prices were remunerative its farmers were prosperous, and their prosperity insured that of everybody else. Many of these farmers had borrowed money for the purchase of their land or for its improvement, loans running back through occasional renewals from five to twenty years. By degrees, of late, they have found that those debts have undergone a change of ratio to the property on which they rest. Measured in the agricultural values that obtained when they were contracted, these debts have grown and the property has fallen away. Whereas the farmer once was on an equality with the mortagee, now he has awakened to the fact of a seismic upheaval in the financial world by which the mort-

*The annual rainfall at Detroit is.....32.33 in.
" " " " Cleveland.....36.29 "
" " " " Kansas City.....37.11 "
" " " " Atchison, Kan.....40.00+ "
" " " " Ft. Scott, Kan.....40.00+ "
Average east line of Kansas.....39.00+ "
The average rainfall for the growing months, April, May, June, July, and August is for Detroit.....16.04 "
The average rainfall for the growing months, April, May, June, July, and August is for Cleveland.....16.27 "
The average rainfall for the growing months, April, May, June, July, and August is for Kansas City.....22.78 "

gagee's stratum has been raised, and *his* stratum lowered to the point of submergence. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the cause of this shifting in the financial stratification, its existence must be apparent to the most superficial observer. Neither is it confined to Kansas, nor to the West. Nowhere is its effect more observable than in New England. Wherever, East or West, the subsidence in farm values has exceeded in extent the size of the equities, then, as a consequence, a greater or less fraction of the mortgages has also been swept away. The mortgagee who finds himself in possession of liens upon land in excess of present values, and feels thereby aggrieved, may well be challenged to show on what ground he puts an accusation of moral obliquity against the farmer who has gone down with a tide he could not stem.

The towns in eastern Kansas grew rapidly. A quick and substantial growth was legitimate for them. But they were not allowed to stop there. They were taken in hand by "investment syndicates," "loan and trust companies," "financial agencies," etc., who platted corn-field additions, marked the lots up to dizzy figures, built upon them expensive houses, if desired, accepting a small proportion of the price in hand and a promise of monthly payments thereafter. The resulting "paper" they "negotiated" in the East, principal and interest being "guaranteed" by the syndicate. The "investment" companies were not all composed of bad men, but their methods were all bad, and much mischief resulted from their operations. In the main the men themselves were unprincipled sharpers, who, with the assistance of their Eastern connections, built up a lattice-work of credit and fictitious values and hocus-pocus securities, which, when it tumbled, brought ruin to all concerned. While the farce went on the interest, or even payments of principal, could be met as "guaranteed" by the "agencies" out of new money coming into their hands from their Eastern dupes for "investment." A recent paragraph says that the savings banks of New Hampshire alone have lost $4,000,000 in such securities. Let the victims of that wholesale spoliation not vent their anger wholly upon the poor Kansans who were also victims, but upon the slippery scoundrels of their own town, likely, the sons or sons-in-law of their local banker, perhaps, who, trading on confidence and relationship, beguiled them into pouring their money down a rat-hole.

Those gentlemen are now mostly gone from us; some of them, we know, are back among their "wife's folks," heading the howl about "dishonest Kansas." Well, the bubble broke at last. The values that were created by credit departed when credit was gone. The banks give and the banks take away. Prices first fell, then they tumbled. The collapse of speculation caused a stoppage in business. Then the artisan, or clerk, or laborer, who had put his hard-earned savings into some "payments" on what he fondly hoped would be his home, woke up one morning to find himself out of work and with his monthly payments going on with the regularity of time. With the first default in the payments began that legal grind, which, after all the the "law's delay," resulted in final eviction. In many cases the family had half paid out, and had their whole "stake" in the world tied up in this home. Is it strange that, in the agony of engulfment, such people should avail themselves of every legal technicality to stave off the extinction of their hope?

This much for eastern Kansas. Western Kansas has equally suffered from exploiters and boomers, and in addition thereto has added disasters peculiar to itself, attendant upon "running up against" nature. As before said, the western half of Kansas is deficient in moisture, and excessive in sunshine and wind. The little rain that does fall is sucked up and dissipated with a celerity discouraging to most kinds of vegetation. That country does not present above its gates the legend, "All hope abandon ye who enter here"; nor should it, for it is a Paradise for stockmen; but it does present a warning to the prospective agriculturist, in a sign as long as the eye can reach—the sign of the "short grass." *Short on rain, short on grass,* is the universal rule in physical geography. This region is covered with a short, wiry, nutritious, and very valuable herbage, called buffalo grass, and where it holds the land without dispute, the intending crop-raiser intrudes at his peril, unless he comes prepared to irrigate. All of this has been known to Westerners from the beginning. But so attractively does the country lie, and so rich and inviting is its deep soil, that it became apparent when the eastern portion of Kansas was taken up that this too might be settled by the uninitiated could they be deceived about the actual fall and short stay of the rain. The several railroads running through this portion of the great American desert, not without reason so

named in our ancient geographies, held enormous grants of it that to them were practically worthless without population. Great profit was in sight could settlers be beguiled into settling. To this end, since there was no denying what the rainfall had been and was, it was necessary to demonstrate how enlarged it was going to be when once the settlement was made. The foundation for extravagant and groundless expectations in this regard was carefully laid by wide-published "opinions" of alleged scientists that the climatic dryness would yield to treatment. One cause of prospective wet weather, as set forth by the climate-sharps, was that the several strips of railroad steel laid across the State would "disturb the electrical conditions" and induce precipitation. Another was that Nature could be diverted from her arid channel should trees be planted; and this delusion was given an appearance of "business" by the opportune passage of a timber-culture act by the national Congress. It seems never to have occurred to our Solons to inquire what must first be planted before trees to make a climate that trees would grow in. Millions of money and unlimited hope and unavailing efforts were spent in chasing the mirage thus created, which, if charged up to the resulting "timber," would easily bring it to $1,000 a cord. So far as can be observed, neither sun nor wind has been thereby abated, nor moisture increased.

But the most fetching dictum handed down by the expert climatologists was the oracular and seductive phrase: "The plow is the true rain persuader." Then came the manufacturing of the "boom." The advertising of the country by the railroads and steamship companies interested rose to high art. They stopped at no device of types or color, no reach of invention, no limit of expenditure, in putting this impossible "Atlantis" before the people of America and Europe, pictured out with "an intent to deceive," which the Heathen Chinee himself might have envied. Agents by the score rushed over to Europe for immigrants, and other agents by thousands opened their recuiting offices in every county of the Eastern States. The result was that probably 100,000 families, from first to last, sailed away, some figuratively in prairie schooners, some literally across the seas, to take up homes where deficient moisture had forbidden profitable crops. But these people didn't know it. They believed the lying advertise-

ments. They supposed there was actually a basis for the gammon of the so-called scientists who had so lightly proposed to turn Nature down. Many of these families left good homes behind them and came to the short-grass country in hopes to better their condition. They went to work with light hearts. Houses rose up or were dug out as if by magic. Towns grew up in a month, and a town was no sooner named and the essential preliminaries complied with than the town boomers, led mostly by railroad attachés who made a business of locating towns, began voting bonds for every purpose for which bonds could be voted, schoolhouses, bridges, courthouses, new railroads. Under the stimulus of such conditions and the expenditure of the money obtained from the sale of the bonds, the towns prospered for a while, some of them for a year or two, some longer; but none beyond the time of continuing arrivals of "new blood." The farmers who came to farm soon learned that they were duped, but they hung on year after year, with a resolution worthy of a better cause, until all was gone—the money they brought with them, and the money they raised by mortgaging their farms; then they got into their worn-out wagons, with the remnants of their dilapidated furniture, and—drove off. The villages and towns are also largely abandoned. Brick and stone stores, stylish residences, pretentious hotels, are either deserted or rented for a song.

Whether townsmen or countrymen, they all got away with less than they took in. In many cases they did not get away; they died broken-hearted and lie buried with their hopes. And every prairie wind that whistles over their desolate graves breathes maledictions on the heads of the mercenary plotters who betrayed these victims to their destruction by representations they knew to be false, and who are as directly responsible for the ruin they have wrought as the old-time wreckers who by false lights lured storm-tossed vessels on to rocky coasts for the profit in it—to them.

The story of western Kansas is one of the saddest in history unconnected with war. East and West have suffered together there, but not equally, for while the Easterners have lost some money the Westerner has lost his all. And let the Eastern investor seeking for an object on which to vent his wrath look not at his fellow-victim but at the distinguished speculators of the Eastern cities, and their able and unscrupulous lieutenants

in the West, who put up the job. Every one of those deserted farms is mortgaged, and so likewise are the abandoned stores and dwellings. Why should they not be? Your agent, Mr. Eastern Investor, pursued those people as the wife of Potiphar pursued Joseph, soliciting an opportunity to place a loan on their property. He got his commissions; he was looking out for commissions, not for you. But you are not blameless; it was incumbent upon you to know where your money was going. If you embarked it in financial craft built on lines that insured sinking, don't blame the sailors at the bottom of the sea; blame yourself or those who counseled you that the thing was safe. Then, again, the whole country is bonded. The bonds are largely worthless. What value, think you, is there in schoolhouse bonds when the people are gone, or bridge bonds where there is no travel, or bonds on railroads with abandoned tracks? One county has declared itself bankrupt. Others are sure to follow. It is time that the facts in the case be plainly and bluntly stated, and the reproach that unjustly attaches to the Western farmer for what he could not help be shifted to the shoulders of the Eastern financier and his local representatives.

The State of Kansas, as a whole, rests on as secure a foundation as any State in this Union. Its western half is a permanent meadow. Its stockmen are prosperous; their ranches are increasingly valuable. But the "short-grass country" is a flat failure for unirrigated farming, and whatever financial paper rests upon its assumed farm values is bound to disappoint, if not entirely fail, the holder. The eastern half looks back on forty years of settlement. It has thoroughly proved its capacities. Its values are as stable as any values which depend upon natural resources. Whoever has claims upon those values may, barring an occasional exception perhaps, rest secure. If his claims are built upon lattice work, however—are the frailties of lattice-work not written in the chronicles of all countries and all times? Kansas is no exception to the rule.

EDWIN TAYLOR.

WORKS OF THE IMAGINATION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROF. C. A. BRIGGS, D. D.

THE Bible is a marvel of literature. It is the book of God containing a divine revelation to mankind. It is also the book for man, in which devout souls in all ages guided by the divine Spirit have drawn near unto God, and have opened up the paths to the divine presence. The Bible contains codes of law, but it is not a law-book for ecclesiastical lawyers. The Bible contains statements of doctrine as bright as the rays of the sun and as clear as a mountain brook, but it is not a system of theology for dogmatic divines. The Bible contains laws and doctrines, but it also contains more than laws and doctrines. It gives a divine revelation for all classes of people, for all races, and for all nations. It is for the merchant and the physician, for the father and the mother, the young man and the maiden, the child and the peasant; and therefore it approaches all these classes of people in the way in which they can be reached.

Accordingly, the Bible has been given to men in the varied forms of the world's literature. The Bible is largely composed of History. But this history is written chiefly in the popular style, where the imagination prevails over the logical arrangement of facts and words. If Biblical history had been written for the scholarly historian, doubtless it would have been composed in an entirely different way. It would have told us more that the historian desires to know. To the professional historian Biblical history is quite disappointing, for it is silent about those things he needs to investigate, and gives the most of its space to matters that have little attraction for him. Biblical history was written for the instruction of the people of God in all ages. It is not the history

of the world of Israel, but the history of Redemption. It is evident that it has accomplished this purpose. Biblical history is the most interesting, charming, and attractive in the world, because it is a history for God's people, to instruct them in the story of God's presence, and His redemptive working in the world.

A second great division of Biblical literature is Prophecy. This may be compared with the oratory of other nations. Much of it was oral. But a large portion of it was written for reading and not for speaking. The prophets are not easy reading. They are difficult, partly because the circumstances of their writing are not familiar to us. They address men and women in another age than ours, and in different conditions and circumstances from those familiar to us. It is hard for us to get into a condition in which their address will seem appropriate to our age and its affairs. A large portion of Hebrew prophecy is, and must be, for most moderns of little practical importance. But there are portions of the Hebrew prophets which are read with great delight in all parts of the world, and by all classes of people; these are those in which the imagination reigns, painting with delicate touch, with masterly outline, and with glowing colors, the sublime scenes of the Messianic future. It is the imagination of the prophets that makes them the religious instructors of mankind.

A third great division of Hebrew literature is Poetical Literature. This embraces a collection of Lyric Poetry,—the Psalter; a collection of sentences and poems of wisdom,—the book of Proverbs; a collection of dirges,—the book of Lamentations; and three elaborate pieces,—the book of Job, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The three last named are not collections, but rather pieces of composite poetry of a more artistic kind than anything found in the three great collections.

The Psalter and the book of Proverbs show us the wondrous poetic insight and the matchless grace of composition of the Hebrew poets. The historical books contain many beautiful poems. Another collection as large as the Psalter might be gathered by bringing all these scattered pieces together in one book, embracing such interesting poems as the sword-song of Lamech, the stories of the creation and the deluge, the epic of the fall of mankind, the birth-song of Sarah, the blessing of Jacob,

the ode of the Red Sea, the songs of the ark and of the fountain, the predictions of Balaam, the blessing of Moses and his song of prophecy, the ode of Deborah and the hymn of Hannah, the dirges of David over Jonathan and Abner, and very many others. Every variety of lyric and gnomic poetry is here represented. No ancient nation can present more splendid collections of poetry than those contained in the Bible. The Psalms are the most familiar lyrics in the world, the sentences of the book of Proverbs are the maxims which outshine the ethical precepts of the sages of Greece and of Rome, of Egypt and of India and of China.

The three great pieces of composite poetry rise to greater heights of poetic art. (1.) *Job* is a gnomic, didactic drama, presenting a combination of poetic skill that is unique in the world's literature, only approached in modern times by Goethe's *Faust*, which indeed was modelled after it. The older writers thought that Job was prose and the story historical, but it is now conceded that the book is a masterpiece of poetry, and it is commonly recognized that the story of Job in whole, or in part, is a work of the imagination. The book gives us a prose prologue stating the problem, to test the integrity of Job, by means of afflictions directed by Satan. The lower stages of the affliction are rapidly sketched. The poem then describes the temptation of Job by his three friends, ancient types of Pharisees. The conflict with them is in three stages in which Job rises higher and higher in his religious experience, until he grasps a solution of the mysteries of human life which his Pharisaic friends never dreamed of. They are silenced; and Job gives his grand discourses on victory. The discourses of Elihu, whether an episode, introductory to the theophany, or a later addition to the poem; and the discourses of God, in which the wonders of creation and providence are described as nowhere else in the Bible—all contribute to the solution of the same problem of human suffering. The whole concludes with the submission of the God-fearing Job and the rewards of his victory. Here is a drama of human experience under divine discipline, human persecution, and Satanic temptation, which is a masterpiece of literature as well as a marvel of grace. The ideal features of the poem as a work of the imagination have greatly increased our appeciation of it. The older divines could not understand the book when they viewed it as his-

tory and as prose. The youthful and conceited Elihu was praised above Job by some of them, as if he were a type of the Messiah, or the Messiah himself; the errors and crudities of the friends of Job were often taken as the truth of God, and so those ancient Pharisees became the perpetual triers of the patience and piety of God's people.

(2.) *The Song of Songs* has been the most abused of all the writings of the Old Testament. Its poetic features were not recognized until recent times. Its divisions in the Authorized Version and the Revised Version are bad. The arrangements of chapters are wrong. The headings of the chapters are misleading. It was for centuries interpreted as allegorical and Messianic, and in later times as typical. No wonder that many discarded it from the canon, and regarded the reading of it as unprofitable. As the climax of the sins against the book, it was rendered, in many verses, in indelicate and immodest language. There is not an immodest or impure word or thought in the book from beginning to end. If correctly rendered, the purest-minded may read it without a blush. Modern scholarship finds in this book a drama of love, five acts of an operetta, each act having its refrain. In it are solos, duets, trios, responsive choruses, and a dance.

The Song of Songs is the drama for women as the Book of Job is for men. The Shulemite, a rustic maiden of northern Palestine of wonderful beauty, affianced to a shepherd whom she dearly loves, has been enticed to the pavilion of Solomon, in northern Palestine. Here the court ladies and Solomon unite in their efforts to make her forget her shepherd and give her love to Solomon. She is taken to Jerusalem, and every effort is put forth at the court of the great monarch by sensuous temptation, by enticing flattery, by brilliant promises, and even by love philters, to win her love for Solomon. She is exalted in praise and honor above his concubines and queens. But all this extraordinary temptation fails; she is faithful to her lover, and conquers by the simple and irresistible energy of her own purity and virtue. She is permitted to return at last to her mountain home, leaning on the arm of her beloved. The drama closes with her song of the triumph of love and with the marriage feast. This drama of love is a gem of poetic composition—the purest, the sweetest, the noblest, of all the poetry of love. If love is holy and Christian—

and who can doubt it?—no piece of poetry has a better claim to be in the canon of Holy Scripture than the Song of Songs.

(3.) *The Book of Ecclesiastes* is the most difficult book in the Old Testament. It is also a work of the imagination. The traditional theory that it was written by Solomon in his old age is scarcely worthy of mention at the present time. The book has the latest form of the Hebrew language known in Holy Scripture, and if there is any such thing as a history of the Hebrew language, the book was one of the last in composition in the Old Testament. Its position in the development of the Wisdom literature is also late. This book is another struggle with temptation and a victory. Job gives us the victory of a pious man over external temptations and trials. The Song of Songs gives us the victory of a virtuous maiden over all the attacks of the greatest and noblest monarch of the times upon her honor. But Ecclesiastes gives us the victory of the sage who triumphs over internal soul-conflicts and trials. It is a battle in the soul between skepticism and faith, agnosticism and the fear of God. There are two sides of the soul's experience, the dark side of doubt, and the bright side of piety. These come in regular succession in the book until the victory is gained. The difficulty in interpreting the book is in distributing the material between these two sides. Those who take the expressions of the book on its dark side and use them as the truth of God are really perpetuating and unfolding errors which are exposed and removed in the brighter pages of the book. No one can use the book with profit who does not possess the key to its interpretation. It is dangerous to use the two-edged sword of its skepticism and the keen arrows of its doubt, unless one understands the analysis of the book and so is able to turn these weapons of agnosticism by the shield of Koheleth's own heroic faith and the well-tried armor of his sublime reverence of God.

We have thus far considered Hebrew history and prophecy, and have seen the remarkable play of the imagination in these forms of sacred literature. We have also seen the wonderful development of the imagination in Hebrew poetry in various forms of lyric and gnomic poetry, and in the three great poems of the imagination, setting forth, in the measures of composite poetry, in the combination of the dramatic with the lyric and gnomic elements, the three classes of temptation which assail man-

kind. This rich development of the imagination among the Hebrews raises the question whether there may not also be in the Bible prose works of the imagination. There has been a great reluctance on the part of pious people to recognize such forms of literature in the Old Testament. But an increasing number of scholars find several such works of the imagination among the Old Testament writings. We shall approach the question by working back to it in the lines of the history of Hebrew literature.

(1.) Works of the imagination play a very important part in Hebrew literature outside the Old Testament. The Haggadistic literature of the Hebrews, used chiefly for the instruction of the people in the synagogues and in the schools, was largely composed of such writings. Rabbis used parables, stories, and legends of every variety of form and content with the utmost freedom, in order to teach doctrine and morals, and even to illustrate and enforce the legal precepts of the Jewish religion. Jesus, in his teaching, used the same method. His numerous parables have never been equalled for their simplicity, beauty and power. No human imagination has ever equalled the imagination of Jesus in story telling. The Prodigal Son, Dives and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Talents—are masterpieces of art. No historic incident, no individual experience, could ever have such power over the souls of men as these pictures of the imagination.

(2.) The apocryphal literature has many such stories, which have been the favorite themes of art in all ages. Judith and Holofernes, Zerubbabel and the king of Persia, the Maccabee mother and her seven sons, Bel and the Dragon, Tobit, and Susanna, are sufficient to remind one of them. These writings are all regarded as canonical in the Roman Catholic Church. Luther says of Tobit: "Is it history? then is it holy history. Is it fiction? then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet."

Who can doubt at the present time that these are all stories invented by the imagination of the authors? They were written in order to teach important religious lessons.

There are no *a priori* reasons therefore why we should not find such prose works of the imagination in the Old Testament. We should not stumble at such literature even if the idea be new to us or repugnant to us. If we have poetic works of the imagination in

Job, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, why not prose works of the imagination? If Jesus used imaginary scenes and incidents in his parables, why may not inspired men in times of the Old Testament revelation have used them also?

A careful study of the literature of the Old Testament shows that we have at least three prose works of the imagination in the Old Testament, all written in the times of the restoration.

These are Jonah, Esther, and Ruth.

(I.) *The Book of Jonah* is inserted in both the Hellenistic and the Rabbinical Canons among the minor prophets. And yet the book does not contain discourses of prophecy as do the other minor prophets. If the book of Jonah were history its place ought to have been among the historical books. It is among the prophetical writings with propriety only so far as the story which is contained in it was pointed with prophetic lessons; and for this prophetic purpose it is immaterial whether the story is the real of history or an ideal of the imagination.

The reasons for regarding the book of Jonah as essentially an inspired work of the imagination are these:

(1.) It was not the aim of the writer to write history; the story is given only so far as it is important to set forth the prophetic lessons of the book. There are two scenes, the one on the sea, the other at Nineveh. The story begins abruptly; it closes abruptly after giving the lessons. The transitions in the story are rapid flights of the imagination, and not the steady flow of historical narration.

(2.) The prophet Jonah is mentioned in the history of the book of Kings, and a prediction of minor importance is mentioned as given by him. It seems very remarkable that the book of Jonah, on the one hand, should omit this ministry in the land of Israel, and on the other hand that the author of the book of Kings should give such comparatively unimportant ministry and yet pass over such important prophetic ministry as that given in the book of Jonah.

(3.) The two miracles reported in Jonah are marvels rather than miracles. There is nothing at all resembling them in the miracle working of the Old Testament or the New Testament. They are more like the wonders of the Arabian Nights than the miracles of Moses, of Elijah and Elisha, of Jesus and the apostles. It is true that there are great sharks in the Mediterranean Sea

which are said to have swallowed men and horses and afterwards to have cast them up. But this being so the chief difficulty remains. How do we explain the suspended digestion of the fish for such a long time, and the self-consciousness of Jonah while in the bowels of the fish, as indicated by his prayer? But even if we could overcome these difficulties by an unflinching confidence in the supernatural power of God to work any and every kind of miracle, the most serious objection would still confront us. It is not so much the supernatural power in the miracle that troubles us, as the character of the miracle. There is in it, whatever way we interpret it, the element of the extravagant and the grotesque. The divine simplicity, the holy sublimity, and the overpowering grace which characterize the miracles of Biblical history are conspicuously absent. We feel that there is no sufficient reason for such a miracle and we instinctively shrink from it, not because of a lack of faith in the supernatural divine power of working miracles, but because we have such a faith in God's grace and holiness and majesty that we find it difficult to believe that He could work such a grotesque and extravagant miracle as that described in the story of the great fish.

So the story of the wonderful growth and withering of the tree is more like the magic of the oriental tales than any of the Biblical miracles. It seems to be brought into the scene as an embellishment rather than for any real purpose of grace. A careful study of the miracles of Holy Scripture excludes this magic tree from their category, and, to say the least, puts it in a category by itself.

(4.) The repentance of Nineveh, from the king on his throne to the humblest citizen, the extent of it, the sincerity of it, the depth of it, are still more marvellous. Nineveh was at that time the capital of the greatest empire of the world. It was a proud and conquering nation, least likely of all to repent. The history of the times is quite well known, and the history makes such an event incredible. Some have endeavored to minimize the repentance as a mere official one, such as were ordered by monarchs during the middle ages. But these apologists forget that, according to the story, God recognized the sincerity and the extraordinary character of the repentance. God granted His grace and recalled His decree of destruction on that account. This repentance is a marvellous event. Nothing like it meets us in

the history of Israel or the history of the church. Is it not an ideal of the imagination? Jesus uses the story of the repentance of Nineveh to shame the unrepenting cities of his time. There was no historic repentance so well suited to his purpose.

(5.) The prayer given in the book is not suited to it, if the story be historical, but it is entirely appropriate if it be regarded as ideal and symbolical. The prayer is a piece of poetry of two complete strophes concluding each with a refrain, and then half a strophe without a refrain. This shows that the prayer is only a part of a longer piece which must have been complete and symmetrical as we see from the parts given to us. This prayer is a mosaic from several more ancient psalms and prophecies. It is older than the book of Jonah, and has been used by the author as appropriate to his story. This prayer is the prayer of thanksgiving of a man who either in fact or in figure has been drowned in the sea. He has gone down to the bottom; the sea-weed is wrapt about his head; he has then in his departed spirit gone down to the roots of the mountains, has entered into Sheol, the abode of the dead, and has been shut up in its cavern by the bars of the earth. His deliverance has been a resurrection from the dead.

Such figures of speech to represent great suffering of an indidividual, or of a nation, are found in the psalms and the prophets. Hosea uses the same figure of speech for the exile and the restoration: "I will ransom them from the power of Sheol; I will redeem them from Death." Isaiah and Ezekiel also represent the restoration as a resurrection from Sheol, the abode of the dead, and the rising up of the dry bones from the battlefield of the slain. Now if the descent into the belly of the fish, the abode therein three days, and the casting up again is simply a poetic symbol—is a devouring of Israel by the great sea monster Babylon; if the author had in mind the words of Jeremiah—"Nebuchadnezzar hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast me out" (Jer. li., 34); and if he is thinking of Hosea's words: "After two days he will revive us, in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him" (vi., 2); then it would be appropriate for him to use in the song the symbol of death and resurrection as a parallel to that in the narrative, of the swallowing by the fish, abiding three days in the fish, and casting forth by the fish. The prayer strongly urges the symbolism of the story.

(6.) It is objected that Jesus in his use of Jonah gives his sanction to the historicity of the story. But this objection has little weight; for we have seen that his method of instruction was in the use of stories of his own composition. We ought not to be surprised therefore that he should use such stories from the Old Testament likewise.

It is urged that Jesus makes such a realistic use of it that it compels us to think that he regarded it as real. But in fact he does not make a more realistic use of Jonah than he does of the story of Dives and Lazarus.

Paul makes just as realistic a use of the story of Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses; and compares them with the foes of Jesus in his times (2 Tim. iii., 8).

And Jude makes just as realistic a use of Michael, the archangel; contending with the devil, and disputing about the body of Moses, and compares this dispute with the railers of his time (Jude 9).

These stories used by Paul and Jude are from the Jewish Haggada, and not from the Old Testament. No scholar regards them as historic events. If apostles could use the stories of the Jewish Haggada in this way, why should not Jesus use stories from the Old Testament? Jesus uses the story of Jonah just as the author of the book used it to point important religious instruction to the men of his time. Indeed Jesus' use of it rather favors the interpretation of it as symbolic. For it is just this symbolism, that the fish represents Sheol, the swallowing up, death, the casting forth, resurrection, that we have seen in the story of Jonah interpreted by the prayer, which makes the story appropriate to symbolize the death and resurrection of Jesus.

For these reasons the story of Jonah is commonly regarded by modern scholars as an ideal story, a work of the imagination.

We have now to inquire what was the great lesson the book of Jonah was designed to teach. There are, indeed, two lessons, one in each scene of the story. The first part of the story teaches the lesson of Amos (ix., 2–3):

"Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall mine hand take them.
Though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down,
And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence.
And though they be hid from my sight, in the bottom of the sea,
Thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them."

It is also similar to the lesson of the Psalmist (cxxxix., 7–10):

> "Whither shall I go from thy spirit?
> Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
> If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there:
> If I make my bed in Sheol, behold thou art there:
> If I take the wings of the morning,
> And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea,
> Even there shall thy hand lead me,
> And thy right hand shall hold me."

God has power to bring up from the depths of the sea, from the womb of Sheol, from the belly of the fish, those who turn unto Him, to His holy temple. Israel's calling as the prophet of the nations cannot be escaped. He may be overwhelmed in the depths of affliction; he may descend into Sheol, the abode of the dead; he may be swallowed up by the great monsters who subdue the nations—but God will raise him up, restore him to life, and to his prophetic ministry. Jonah, Pharisaic Israel, may renounce his high calling and perish; but a second Jonah, a revived and consecrated Israel, will surely fulfill it.

But the greatest lesson in the story is in the repentance of Nineveh, and the attitude of Jonah toward that great event. Jonah again represents historic Israel, preaching with sufficient readiness the doom of the nations and watching for the *Dies Iræ* when that doom would be fulfilled. Jonah goes out of the city and selects a good place from whence he may see the grand sight the overthrow of the capital of that nation, which was the greatest foe of his people. But Jonah does not represent the ideal Israel. God has other views than Jonah. He does not look with complacency upon the death of 120,000 babes who do not know enough to do right or wrong. He does not delight in the death of men, but rather in the repentance of men. A million or more human beings gathered in Nineveh, that great capital of the ancient world, cannot perish without giving sorrow to the heart of God. Jonah may delight in such a scene, God cannot.

The repentance of Nineveh changes all. In an instant the decree of destruction is annulled, and divine grace triumphs over the sentence of judgment. This author caught such a wonderful glimpse of the grace of God to the heathen world, that it makes the book of Jonah a marvel in the doctrine of the Old Testament. Jonah was ready to die with mortification that his own preaching had been successful. He wanted the destruction of Nineveh,

not its repentance. He was willing, like some moderns, to preach as a witness, to testify against sin and proclaim the wrath of God. He could not understand the mercy of God—that God willed the repentance of Nineveh, not its destruction.

Ancient Pharisaical Jews thought that the predictions against the nations must be fulfilled or God could not be a God of veracity and justice. So think some dogmaticians now. But God is a God of grace. God changes his decree of destruction even though men cannot reconcile such change with divine justice and veracity. God is sovereign in his justice as well as in his mercy. The doctrine that God must be just, but may or may not be merciful, is an error that has no basis in Holy Scripture or in a sound ethical philosophy. God is as truly, by necessity of the divine being, merciful as he is just. He is as free in his exercise of the one attribute as the other. He reserves the right to recall his messengers of wrath by the swifter angels of love.

Jonah represents only too well the Jew of Nehemiah's time, the Jew of the New Testament times, and also the Christian Church in its prevailing attitude to the heathen world. If the Roman Catholic Church had learned the lesson of Jonah, its theologians would not so generally have consigned the unbaptized heathen world to hell fire. If the Reformers had understood Jonah there would have been more of them than Zwingli and Cœlius Secundus Curio, who thought that there were some redeemed heathen. If the Westminster divines had understood Jonah they never would have coined those remarkable statements of the tenth chapter of their Confession, in which the entire heathen world and their babes are left out of the election of grace. The present century, brought face to face with the heathen world, is beginning to learn the lesson of Jonah. Jonah is the book for our times. Though written many centuries ago as a beautiful ideal of the imagination to teach the wonderful grace of God in the salvation of repenting heathen and their babes, it has been reserved for the present age to apprehend and apply its wonderful lessons. The repentance of Nineveh is a prophetic ideal.

(II.) *The Book of Ruth* in our Bible is placed between Judges and Samuel, among the historical books. That was the arrangement in the Hellenistic canon, which mingled the apocryphal books with the books of the Palestinian canon. But in the

Rabbinical canon, which is based on an earlier arrangement, Ruth is placed in the third division, among the miscellaneous and later writings, chiefly poetical. The language of the book is tinged with Aramaic, making it probable that it was not written until after the exile. The book is written in prose with two little snatches of poetry. It has appended to it a genealogical table which did not belong to the original document. The story is a simple and graceful domestic story. It is a charming idyll.

(1.) The scene is put in the times of the Judges, but there is nothing to remind us of that time except certain antique customs which the author thinks it necessary to explain to his readers. There is nothing in the book that reminds us of the times of the Judges, as we see it depicted in the book of Judges. Deborah, Jael, and Jephthah's daughter were the appropriate heroines for that period. But Ruth seems altogether out of place in such rough times. No historian would think of writing such a domestic story as Ruth, as an episode in the history of such a period. Some have sought a reason in the fact that she was an ancestress of David. But there is nothing in the character of the monarchs of the Davidic dynasty that would lead us to suppose that they would encourage a writer to trace their descent from a poor and homeless Moabitess, however excellent her character. The book of Ruth stands by itself in the Hebrew canon of Holy Scripture as a separate writing, and it must be tested by itself without prejudice from the fact that it follows the book of Judges in the order of our canon. The scenery of the story is the time of the Judges, so far as the author's antiquarian knowledge goes; but it is an ideal picture of primitive simplicity and agricultural life in Bethlehem, separated from all that was gross and rude and rough in the real life of those times. The author invents the scenery for his actors and leaves out of it all that would mar its simplicity and detract from its main interest.

(2.) What then is the lesson of this idyll? It is given in the words of Ruth and the words of Boaz. Ruth says to Naomi (i., 16):

> "Thy people shall be my people,
> And thy God my God."

Boaz says to Ruth (ii., 12):

> "May the Lord recompense thy doing,
> And may thy reward be ample from the Lord God of Israel,
> Under whose wings thou art come to take refuge."

The Moabitess had left her native land and her father's house, as did Abraham of old, and she sought refuge under the wings of the Lord God of Israel. This seeking refuge under the wings of the Lord is a favorite thought of the later psalmists. The exact words of Boaz are found elsewhere alone in the post-exilic ninety-first Psalm.

(3.) This story of Ruth and Boaz, the ancestors of David, is all the more striking that it comes into conflict with a law of Deuteronomy and its enforcement by Nehemiah. Deuteronomy gives this law: "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation shall *none belonging to them* enter into the assembly of the Lord forever" (xxiii., 3). This certainly excludes Ruth, a Moabitess of the first generation. Nehemiah enforced this law against women. He tells us: "In those days also I saw that the Jews had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, of Moab; and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people. And I contended with them and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters for your sons, or for yourselves." (Neh. xiii., 23, seq.)

How shall we reconcile this story of Ruth and Boaz with the law of Deuteronomy, and the history of Nehemiah? Different theories have been proposed. We are reminded of another law of Deuteronomy (xxiii., 1) that the eunuch shall not enter into an assembly of the Lord. And yet the great prophet of the exile says: "For thus saith the Lord of the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and hold fast by my covenant. Unto them will I give in my house, and within my walls, a memorial and a name better than of sons and of daughters." (Is. lvi., 4-5.)

The book of Ruth and the great prophet of the exile take essentially the same position. They see that the grace of God to eunuchs and Moabites overrides legal precepts, and their zealous enforcement by painstaking magistrates. This seems to give a hint as to the time and purpose of the book of Ruth. It was written probably soon after the return from exile under Joshua and Zerubbabel, in the spirit of the great prophet of the exile,

to encourage Israelites to take advantage of the imperial decree and return to the Holy Land; and with the special purpose of encouraging those who had married foreign wives, and also the foreign widows of Israelites, to return with their children and seek refuge under the wings of the Lord in rebuilt Jerusalem.

The story is a prophet's story to set forth the doctrine that even a Moabitess would not be rejected by the grace of God. It is an Old Testament parallel to the Syro-Phœnician woman of the New Testament. Though she was a little dog in the estimation of the proud Israelite, she begged for the children's crumbs, lying under the table (Mark vii., 27–28), and she was not rejected. This Syro-Phœnician woman put to shame the mothers of Israel in the time of Jesus; so Ruth, though a Moabitess, is a model for Israel's daughters, and was chosen to be the ancestress of David and the Messiah.

(4.) Although we regard the book of Ruth as a work of the imagination, we do not deny that Ruth and Boaz were historical characters. The historic persons Ruth and Boaz and the events of their courtship and marriage were embellished by the imagination in order to set forth the great lessons of prophecy. Just as Zerubbabel was used in the apocryphal literature to set forth the lesson that truth is mightier than wine, women, and king, so Ruth is used to teach us that the grace of God pushes beyond the race of Abraham and redeems even the Moabitess for whom no provision was made in the law-code of Deuteronomy, or in the discipline of Nehemiah.

(III.) *The Book of Esther* is one of the miscellaneous writings of the Rabbinical canon. In the Hellenistic canon it is placed after the apocryphal pieces of fiction, called Tobit and Judith, as if recognized to be of the same type. The Greek Esther has a number of important insertions which were designed to remove some of the difficulties of the canonical Esther. Esther is not used in the New Testament, and has been regarded in all the centuries as the most doubtful of the biblical books. The language is one of the latest specimens of biblical Hebrew. The style is dramatic, and rapid in its development of incident. Scene after scene springs into place until the climax of difficulty is reached and the knot is tied so that it seems impossible to escape. Then it is untied with wondrous dexterity. All this is the art of the story-teller, and not the method of the historian. The things

which interest the historian are not in the book. Esther is a didactic story like Ruth and Jonah, Judith and Tobit, and it raises more historical difficulties than can easily be removed. The monarch seems to be Xerxes, the voluptuous and absolute ruler of the Persian empire. The story is one of court intrigue, in which Esther the favorite wife, and her uncle Mordecai, prevail over Haman, the prime minister. The book is connected with the Purim festival, and is supposed to give the historical account of its origin. This is denied by many modern scholars. It is held that Esther is a piece of historical fiction designed to set forth the importance of the Purim festival, as a national feast, and to teach the great lesson of patriotism. It does not by any means follow from the connection of the book with the feast, that the book is historical. Indeed Esther does not explain the Purim feast. It does not give any adequate reason why the Jews of Palestine and Egypt, and of the rest of the world, should celebrate a feast which, according to Esther, was connected with the deliverance of the Jews remaining in exile in the Persian empire, an event less worthy of commemoration than a hundred others. The feast of Purim, in all probability, had another origin than that reported in the story of Esther. Reuss suggests that the origin of the feast was in the victory of Judas the Maccabee over Nicanor, which was to be celebrated on the eighteenth of Adar, the day before the Purim feast of later times. Zunz, Hitzig and others trace the feast to the new year's feast of the Persians, which was appropriated by the Jews when they returned from exile and while they remained under the Persian rule. But it is not necessary to determine its exact origin. Many a Christian feast rests upon ancient unhistoric legends. We need but mention the feast of the Ascension of Mary, the feast of St. Veronica, the feast of the finding of the Cross, and the feast of the Sleepers.

(1.) There is no theology in the book of Esther. The name of God is not used at all, but the name of the Persian King occurs 187 times in 166 verses. Several theories have been suggested for the omission of the divine name. The most plausible one is that the book was to be read at a festival which in ancient times was marked by gross intoxication. A rabbi is said to have killed his friend at such a feast. God the next day raised him to life. The next year the rabbi invited his friend to celebrate the feast

with him again. The friend declined saying, "God does not work miracles every day." The name of God was not mentioned, according to this theory, for fear that it would be profaned. But might not a sacred book be profaned at such a time even if it did not contain the name of God? Moreover, the Greek additions to Esther use the divine name as freely as in other writings. There is in the Hebrew Esther no theology at all, and no religion, and therefore no occasion for the use of the divine name. One does not miss it unless his attention is called to the fact.

(2.) The morals of Esther are not of the highest order. The morals of the court of Persia are not in question; but the morals of Esther and Mordecai, the hero and heroine of the book, are in question. There is a spirit of revenge in the book that makes it very different from Jonah and Ruth, and the poets and psalmists of the exile and the restoration. Esther is praised for her beauty and tact, but she does not appear as a God-fearing damsel such as Ruth, and she lacks the high sense of honor of the Shulemite. She shares in the revengeful feelings and cruelty of Mordecai. Neither of them seems sensitive to virgin delicacy and womanly virtue. They are ready to sacrifice honor, as was Judith, in the interests of patriotism. One of the Greek additions endeavors to overcome the fault by the insertion of a prayer of Esther, in which she expresses her reluctance to be the paramour of the heathen monarch, and prays God for forgiveness in view of the necessities of the case.

(3.) The religion of the book is conspicuous also by absence. There is fasting, but it does not seem to have a pious motive. These defects are remedied to some extent in the Greek additions. There is no prayer for deliverance and no thanksgiving for it in the Hebrew text, but these are inserted in the Greek version. The one redeeming feature of the book is its patriotism. Esther and Mordecai are heroes of patriotic attachment to the interests of the Jews. For this they risk their honor and their lives. The same spirit is found in Judith, and in a measure in Nehemiah and Daniel. If patriotism is a virtue, and belongs to good morals in the Jewish and Christian systems, then the book has its place in the Bible, as teaching this virtue, even if everything else be absent. No book is so patriotic as the book of Esther. Esther is the heroine of patriotic devotion. She is the embodiment of Jewish nationality, and thus is the

appropriate theme of the great national festival of the Jews. And in all the Christian centuries Esther has been an inspiration to heroic women, and an incentive to deeds of daring for heroic men. And if, as many signs seem to indicate, woman in the next century is to use her great endowments in a larger measure for the advancement of the kingdom of God, Esther will exert a vaster influence in inspiring her to holy courage and unflinching devotion and service. For granting that patriotism in its narrower sense may be a form of selfishness, yet when patriotism has been transformed into an enthusiasm for humanity, and a passionate devotion to the kingdom of God, it then calls forth those wondrous energies of self-sacrifice with which woman seems to be more richly endowed than man.

Thus Hebrew literature presents us six great works of the imagination, inspired of God to set forth the ethical and religious principles of the Old Testament. Three of these are poetry—Job, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes; and three of these are prose—Ruth, Jonah, and Esther. Three of them present heroes for men, three of them heroines for women. Job, the chieftain, Jonah the prophet, and Koheleth the sage; Ruth the devout, Esther the patriotic, and the Shulemite, the loving, faithful virgin. They are the choicest products of the imagination. These beautiful forms of literary art are worthy of inspiration by the Spirit of God. They were neglected and misunderstood in the centuries when ecclesiasticism reigned, and so long as dogmatism crowded ethics from the field; but in these better and more hopeful times when the rich luscious fruits of holy conduct are appearing here and there as tokens of an abundant harvest, these masterpieces of the imagination of the ancient Hebrews are asserting their influence in the ethical elevation and moral inspiration of the men and women of our times.

C. A. Briggs.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WHEN CONGRESS SHOULD CONVENE.

UNDER the present law Congress does not convene in regular session until thirteen months after the election of its members.

There was some apology for such a provision at the time of the formation of our government, for the reason that it then took a long period of time to ascertain the results of elections and to reach the capital from remote parts of the country. But there is no excuse whatever now since the most distant part of the nation is within six days' travel of Washington City.

A bill has been introduced in Congress providing that the first session shall convene on the first Monday following the 4th day of March of the year next succeeding the election of representatives,* and that the second session shall assemble on the first Monday after the first day of January of the year next succeeding.

There are four strong reasons for the passage of such a measure:

1. The lower branch of Congress should at the earliest practicable time enact the principles of the majority of the people as expressed in the election of each Congress. That is why the Constitution requires the election of a new Congress every two years. If it were not to reflect the sentiment of the people then frequent elections would have no meaning or purpose. Any evasion of that rule is subversive of the fundamental principle of our government, that the majority shall rule. No other government in the world has its legislative body convene so long after the expression of the people. During the campaign preceding a Congressional election the great questions that divide the political parties are thoroughly discussed. Under a republican form of government the people are the final arbiters and it is their prerogative to have their sentiments crystalized into legislation. "The voice of the people is the supreme law." It seems trifling with their rights when their mandates cannot be obeyed within a reasonable time.

It is unfair to an administration that the legislation which it thinks so essential to the prosperity of the country should be so long deferred that the time for electing a new Congress should arrive before the operation of the law can have reasonable trial. Within five months after the McKinley tariff was enacted a new Congress was elected with nearly two-thirds Democratic majority.

It is true there may be an earlier convening of Congress, but to effect this the President must resort to the unpopular measure of calling an extra ses-

*It would be better if the first session could convene in January, but a constitutional provision fixes the fourth of March as the beginning of the term of a representative, and hence prevents any earlier date.

sion. The people are always anxious over the cost of, and the political unrest occasioned by, long or extra sessions of legislative bodies.

2. As the law is at the present time, the second regular session does not commence until after the election of the succeeding Congress. Although the Fifty-fifth Congress has been elected, the Fifty-fourth Congress is still enacting the laws for the people.

As an election often changes the political complexion of a Congress, under the present law, many times we have the injustice of a Congress that has been repudiated by the people enacting laws for the people diametrically opposed to the last expression of the people. Such a condition is an outrage upon the rights of the majority.

A member of Congress can barely get started in his work unti the time arrives for the nominating convention of his district. He has accomplished nothing and hence has made no record upon which to go before his party or his people. This is an injustice both to the member and to the people. The record of a Representative should be complete before he asks an endorsement of his course.

3. Under the present law a Representative in Congress who has been turned down by the people legislates for that people in the second regular session. It is a misnomer to call him a Representative in that session.

A man who has been defeated for re-election is not in a fit frame of mind to legislate for his people. There is a sting in defeat that tends to engender the feeling of resentment which often finds expression in the vote of such members against wholesome legislation. That same feeling often produces such a want of interest in proceedings as to cause the member to be absent nearly all the second session.

Congressmen are not usually men of means. Their Congressional career has resulted in the destruction of their clientage or business. To a defeated member who has relied upon his salary for support, the future looks dark and gloomy. It is then some are open to propositions which they would never think of entertaining if they were to go before the people for re-election. It is then that the attorneyship of some corporation is often tendered and a vote is afterward found in the record in favor of legislation of a general or special character favoring the corporation. If an affirmative vote cannot be had it is often just as important that the member should be absent. If there is ever a time in the history of the man when he will directly or indirectly accept a bribe it is then. There is less chance of detection. He is no longer a political factor. His political enemies no longer watch his course. The opposition newspapers no longer criticise his conduct: "the secret is his own and it is safe."

There are many upright men in Congress who would not be influenced by defeat. But in as large a body as the House of Representatives there must always be some who would yield to temptation. It is a fact that nearly all, if not all, of the legislation that is claimed to have been passed by corrupt influences was enacted during these second regular sessions of Congress.

4. Under the present system a contest over a seat in Congress is seldom ever decided until more than half of the term, and in many instances, until the period of twenty-two months of the term has expired. For all that time the occupant of the seat draws the salary, and when his opponent is seated he also draws the salary for the full term. Thus the government pays twice for the representation from that district. But that is not the worst feature

of the situation. During all of that term the district is being misrepresented in Congress. If the House of Representatives goes to work on the contested election cases at the very beginning of the term of office, as it would do if Congress met at that time, these cases could be disposed of during the first session. Thus a great saving would accrue to the government and the Congressional district for almost all of the term be properly represented.

Although this measure appears to be one of procedure, the great influence for good which it must exert upon legislation makes it one of the most important acts that could be passed.

JOHN F. SHAFROTH.

THE QUESTION OF SHIPS.

IN the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January Capt. John Codman, condemning with characteristic vigor the mistaken idea of looking to a revival of obsolete differential duties to restore our merchant marine, offers the almost equally obsolete idea of "free ships" as an alternative.

The good captain has been a valiant champion of the "free ship" theory for forty years. His persistence is splendid, but he seems to be oblivious to the fact that the world has been moving in the interval. He is still arguing in effect upon the basis of the conditions of 1855–60. Meanwhile conditions have been revolutionized. It is the United States, not Great Britain, which now stands as the world's first iron and steel manufacturing nation. The American production of pig iron in 1892 was 9,157,000 tons; the British, 6,616,000. From a tugboat to a battleship there is no task of iron-working which American builders are not prepared to undertake, and, indeed, have not undertaken. "Free ship" arguments which should have been convincing in 1861 are now absolutely worthless.

No "war tariff" longer weighs on native shipbuilding. The McKinley law made materials for iron and steel vessels for the foreign trade free of duty. After working up into a four masted clipper a shipload of Scotch plates and beams, Mr. Arthur Sewall, of Bath, the recent Democratic candidate for Vice-President, declared: "I find that I can get all the material on this side cheaper than by going abroad; and so our next ship will be built entirely of American materials." There is distinguished evidence that domestic competition has now brought the price of high class American shipbuilding down to the foreign level, and that a "free ship" law is unnecessary and would be ineffective. It is understood that the "St. Louis" and "St. Paul" would have cost about as much on the Clyde as they cost on the Delaware, and President Huntington, of the Pacific Mail, who has lately received proposals for a first-class steamship from shipyards both here and abroad, is quoted as saying that "the prices of American builders are practically the same as those in England," although "in the best class of vessels American work is superior."

The President of the International Navigation Company, Mr. Clement A. Griscom, declared two years ago in Philadelphia that he and his associate managers of the foremost shipping concern under the American flag could see no benefit in general "free ship" legislation. What the practical men of New England thought about it was sufficiently indicated some time earlier by the adoption of a resolution that: "We, the members of the New England Shipowners' Association, as owners and not as builders of

vessels, are unanimously and absolutely opposed to free ships." The Cleveland Board of Trade protested against a "free ship" policy on the ground that "it would not only strike a blow at home industries but would be a discrimination in favor of foreign interests."

Under the force of emphatic remonstrances like these from the best maritime authorities of America, Congress of late years has regularly refused to consider a free ship bill, even though in 1891-95 the House was Democratic by from 90 to 140 majority.

Now there must be some powerful reason for this overwhelming hostility to the "free ship" idea on the part of American shipowners. What is it? Captain Codman declares that all the other nations of the world except the United States have repealed their "antiquated registry laws," and "allowed their people to build or buy ships in England." "This practice," he adds, "led to shipbuilding in their own countries in course of time. Consequently, since 1855, shipowning and shipbuilding have increased enormously in every maritime country on the globe, excepting in the nominally free United States, in which they have been driven back to where they were in 1828."

If the simple expedient of "free ships" has led to these brilliant results in all other countries, it is incomprehensible that the resistance of a few shipbuilders, as Captain Codman insists, should have been able to prevent the adoption of the same amazingly beneficent policy in America. But is it true that under "free ships," "shipowning and shipbuilding have increased enormously in every maritime country on the globe," except of course the unfortunate United States?

Official records tell a very different story. The returns of the British Board of Trade show that, beginning with 1860, among the European nations which have "allowed their people to build or buy ships in England," only Norway has made a sustantial increase in its tonnage, and this is due to causes which, as is well known, are wholly exceptional. Norway has the advantage of labor on shipboard which is at once remarkably efficient and remarkably low-priced. There are no better sailors than the Norwegians in the world, but a Norwegian captain earns very little more than an American able seaman and a Norwegian seaman about as much as an American boy. The amazing cheapness with which Norwegian ships are run has enabled them to drive not only the Americans but the British out of several important branches of ocean carrying. Nevertheless "free ships" and cheap labor have not enabled the Norwegians to acquire a great merchant marine in the sense in which Americans or Englishmen would understand it. Norway's tonnage makes a great show on paper, but two-thirds of it is composed of small wooden sailing vessels, many of them relics of the old fleets of America and England. In the tonnage of its iron and steel steamers Norway is far behind the United States. There is not to-day in existence a first-class steamship line under Norwegian colors. Norway's merchant marine has built up no large commerce. It is chiefly employed in the cheap "tramp" trade of other nations. The Norwegian example has no value whatever for the guidance of the United States.

Much more to the purpose is the experience of the other important maritime nations of Europe—Holland, France, Italy, and Germany. Holland has enjoyed what Captain Codman is pleased to consider the inestimable advantage of "free ships." Have its "shipowning and shipbuilding increased enormously" in consequence? On the contrary, the merchant marine of Holland—and the Dutch are as gallant sailors and keen traders as

there are in Europe—has actually declined from 433,922 tons in 1860 to 294,783 tons in 1893. So with France. "Free ships" here again have proven the same delusion. In 1860 France owned 996,124 tons of shipping; in 1880, 919,298 tons. In 1881 the French government officially recognized the insufficiency and folly of the "free ship" theory by offering an elaborate system of subsidies and bounties to encourage French shipbuilding and navigation. This system is not to be commended in all its details to American imitation, but so far as the French steam marine is concerned it undoubtedly has been successful. The British Consul-General at Havre* reports that "while in 1879 France had only 599 steamers of 255,959 tons, the number had increased in 1888 to 1,015 of 509,800 tons." The steam tonnage of the port of Havre alone had increased from 62,009 in 1880 to 158,215 in 1889.

The same impressive lesson of the futility of "free ships" to maintain a healthy merchant marine is shown in Italy's experience. Referring to the views of Italian statesmen on the results of their "free ship" policy, United States Consul Crain, at Milan, when the subject was under discussion, said:

"Italians have been at liberty for more than twenty years to buy steamships on the Clyde or elsewhere, but this privilege has done nothing for the expansion of the steam marine. The policy of free ships has had a long trial in France, Germany, Austria, and other countries, with no better result. History affords no example of a seagoing people who are not also a shipbuilding people. The industries of shipbuilding and navigation are so welded by a community of interests that they cannot be divorced without mutual destruction."

It may be added that in 1885, Italy, having found "free ships" inefficacious, followed the French example and established a generous system of subsidies and bounties, under which the Italian steam tonnage has increased from 124,600 to 209,472 in 1895-96.

Germany's case only remains to be considered. In 1870 the tonnage of the German merchant marine was 982,355. It had increased to 1,181,525 in 1880, almost altogether by the purchase of foreign vessels, chiefly British and American. But the ambitious Germans, with the new desire for sea power upon them, were not satisfied with this rate of progress. They were not satisfied with the "free ship" policy alone, although a nation which has no shipyards of its own has no recourse but to buy its ships abroad if it would have them. The German protective tariff had immensely stimulated the iron and steel industries of the Empire, and the government set itself systematically to encourage the creation of shipbuilding plants at home. Its first step was to forbid the building of German warships in other than German shipyards. Its second was to offer the enormous subsidy of $1,050,000 a year for a German steamship line to China and Australia; and another of $125,000 for a line to East Africa. Under the influence of these subsidies German shipbuilding has steadily strengthened, until as a shipbuilding nation Germany is now second only to Great Britain and the United States. German tonnage now stands at 1,886,812. With the requirement that all state-aided steamships—and they constitute, of course, the flower of the fleet—shall be built in German shipyards, Germany can no longer be said to give strict adherence to the "free ship" practice. It is a significant fact that that one of the continental nations which has been most successful in

* *The Times*, London, July 19, 1890.

developing a modern merchant marine is the one which of late years has come nearest to the maritime policy of the United States.

American shipowners are familiar with the general facts of European experience. They know that "free ships" have never created, unaided, a strong native shipbuilding or a symmetrical merchant marine. In France, in Italy, in Germany, they have finally had to have the help of subsidies and bounties. But there is one nation which "free ships" have conspicuously benefited. Captain Codman's vaunted privilege "to build or buy ships in England" has redounded to the immense advantage of England itself. In 1860 the total tonnage of the United Kingdom was 4,658,687. In 1895 it was 12,117,967. During 1894 the enormous new tonnage of 1,046,508 (gross) was launched from British shipyards. Thirteen per cent. of this was built for foreigners.

Is it surprising that American shipowners are irrevocably opposed to a policy which under present conditions could have only the result—if it had any result at all—of playing into the hands of their ancient enemy?

WINTHROP L. MARVIN.

THE AMENITIES OF PHILOLOGY.

NEVER before was there so much enthusiasm manifested in linguistic studies as during the last quarter of the current century, and there is no indication at the present time of a waning interest. Not only have languages been studied in their relation to one another, but dialects have come in for their share in the pursuit of these studies. Nor has our own country been backward in contributing, through its dialectal and various philological associations, its quota to the science of philology. Authors in different parts of the country have written long and (it must be confessed, sometimes) tedious stories in the individual dialects of their respective localities. There are books in the dialect of the negro, as, for example, Thomas Nelson Page's, those in the dialect of the Tennessee Mountains, as, for example, Miss Murfree's books, those in the dialect of the "Georgia cracker," as the stories of Joel Chandler Harris, and a host of others in other parts of the country. These books are almost like the sands of the seashore for number.

So numerous and varied are the local dialects of this country that a contributor to this REVIEW recently ventured the thesis that from the very nature of the diverse and varied character of our local dialects, there can not be any such thing as a great national novel in the United States. While this is, it must be admitted, a somewhat extreme view, to which many do not feel prepared to subscribe, the fact remains that there are marked dialectal peculiarities in the spoken language of certain localities. These dialectal peculiarities, however, are fast disappearing before the onward march of the unifying influence of education, the printing press, and the railroad. When the leavening power of education has permeated the entire population of the country, there will result uniformity of speech, and dialectal variations from the common form will linger but as a tradition.

The dialect authors, in the meantime, are doing the reading public a service in furnishing it with entertaining stories of an elevating character. Some of them at least, as, for example, Page, Harris, and others, are doing literature and science an ulterior service, consciously or unconsciously, in preserving in their books types of a people and their speech which a wave of oblivion is rapidly sweeping away.

If one will examine the speech of the negro and of the native-born illiterate white, it matters not whether the latter be from New England or from the South, one will find that, barring certain provincialisms peculiar to their respective homes, their language has much in common, and to the student of historic English, it exhibits indisputable evidence of its affinity with the English of the seventeenth century. This is obvious from such words as "handkercher," "ar" (air), "pint" (point), "pison" (poison), "gwine" (going), "arrant" (errand), "cratur" (creature), "arth" (earth), all of which are common alike to the "Yankee dialect" and to the negro dialect. The student who is familiar with the development of the English tongue will at once recognize these as standard according to the *jus et norma loquendi* of the seventeenth century. But in the development of the language, these pronunciations subsequently fell into disuse and were discarded by standard English. They still survived, however, in the lower stratum of society among the poor and illiterate who, denied the privileges and advantages of an education, and therefore ignorant of the most elementary grammatical principles, inherited this speech from their ancestors and handed it down, with but little change, from generation to generation, to their children.

The language of the seventeenth century was brought to America by the early settlers and was taught the slaves, and the tongue which the illiterate negroes then learned to speak they have preserved, without any material change, down to the present generation. Since this is the case, we cannot then be surprised to find upon examination that many of their dialectal pronunciations and locutions are to be traced back to classic authors of an earlier period, yea, even to Shakspere himself. In this sense it is doubtless true that many of the fossilized pronunciations of our illiterates are much nearer the language of, and are more intelligible to, Shakspere and Milton than present standard English.

Every one who has ever heard the old negro preacher giving an "exhortation" at the close of his fervid "sarmon" knows very well that, though the old preacher's heart was all right, and himself on the way to the kingdom, his conscience never troubled him in the least about his loose grammar. Notwithstanding his sanctification and ecstatic anticipation of the joys of the kingdom for which he was bound, he had no conscientious scruples about "axing" his "ole marster" if the latter was at all tardy in offering him any desired help. Perhaps many of those who were so familiar with the lingo of the old preacher never reflected that his language, like his heart, was, after all, not very far wrong, and entirely without precedent when he "axed" for something. He was but obeying the scriptural injunction, which, according to Tyndale's translation, reads: "Axe and it shall be geven you." Nor do they know that he was but following, though unwittingly, the example set by that first English printer, Caxton, who, in the preface to his Æneid of Virgil, used the same expression. If, then, the old preacher blundered, as, according to our modern standard, he did, he at all events blundered in good company.

In Chaucer, "the first finder of our faire langage," as his ardent admirer, Occleve, rapturously called him, we find this same word. Here we find, also, forms now fossilized, such as "kiver," "driv," "holp," "writ," "rid," etc. In "Much Ado About Nothing," Dogberry, though he dislocates the dictionary in speaking of that villain who, he prophesies, would be condemned to everlasting redemption, yet uses grammar which, for his day, was above

reproach, when he exclaimed: "O that I had been writ down an ass!"

So we must acknowledge that no violence was done to the language, however our sense of propriety may be shocked, when a century or so ago a Londoner remarked to his friend, who came up to the metropolis to see the play of "Orpheus and Eurydice": "You came up to town, I suppose to see Orpheus and *you rid I see*," alluding to the mud with which he was copiously bespattered. It would be difficult to find a more felicitous example of paronomasia in the literature of that period.

Shakspere, who could not resist the temptation to play on words, furnishes us additional proof of his versatility and ingenuity in his apt recognition of the obsolescent pronunciation of many words of his time, which he turned to good account. Hence so many of his witticisms. In "Henry IV.," for instance, *Falstaff* says: "If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion," thus playing upon the old pronunciation of raisins with which we are all familiar. Thus he plays upon the antiquated pronunciation of Rome as room, when, in "Julius Cæsar," *Cassius* says of *Cæsar's* vaulting ambition which o'erleaped itself:

> "Now is it Rome, indeed, and Roome enough,
> When there is in it but one only man."

One of the conundrums of that period, which, by the way, can only have belonged to that period, illustrates the antiquated pronunciation of chair as cheer, still current among the illiterate. "Why is a stout man always happy?" The answer was, "Because he is a cheerful (chair full)."

I venture to give one more illustration, which throws light upon the vulgar pronunciation of neither as "naythe r." Some persons' literary conscience will not let them rest till they settle the question whether they shall say "ither" or "ether" for either. The Anglo-maniacs settle this matter very summarily by adopting the former pronunciation. Some prig of Dr. Johnson's day, who evidently had a tender conscience on the subject, came to the old bear one day and asked him, "Dr. Johnson, do you say ether or ither?" "Naythe r, sir!" was the characteristically brusque reply of the great Cham, a pronunciation still current among the Irish, and occasionally heard among the negroes. This story may not be true—the words are those of an "Angle," not an "Angel"—but it at all events might have been true, and certainly is interesting as throwing light upon a philological subject which, until the recent researches of Ellis into the pronunciation of early English, was enveloped in almost Cimmerian darkness.

EDWIN W. BOWEN.

OBJECTIONS TO A CHILDREN'S CURFEW.

I READ with great interest Mrs. Townsend's article on the "Curfew for City Children," in the December number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW; but may I be permitted to say that it is quite possible to have the welfare of children very much at heart, and yet to oppose strongly this proposed ordinance?

All that Mrs. Townsend says about the prevalence of child crime is perfectly true. During the seven years that I have worked among boys on the lower east side of New York, I have found that the habits of gambling, lying, and stealing were almost universal; but the late hours kept by the

children on the street is neither the only nor the chief cause of this state of things. Therefore I cannot believe that if the curfew were in force it would lessen the crime among children. It would be, too, almost impossible to enforce it without at once breeding more of the crime it is supposed to prevent.

As the curfew, presumably, is not intended for the benefit of the children of well-to-do and educated parents (who certainly would not be dictated to in the matter of bringing up their own families), we can confine our discussion to those of the poor, ignorant, or vicious, who are, unfortunately, in the majority. These children can be divided into five classes:

1st. Those whose parents are vicious and whose homes are unendurable.

2d. Those whose parents are vicious but whose homes are comfortable according to slum standards.

3d. Those whose parents are good but whose homes are squalid.

4th. Those whose parents are virtuous, and whose homes are comfortable.

5th. The waifs and strays, not in asylums, who have temporary homes, or shelter only, and no (visible) parents.

Mrs. Townsend speaks in her article of the curfew ringing at sundown. That would be between five and six in winter, and seven and eight in summer. That seems very unreasonably early, but if I am not mistaken the bill which was to have been presented at Albany last year called for the ringing of the bell at eight o'clock in winter and nine in summer. This certainly would seem more reasonable.

Let us take the children of the first and second class and see how this ordinance would affect them. In the coldest winter nights, of course, there would be little need to ring a bell to keep them off the streets. Thin clothing and sharp winds would drive them to seek shelter somewhere.

There can be little question but that the shorter the time children of the first class are in their homes the better. The picture that almost anyone can recall to his mind, of the home life of such people—of the two or three stuffy, dirty rooms; the swarms of screaming children; the glare of the gas and the smell of swill; dirty babies and cooking; the excessive heat or cold as the season makes it; the cross mother administering cuffs and curses, and the sodden father drunk, or at least setting a continual example of degradation—is all infinitely worse than the worst scenes of street life. If curfew were to force any children to spend their evenings in such homes as these—and this is not a fancy picture—then curfew would be anything but a reforming element in society.

The conditions for children of the second class would be almost as bad as for those of the first. Comfortable and healthy rooms could not counterbalance the influence of bad parents. In this case also, then, the street with all its evils would be less harmful than the home.

For the third class the physical conditions would be the same as for the first. Would a dirty tenement, with the bad air that is in the best of them, and the cramped quarters, be any better for the growing body, after a day, the greater part of which is spent in school, or in a shop, than the comparative freshness and space of the streets? I am certainly not alone in claiming that a healthily developed body is necessary for healthy morals and minds. The good influence of virtuous, but probably ignorant and overworked, parents would scarcely be strong enough to overcome the bad tendencies of an unhealthy and stunted physical condition.

The fourth class, it seems to me, would be the only one for which the curfew might operate successfully in some cases. But I have found that these children (most of them) are very willing to stay at home in the evenings. Their parents are usually ambitious for them, and keep them at school longer than poorer people can afford to do, and consequently there are a few hours in the afternoon for fresh air and exercise. In the evenings lessons must be learned, and sometimes there are even games for the children to play. For the few that will not voluntarily stay in such homes as these, would it not be better to redouble our efforts in teaching the parents how to understand their offspring, and how to make their homes happy and attractive to them rather than to force them to stay where they are discontented?

If the curfew were in order, where would the children of the fifth class go after nightfall? There are lodgings put up by philanthropic people for some of them. If these lodgings were all made attractive in the evenings (some of them are) the boys would stay in them willingly enough when they could do so. But most children of this class have to earn their own livings. The boys usually sell papers or black boots. Both of these occupations are carried on very largely at night. If we allow a condition of society to remain which permits children to bear the burdens and responsibilities that men and women find it hard enough to bear, we certainly should not make their lot any harder by lessening their freedom to earn money in any honest way.

During the hot nights of summer—and the New York summer lasts four months—not one of these five classes should be forced to keep indoors. During the long suffocating nights of July and August, and even June and September sometimes, if any one walks through the poorer streets of our city, he will see every stoop covered with the grown-up inhabitants of the tenements. Chairs even are scattered along the sidewalks, whose owners sit in them hoping to catch the first breath of the breeze that never comes. Would the advocates of curfew have the children shut up into their rooms such nights as these? Or in the noisome hallways where, by the way, the chances for mischief are just as great as in the street? Perhaps they think it would be enough if the children were made to sit quietly on the stoops with their parents. That might be a little difficult to manage, however; for even the heat does not check the energy of youth.

Of course it is horrible to think that the streets, bad as they are, are the *best* thing that many of our children have. But so is it horrible that thousands and thousands of people, young and old, must spend their summers in a city, and in slums at that; that honest parents by working ten or twelve hours a day can only provide a home that it is best for their children to be in as little as possible; that parents with the finest natures and the most earnest wishes through ignorance drive their children into the very lives they would die to save them from. The late hours on the streets do not constitute the only wrong our civilization allows to exist.

In the beginning I spoke of the difficulties that would stand in the way of enforcing this ordinance, supposing it to be desirable. If children are not happy in their homes no amount of laws will keep them there. The curfew would simply be one more law to exercise their ingenuity in breaking. Presumably exceptions would be made in enforcing this ordinance in the cases of children sent on errands by their parents, or who were on their way to the clubs and classes which happily are (in the Tenth Ward of New

York City at least) increasing rapidly in number every year. If curfew were in force then, every boy on the street who hadn't just been sent to get medicine for his sick father would be on his way to some highly improving society, and those who could tell the lie with the straighest faces, and could best simulate an expression of real piety or sympathy for the sick parent would be allowed to go on their way unmolested. It would simply put a premium on lying, and the police force would have to be doubled at least. And supposing some children were found night after night on the streets, and the club or sick parent stories were proven to be nothing but lies, where would they be sent? Do the advocates of curfew realize that the mere fact of being arrested makes a boy lose caste among the better class of his associates? Everyone knows the power of suggestion. Arrest a boy and call him a lawbreaker, and he is just one step nearer to becoming one in fact. And yet there is nothing intrinsically wrong in playing on the streets. Nature places the child there for want of better conditions in which to exercise his imagination and his muscles; and then we make a law which, in obeying nature, he must break. That done, we propose sending him to some institution where his associates will be youthful thieves and gamblers; even if sent to the "Truant Home," it would be away from the very parents and home the ordinance was erected to keep him with.

The trouble lies deeper than this.

Until the day comes when every one by honest work can have at least a decent home, and little children do not have to help support themselves and their families, let us go among these people and organize more clubs and classes which the children—boys and girls alike—love. Let us go on summer evenings, those of us who must remain in town, and organize street gangs, and be ourselves the leaders of them. Show them that there are many things more amusing at least than making raids on Dago stands, punching each other's heads, or even playing the fascinating game of "craps." All healthy children prefer to be honest and good. But in the conditions in which they now live, they must be shown the way.

WINIFRED BUCK.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXV.

APRIL, 1897.

HOW INDIA FIGHTS THE FAMINE.

BY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA, G. C. S. I., ETC., FORMERLY GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

THERE is, alas! no longer room to doubt that India is in the clutches of the severest and most extensive famine which has devastated the Peninsula of Hindustan during the present century. At this moment there are more than three millions of people on the relief works, and, as time goes on, their numbers may be considerably increased. The Government of India is struggling manfully with the disaster, and has declared itself responsible for the preservation of the lives of its subjects. As, however, it is only those whose attention has been especially directed to the subject that can have an adequate conception of the stupendous task which Lord Elgin and his colleagues have undertaken, it will be best to begin this paper by indicating its nature and extent.

India may be described as an equilateral triangle, with a superficies of 1,600,000 square miles, having the Himalayas for its base. About half way between its northern and southern extremeties, the northern watershed of the Narbada on the west, and that of the Mahanadi on the east, separate the regions known as the Deccan, the Carnatic and Golconda, from the riverine systems of Upper India. The Deccan is a high plateau, with

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its surface a little tilted towards the east, of which the steep Western Ghats are the bastions on one side, while the Eastern Ghats, at a lower elevation, and with a less abrupt descent, form its further seaboard. All the rivers of the Deccan, though most of them rise in the Western Ghats and within a short distance of the Arabian Sea, flow eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. The parts of India northward of the Narbada are for the most part occupied by the Gangetic plains and the valleys of the Indus and its four tributaries. The area referred to comprises an empire equal in size, if Russia be excluded, to the entire continent of Europe. Its inhabitants now amount to about 300 millions of souls, that is to a fifth part of the human race, and to double the population of the Roman Empire during its most flourishing epoch. These multitudes are subdivided into a large number of distinct States and Nationalities, professing various religions, separated from each other by discordant social usages, and speaking different languages. Of the latter, excluding mere dialects, there are more than a hundred, eighteen being each of them the mother tongue of upwards of a million persons. Amongst these numerous communities may be observed, in active operation, examples of all the various stages of development through which mankind has passed from the prehistoric ages to the present day.

At one end of the scale we have the naked savage hillman, with his stone weapons, his head-hunting, his polyandrous habits, and his childish superstitions; at the other, the Europeanized native gentleman, with his refinement and polish, his literary culture, his Western philosophy, and his advanced political ideas, while between the two extremes, and dovetailed into close juxtaposition, are to be found primitive pastoral communities, with their flocks of goats and moving tents; hordes of undisciplined warriors, with their blood-feuds, their clan organization, and loose tribal government; feudal chiefs and barons, with their picturesque retainers in coat armor, their seigniorial jurisdiction, and their mediæval modes of life; and modernized country gentlemen and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with their extensive trading operations, their well-managed estates, their prosperous cotton mills and tea gardens. The mere enumeration of these

diversified elements must suggest to the most unimaginative mind a picture of as complicated a social and political organization as has ever tasked human ingenuity to govern and administer.

Let us now glance at the executive and legislative machinery through which these latter functions are discharged. At the top of the pyramid stands the Viceroy, who is immediately and individually responsible to Great Britain for everything that is done in India. He is assisted by an Executive Council of six persons; but, though profiting by their co-operation, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred acting in general harmony with their opinions, he cannot, if anything goes wrong, shelter himself behind their authority, for he is entrusted with the right of overruling their decisions. Each member of the Council, for the sake of administrative convenience, is specially connected with one or other of the following departments: Finance and Commerce, Home Affairs, Revenue and Agriculture, Military Administration, Legislation, and Public Works, the Viceroy himself taking direct charge of the Foreign Office. These persons thus occupy something akin to the position of Secretaries of State in European Governments, with, however, a very important constitutional difference, upon which it is not now necessary to enlarge. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists of the Executive Council above described, plus sixteen additional members, of whom seven are native gentlemen of high rank and eminence. Beneath the Governor-General stand the Governors of Madras and Bombay (each of them presiding over an *imperium in imperio*), three Lieutenant-Governors, and a certain number of Chief Commissioners, all of whom within their respective spheres exercise a considerable amount of independent authority. The administrative unit throughout British India is the "District," at the head of which is an executive officer called either the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, who is responsible to the Governor of the Province. The instrumentality through which all these high executive officers conduct their administration is what is popularly known as the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, which is recruited through the medium of a very severe competitive examination held in England. The number of Europeans in the Covenanted Civil Service at the present moment amounts to about 1,000, and of European executive officers in

the Uncovenanted Service to about 300.* Consequently the entire apparatus which enforces, sustains and exemplifies British domination in India (the native states being excluded) is composed of 1,300 persons, representing one European to every 177,000 natives. That such a task should be adequately and successfully performed by the handful of English officials thus scattered and lost amid the multitudes that have been so strangely agglomerated into a unified empire under an alien sceptre, is one of the miracles of modern times. Nor can any one contemplate the situation thus created without an oppressive sense of the gravity of the problems, both political and social, to which it must inevitably give rise. To only one of these need I now refer, but that one is so full of danger in the future, and is so closely connected with the causes which tend to aggravate the consequences of famine, that it requires a passing notice—I allude to the rapidity with which the accruing agricultural population of Hindustan keeps treading on the heels of, or rather overtaking, the concurrent means of subsistence. A hot controversy is perpetually raging as to whether India is to be regarded as a well-to-do or as a miserably impoverished country. Those who support the first contention are able to point out that † "whereas, for the twenty-two years ending in 1857, the average absorption of the precious metals by India was Rsx. 3¼ millions a year, during the last thirty years she has absorbed Rsx. 342 millions of gold and silver—*i. e.*, an average of Rsx. 11½ millions a year; that 153 millions of persons travelled in 1895 for profit or pleasure on the railways; that the railways carried 32 millions of tons of goods; that India exported surplus produce to the extent of Rsx. 110 millions; and that with a surplus of income she bought Rsx. 70 millions of foreign articles, amongst which were 257 million yards of Manchester piece-goods:" while the opposite school maintain a theory difficult to reconcile with the foregoing figures, viz., that the mass of the population are over-taxed, over-rented, under-fed, and that they stand, even in prosperous times, upon the brink of starvation. My own opinion is that

* There are, of course many more Europeans in the service of the Government than those above enumerated, such as clerks in the various public offices, a certain number of European police, persons in the employment of the Post and Telegraph Departments, railway servants, custom-house officers, etc., but even the total number of these is only about 6,700.

†See Sir Henry Cunningham's admirable observations on this point in the paper on "Indian Famines," read by him before the East India Association, December 10, 1896.

India must be regarded as a poor, but not an impoverished, country. No country where agriculture is not largely supplemented by manufacturing industries and commercial enterprise, or by ample stores of mineral wealth, can ever accumulate great riches, and 80 per cent. of the population of India is dependent upon agriculture and its auxiliary occupations. On the other hand, as the result of careful and minute enquiries into the condition of the people, conducted over a series of years, it seems pretty certain that "the average Indian land-holder, trader, ryot, and handicraftsman is better off than he was thirty years ago, — consumes more sugar, more salt, more tobacco; enjoys a better house and more imported luxuries; and has replaced his coarse pottery by brass utensils, and is both better clad and better fed than his grandfather."* But, admitting this to be the case, there undoubtedly remains a fringe of necessitous persons whose condition approaches terribly close to the pessimistic ideal; and though this unfortunate category may be aptly enough described as a mere "fringe" in its numerical relation to the great bulk of the population, its numbers must unfortunately be counted by tens of millions; and when the critics of our administration can point to such multitudes thus living upon the borderland which separates what is at best a precarious competence from absolute destitution, even though it may be argued that a corresponding percentage of the disinherited is to be found in Europe, they certainly possess a plausible, if not a very sound, basis for their rhetoric.

Nor is the reason of this condition of affairs far to seek. The agricultural population of India is very unequally distributed over the regions susceptible of cultivation. From various causes, born of their traditional beliefs, their social instincts, their family and tribal affinities, the tendency of the rural classes is to agglomerate, and not to disperse; and the heaping up of these masses upon minute and inadequate areas is stimulated by the prodigious rate at which the population multiplies. No prudential considerations seem to restrain their procreative impulses, and the Census returns indicate that every ten years 28 millions of souls are added to their existing num-

*India Office Memorandum.

bers.* The overcrowding has consequently become inconceivable, reaching, in many places, the proportion of nearly a thousand persons to the square mile, whereas in France, even including the urban population, there are only 187 to the square mile; and in England, also including the large towns, a little over 500†. The tenancies are proportionately minute. In Bengal there are 9 millions of tenants whose rent is less than 20 rupees a year, and there are 6 millions whose rent is under 5 rupees‡. In Bengal and Upper India together there are 14 millions with holdings of between three and six acres; and in Madras and in many other parts of the country a similar state of things prevails. But, outside the millions of tenants depending for their subsistence upon these minute patches of soil, and the millions of laborers less closely connected with the land, there are other millions of nondescript folk, such as petty artisans, especially potters and weavers, gipsies, professional beggars, predatory bands, waiters upon Providence, and innumerable waifs and strays, who succeed in procuring a scanty sustenance in ordinary times in a manner known only to themselves.

From the foregoing it will be apparent under what critical conditions the lower strata of the Indian population maintain their existence, and how readily the slightest sinister accident might turn the scale in the wrong direction, and involve them and those belonging to them in unspeakable ruin.

In all agricultural countries the prosperity of the farmer is dependent upon the weather. In Great Britain, as we all know, the weather is the constant source of his legitimate displeasure. But, however important to us may be the behaviour of the seasons, our anxieties on the subject are as nothing in comparison with those of the Indian cultivator. With us, it is a question of a good, an indifferent, or a bad crop; with him it is one of a fair crop or no crop at all. Unless the blasting heat of the sun is

*The increase of the population of Great Britain is 8.17 per cent. in the decade, as compared with over 10 per cent. in India; but, for the purposes of the present comparison, the British urban population would have to be excluded, in which case the discrepancy between the rates of increase in India and in Great Britain would be still more striking. What renders the increase of the agricultural population in India so portentous is the fact of there being such scanty opportunities for the accruing multitudes being absorbed in wealth-producing industrial pursuits.

†The ratio of inhabitants to the square mile over the whole of British India is only 229, and even in Bengal it is only 471; but the large areas of waste, forest and mountain in India would invalidate any comparison between the two countries in relation to this point. The evil indicated extends over tracts which, though exceptional in their density as compared with other parts of India, are of enormous extent.

‡The nominal value of the rupee is two shillings, but its exchange value has fluctuated, and is now only a little over one shilling and three pence.

assuaged and interrupted by the regular intervention of the rainy season in summer and autumn, and by a lesser downfall during winter, his fields become as barren and profitless as the deserts of the Sahara. Providence has apparently decreed that India should be one of the most fruitful regions on the face of the earth; and in this intent, through the action of meteorological forces whose nature is involved in some obscurity, at the beginning of summer vast stores of moisture are accumulated in the empty spaces of the Southern Ocean, and in due time are borne towards India on the wings of the South West Monsoon, in order that they may be poured out in refreshing abundance during the months of June, July, August, and September from one end to the other of the parched Peninsula. Unfortunately, in this as in every other beneficent operation of nature, there is to be observed an occasional miscarriage of her normal design; for although as a general rule she mercifully provides "both the former and the latter rain," its periodical descent has been subject from all ages to capricious interruptions, fraught with disaster and death to millions. The course of the Monsoon is twofold. As soon as it reaches the neighborhood of Cape Comorin, it and its watery treasures divide into two streams—the one impinging with indescribable violence upon the Western Ghats, and gradually travelling northwards with an ever-diminishing impetus, until it finally expends itself upon the southern slopes of the Himalayas. The other stream, passing to the eastward of Cape Comorin, sparsely fertilizes in its passage the outskirts of the Madras Presidency,* reserving its full force for the rice fields of the lower Ganges, Assam, and Burma. Similarly, and with equal opportuneness, the North East Monsoon, later in the year, brings with it the moderate rainfall necessary for the crops that are coming to maturity at that season.

Broadly speaking, the food crops of India are divided into the Kharif, or autumn, and the Rabi, or spring, crops. The agricultural year may be said to commence with the arrival of the North West Monsoon. The month or two preceding this event is a period of almost absolute rest for the land. The rain or Kharif crops are sown in the summer and harvested in the autumn; and the winter or Rabi crops are sown in the end of the autumn and

* During the autumn a recurvature of the current takes place which brings the desired rainfall to Madras.

harvested in the spring. The food crops sown in the rains are mainly millets and pulses on the high lands, and rice in the low lands. The most important of the millets are known as *jowar* and *bajra*. They take from three to four months to ripen, and it is upon them that the mass of the poor population depend for food and for fodder for their cattle. The Rabi or winter crops in Northern India are mostly wheat, barley, and pulses; but in the south these cereals are little grown, and their place is taken by the larger millets and rice. In Bengal rice is the principal crop. In the northwest provinces and Oudh the Kharif and Rabi crops are about equally distributed. In the Punjab, where very little rice is grown, the Rabi crops exceed the Kharif crops; and in the central provinces the Kharif and Rabi crops about balance each other.

But the agricultural welfare of India depends quite as much upon the suitable amount of the rainfall as upon its punctuality. If the South West Monsoon is late in setting in or premature in its cessation, or if there is a break in its duration, not only are the growing crops damaged but the winter crops also suffer for want of a thoroughly moistened seed bed. Rice, for instance, being a delicate plant, perishes if its roots are too deeply submerged or if they are left dry for even a few days.

The first famine of which we have any certain notice occurred in 1770, when it was supposed to have destroyed one-third of the inhabitants of Bengal, or about ten millions of people. Since then there have been twenty-one similar visitations of varying severity, of which a very fatal one was that in Orissa, in 1867, for which the authorities were quite unprepared, inasmuch as Orissa had never been known till then to suffer from such a calamity, and was unfortunately destitute of roads and railways. The worst famine of the present century was that of 1876–78, when the rains failed over an area of 36,000 miles, affecting the status of thirty-six millions of people, of whom five millions perished from want and its attendant diseases.

The experience, then, of the last one hundred years points to the conclusion that the Government of India must be prepared for a drought of some sort twice in every nine years, for a famine once in every eleven or twelve years, and for a great famine twice in a century.

In former days, whether under the *régime* of the Hindus or

of the Moghuls, these recurrent calamities descended upon the land and destroyed their appointed victims, without its entering into the heads of the rulers that the decrees of Providence could or should be thwarted by human intervention. Those feelings of compassion and charity which are inherent in the human breast may have done something toward saving a few individual lives; but the Mohammedans were fatalists, and the Hindus have always been inclined to submit with patience and passive courage to the punishments ordained by their gods. Nor at first, and for some time after English administrations were in possession of considerable portions of the country, did it appear possible either that much could be done to save the people from starvation, or that they were bound to make an attempt in such a direction. Indeed, their hold upon their territories was too slight, and their administrative organization too inchoate, to fit them for undertaking what they may be pardoned for regarding as almost an impossible task. In 1792, however, during the famine which overtook Madras, Hyderabad, and parts of Bombay, the Government at last recognized its responsibility in the matter, and relief works were opened in Madras. As time went on, and subsequent famines occurred, the Government's view of its duty underwent a further development, and it came to be acknowledged that the state was bound to offer employment to all who applied for work, the relief of the helpless being still left to the unofficial efforts of the charitable public. During the famine of 1860–61 the Indian Administration took an additional step for the mitigation of distress by providing near the villages light employments for those who were not sufficiently strong to labor on the relief works. The distribution, gratuitously, of cooked food was also instituted, but on condition that the recipients (in order that they might be properly inspected and cared for) were willing to take up their residence within certain specified and enclosed areas, which eventually assumed the character of enormous poorhouses.

But it must be admitted that the efforts of the authorities to combat these successive convulsions of nature, which within the space of a few months deprived thirty, forty, fifty millions of human beings of their means of subsistence, were only partially successful. At last the terrible tragedy of the Orissa famine, which swept away two-thirds of the population, and the scarcely less

fatal experiences of 1876–78, compelled the Government to take a more extensive view of its obligations, no matter what amount of public expenditure might be necessary for their fulfilment.

With a view of systematizing and giving practical effect to the lessons taught by the bitter experiences of former years, a Commission was appointed by the Government of Lord Lytton, with instructions to examine into the history of past famines, and the methods by which state relief could best be given. The presidency of this Commission was confided to General Strachey, an officer peculiarly fitted by his experience and great ability to turn its labors to the best account. It was under the auspices of himself and his colleagues that what is called the "Famine Code" was drawn up, which, revised in the light of subsequent criticism and experience, is now the authorized programme of famine relief administration.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to describe in minute detail the provisions of this instrument. It will be sufficient to explain that, even in normal times, a complete chain of communication is kept in working order in each District between the petty rural authorities and the head of the Provincial Administration. It starts from the village headman, and passes in regular gradation to the District officers, whose duty it is to submit to the local Government weekly telegraphic reports descriptive of the season and the crops, the rainfall, the progress of agricultural operations, and the probable out-turn of the harvest. Notification is also given of any serious damage done by insects, blight, hailstorms, floods, or other natural calamities. The condition of the agricultural stock and the supply of water and fodder for the cattle is also specified, as well as what is very important, any marked fluctuations in prices. A second copy of these reports is also forwarded to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, who prepares a provincial monthly summary for publication in the *Gazette*. The latter officer is further charged with the duty of assuring himself by a periodical inspection that the machinery for the supply of the above information is in efficient and active working order.

When, under the operation of the foregoing system, there is reason to apprehend a deficiency in the rainfall, and, for this or any other reason, a shortness in the crops, the currents of communication between the village headman and the Lieutenant-

Governor of the Province are stimulated into still greater activity; and the Commissioner, on the strength of the information supplied to him by his subordinates, at once reports to the local Government his reasons for believing that the signs of a possible famine are apparent, accompanied by an estimate of the area and of the population likely to be affected, a forecast of the extra expenditure to be incurred, and any demands he may think necessary for strengthening the ordinary staff of the District. He is further empowered, on the first indications of distress, out of the sums of money placed at his disposal under the Agriculturists' Loan Act, to institute one or more "test road gangs," preparatory to the establishment of regular relief works, should such eventually become necessary. As soon as it is manifest that there is no hope of escaping the impending calamity, the District Boards are erected into the primary agency for coping with the crisis, with the assistance of the Chief Engineer and his subordinates. It is the duty of these persons to determine the nature of the public works that are to be opened, to regulate the conditions under which they are to be conducted, and to furnish a weekly return showing the physical condition of laborers seeking relief, the sufficiency or insufficiency of the scale of wages, the extent of the available food supply, and what staple grain has been selected for the purpose of calculuting the maximum and minimum wage.

Pari passu with the initiation of these preliminaries, arrangements are made for the subdivision of each District into "Relief Circles" under the charge of a "Circle Officer." In addition to keeping his superiors informed of the condition of the population, etc., the "Circle Officer" is required to aid in the management of any state kitchen or poor-house established within his Circle, to visit each of his villages at least once a week, to report the occurrence of any unusual sickness in the village, to ascertain that relief has been effectually distributed in the manner laid down, and to acquaint the people with the site of the relief works and with the wages offered. Measures are also taken for the gratuitous sustenance of certain classes of persons who have no relatives able or bound to support them, such as idiots and lunatics, cripples and blind persons, those who from age or physical weakness are incapable of earning their living, and all persons whose attendance on the sick or on infant children in their own

houses is absolutely necessary. Special regard is also had to the condition of "*purdah nishin*" women—*i. e.*, women who have been accustomed to live all their lives in the sacred seclusion of the Zenana or Harem, and who would sooner die of starvation than sacrifice their instinctive notions of modesty. The relief thus granted may either be given in money or in grain.

The general nature of "relief works" is so well understood that I need not describe them, but it may be as well to note that the persons employed on them are divided into the following classes :

A. Able-bodied persons accustomed to labor of the same kind as that required on the relief works, *i. e.*, professional laborers.

B. Able-bodied persons accustomed to labor, but not to the kind of labor now required.

C. Able-bodied persons not accustomed to labor, *i. e.*, able-bodied, but not laborers.

D. Persons not able-bodied, but fit for light employment.

To the foregoing classes the system of payment by results is applied, *i. e.*, the task for relief workers exacted from Class A is equal to the amount of work usually performed by able-bodied laborers ; the task for relief workers under Class B will be from 10 to 15 per cent. below the task fixed for Class A; and for those under Class C, abont 25 per cent. lower still. The task to be demanded from persons in Class D will be determined by the local authorities according to circumstances, but should be of a nature to give weakly persons a reasonable amount of healthy employment. Gratuitous allowances, either in money or grain, are also provided for the children and infirm dependents of the men employed on the relief works.

Wherever relief works are going on, camps are formed in the neighborhood, and residence in camp is compulsory for all relief workers whose homes are not within a reasonable distance; and arrangements are made wherever necessary for the establishment of a contiguous market, the Circle Officer being required to see that the shopkeepers who form it are provided with suitable and healthy accommodation, that the weights and measures used are fair, and that the current prices are written up and daily notified. Where the numbers of relief workers are considerable, hospitals are also established in the vicinity, under proper medical superintendence.

Another equally important institution still further supplements the foregoing establishments, viz., the poor-house. Within its precincts cooked food is distributed gratuitiously, on condition that the residents conform to the rules necessary for the maintenance of discipline and order. The people for whom this provision is intended are mainly those who have cut themselves adrift from their own homes and who are unfitted for employment on relief works. Thousands of these emigrants are from the Native States, and they are mostly to be found wandering on roads or by-paths: a special system of patrol is therefore organized to bring them in and to prevent them from dying in out-of-the-way corners. Care is taken that the poor-house shall be located in a healthy locality, and within reach of a good water supply: and precautions are observed for the proper division of the sexes, for a due supply of fresh air and for ventilation, and that there should be as little overcrowding as possible. It is further ordered, if the severity of the famine should render such a course necessary, that an official with a supply of cooked food should be present at all hours of the day. The cooks and those who handle the food of the inmates are selected from such castes as would be comformable to the prejudices of the inmates. To every poor-house a hospital is also attached.

Thus we see that in every part of India, sentinels and vedettes are perpetually on the *qui vive,* even during normal periods, whose special duty it is to watch the times and seasons, and to deliver the note of alarm the moment there is the slightest indication of a threatened deficiency in the usual rainfall. Should the prospect become more serious, the danger signal is hoisted, and, as on board a man-of-war, the ship's company are beat to quarters. Everybody from the petty village official up to the Commissioner, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Viceroy, knows, or ought to know, his place and his duty. First, test works are started; then relief works and relief camps, supplemented by poor-houses for the helpless and infirm. At the same time a house-to-house visitation is instituted in every village, while special patrols go forth into the highways and byways to gather into the net of public charity the unfortunates who, through weakness, imbecility, or ignorance, have failed to find their way into the asylums and refuges provided for them. Nor can there be any doubt that these precautions are to a great

extent answering their purpose, and are daily saving millions of persons who, without them, would long ere this have perished miserably. There may have been confusion, breakdowns and miscarriages here and there; for, as the Duke of Wellington said, the best general is he who makes the fewest mistakes, and, when a ship is on her beam ends, the nice routine of daily life is necessarily deranged. Moreover, the success of all instructions depends not so much upon the foresight and ability with which they have been elaborated as upon the zeal, the intelligence, and the energy of those entrusted with their application; but, given the high qualities of the Indian Civil Service, it may be safely predicted that the occasions will be rare when these essentials will be found wanting.

There still remains to be considered what must be regarded as the main problem in dealing with all famines, and that is the conveyance of the necessary amount of supplies to the districts where they are required. Hitherto it has been the impossibility of bringing food within reach of the starving multitudes that has caused so much destruction to human life during previous famines; for it is evident that animal transport can only convey the necessary provisions a very short distance from the centres of supply, inasmuch as the beasts of burden, after a certain amount of travel, will themselves have consumed their entire load. The great stand-by under such circumstances is railway communication; for without it the most strenuous efforts of human energy and human ingenuity will prove of no avail when, as is now the case, the desolated area comprises a belt extending a thousand miles in one direction and five hundred in the other. Thanks to the prescience of the Indian Government and to the sagacious recommendations of General Strachey's Commission, during the last twenty years a number of what are called "Famine Railways" have been completed. These railways are known in India as "Famine Railways" because they have been purposely laid down, not where there was a prospect of opening the country to remunerative traffic, or where a paying dividend could be expected, but through those districts where previous experience and meteorological observations have indicated that the rainfall is most frequently scanty and capricious. Already 5,000 miles of these special lines are in full working order, and more are in course of construction. As a consequence there are now no con-

siderable districts in India liable to the visitations of famine where communications by rail have not been fairly provided.

The fund which has contributed in no small degree to providing this particular form of safeguard against famine is technically known as the "Famine Insurance Fund." As there has been a great deal of misapprehension in regard to the nature of this fund, a few words of explanation in regard to its origin and the intention for which it was allocated may not be out of place.

Many people are under the impression that the Famine Insurance Fund is derived from some special and unfailing source of income, and was committed to the custody of the Indian Government in the shape of a peculiar revenue over which they had no control except in their capacity as Trustees. Sir John Strachey's Famine Fund was nothing of the sort. It was simply a sum of Rsx. 1½ millions of taxation, levied in addition to the current yearly revenue, in view of its being applied to the following purposes, viz., the relief of any existing famine; the construction of irrigation works; the execution of Preventive or Famine Railways; and the paying off of debt, the latter operation having for its object the placing of the Indian Government in a favorable position for borrowing whenever a recurring famine year should compel the Finance Minister to raise a loan in order to meet the extraordinary expenditure which it must entail. As a matter of fact, two-thirds of the yearly accruing revenue which has come to be ear-marked under the technical designation of the "Indian Famine Fund," has been applied in accordance with Sir John Strachey's original intention, that is to say, in the discharge of debt and the construction of the Famine Railways already mentioned, and of Irrigation works, upon whose beneficial functions I need not enlarge. The only interruption which has occurred in this process was occasioned by the deficits and the general disturbance introduced into the finances of India by the depreciation of the rupee, which has fallen within the last twelve years from 1s. 7d. to 1s. 3d. Under these circumstances, the million and a half surplus income which had hitherto supplied the means of carrying into effect the famine insurance programme was inevitably absorbed for a certain period by the normal expenditure of the year. But, concurrently with the rehabilitation of the Indian revenue under the able auspices of Sir James Westland, the coveted surplus has again appeared

above the horizon, and will continue to be applied to the purpose designated by its authors. Sir Henry Fowler, in the debate in the House of Commons on the 26th of January, 1897, explained this matter in most lucid language, and in doing so he read the following communication from Sir John Strachey :

"This policy of insurance against famine was simple in its nature, but it has been constantly misunderstood. It has been often supposed that a separate fund was constituted, into which certain revenues were to be paid, and which could only be drawn upon for a specified purpose. No such impracticable notion was ever entertained, and every idea of the kind was from the first repudiated by the Government and by myself, who was responsible for the original scheme. The 'Famine Insurance Fund,' of which people have often talked, never existed. The intention was nothing more than the annual application of surplus revenue to the extent of Rx. 1,500,000 to the purposes I have described. Financial pressure has sometimes made it impossible to make the full annual grant under the Famine Insurance Scheme, but substantially the system has been successfully maintained."

The Government of India having thus provided an extensive Railway System, by means of which grain and food stuffs can be carried both from the chief Indian seaports and from the interior centres of production to the famine-stricken districts, have laid down as a principle that their supply and distribution should be left to private enterprise and to those commercial forces which regulate such transactions in normal times. It is this policy which has caused a certain amount of controversy, and an able writer* has contended that the Executive should "import, when famine threatens, an adequate amount of foodstuffs into such tracts as are more than thirty miles from a railway or port ; and that the moment prices have risen to thrice their ordinary rate in prosperous times, Government itself should proceed to sell its stores of grain at the rate which has been thus reached. Selling at a fixed rate, Government would prevent the possibility of food selling in the same market at the higher rate, while the moment prices dropped below this fixed rate, it would retire from interference and leave the field as open to private trade as if it had never entered upon the scene."

As to the merits of the foregoing suggestion I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion. Fortunately, during the period I passed in India, as well as during the terms both of my predecessor and my successor, we were spared the awful visitation of a

* Mr. T. M. Kirkwood.

famine. Only those who are on the spot, and are in daily and hourly communication with the officers controlling the relief operations, can form an adequate notion as to whether these additional and supplementary precautions would prove necessary and beneficial, or are calculated to interrupt and dislocate the processes of private enterprise. I may observe, however, that the Famine Code expressly states that the Government will not only exercise the power it possesses of controlling the rates for the conveyance of grain by railway, but that, in the last resort, it will itself undertake the function of importing grain into those localities where, through some unforeseen circumstance, the food supplies are not present in the market, or are being withheld by regraters. This intervention, however, is only to continue until the ordinary course of trade is restored, the object being to assist and stimulate, and not to supplant, the business of the ordinary trader. Up to the present moment the policy of non-interference with the markets appears to have been successful, and I have nowhere seen it stated that any mortality has occurred through the absence of imported foodstuffs. But, when all is said and done, it would be vain to expect that our suffering fellow-subjects, whose staff of life has been thus suddenly swept out of their hands, will escape scathless from the impending ordeal. Many of us can still remember the Irish famine of 1846–47, and all its attendant horrors. But, in the case of Ireland, the population affected amounted to only four or five million souls instead of as many tens of millions. The scene of the disaster was restricted to a couple of hundred square miles, and was traversed by a large number of excellent roads, amply supplied with transport, not to mention the existence of a certain extent of railroad. The most afflicted districts were within reach of excellent seaports, and the exertions of one of the richest and most powerful governments in the world were at once applied to the mitigation of the calamity. And yet, with all these advantages at our disposal, there ensued a lamentable amount of mortality. Should Lord Elgin succeed, as there seems every hope he will succeed, in preserving from destruction any large proportion of the starving and destitute millions now being visited by famine, it will be one of the most praiseworthy achievements of this or of any age.

Finally, there arises the question as to whether, in view of the

inevitable recurrence of similar visitations, any further remedies can be suggested. For my own part, I do not see that any very striking improvements can be introduced into the machinery already in operation. Of course, on this, as on previous occasions, our officers will have gained experience, and another time the wheels will probably work with a smoother motion; defects in the organization will be made good; and the traditional policy to be pursued will be more minutely elaborated. As time goes on, more railways will be built; the ramifications of our canals will be extended; tanks and wells will be multiplied and kept in better order; but it must never be forgotten that the real danger which is threatening us in India is over-population. Formerly, desolating wars, pestilences, slave-dealing, and infanticide swept vast regions almost clear of their inhabitants; but under British rule wars have ceased, and its benign sway has greatly reduced the mortality occasioned by the latter scourges. Consequently the normal, or rather the abnormal, tendency of the population to increase now proceeds unchecked, and intensifies the dangers accompanying the visitations of famine. We can then only look for further alleviation of the miseries inherent in such periods of trial to a general improvement in the material well-being of the people and in the staying power of their resources; above all to the growing force of the prudential considerations affecting marriage, as well as to a wider distribution of the population of the congested districts. In view of this latter mischief some years ago I directed a Commission to ascertain what facilities existed for the migration of a certain proportion of the inhabitants from those parts of India where the soil was obviously inadequate to support the dense population accumulated upon it to less occupied though fertile areas; and, as a result, it became evident that there were millions of acres in many parts of the Peninsula, as well as in Burma, upon which settlers, did they only possess the necessary endurance and initiative, could be located to their own advantage, and with the certainty of amplifying the general resources of the country. But the same sentiments and instincts which for so many years pent the Celtic race within the narrow borders of their native island deter the Hindu husbandman from separating himself from his ancestral fields, his relations, friends, and gossips. In time, however, some such change as has taken place in Ireland will

undoubtedly occur in India; and, when once the current has begun to flow, the principle of capillary attraction will act as a powerful solvent upon these inert and sedentary agglomerations. But even these precautions, or any others that can be suggested, would only render the crisis more manageable, for neither human ingenuity nor human science can bridle the winds of heaven or bend the seasons to their will, and the ultimate dependence of the Government must be found in the intelligent and conscientious application of the minute and business-like Regulations set forth in the Famine Code of General Strachey's Commission.

So much for the future. But for practical purposes it is the present with which we are now concerned, and I cannot conclude without appealing to those who may read these lines on behalf of the suffering multitudes who, at this very moment, are in the throes of as dire a calamity as ever visited the human race. Three millions of the population are being kept alive by the means I have described; but all that the Indian Government can do is to provide its famishing clients with just sufficient nourishment to keep body and soul together. To do more would unduly increase the general burden of taxation, and bear too seriously upon the rest of the country. Consequently the share still left to be performed by public charity is almost illimitable; for, even when the beneficent operations of the seasons shall be re-constituted, those who survive will be as helpless and destitute as shipwrecked mariners cast bleeding and naked upon a rock-bound coast. It breaks one's heart to think of what the women and children are suffering, and are destined to suffer. On the other hand, it is surprising what an amount of individual good the smallest dole will effect. In an eloquent address recently delivered by Sir William Hunter at Oxford, he said, in reference to the Lord Mayor of London's Indian Famine Fund: "Every shilling that you give will keep a poor widow or an orphan for a week; every sovereign may save some bereaved family from being broken up; every hundred pounds will enable a whole village which has lost its cattle and seed-grain to make a fresh start."

If, then, so little will do so much, most earnestly do I trust that some of my readers will not turn a deaf ear to India's cry for help.

DUFFERIN AND AVA.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN?

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

As nearly as can be ascertained, there are about one hundred thousand children in the United States that are public charges. About one-fourth of these are classed as juvenile delinquents or as defectives, including the blind, deaf and dumb, and feeble minded. The remaining seventy-five thousand are dependent not through any intrinsic defect, but through orphanage or desertion, or because their parents are incapable of caring for them, or have been adjudged unfit to do so. The community has, therefore, assumed guardianship over them, and cares for them in various institutions provided for the purpose. The cost of their maintenance in these institutions is, in round numbers, about ten millions of dollars a year.

These institutions differ widely in character. The most primitive form is the county almshouse. It is also the simplest and most convenient form. Naturally, therefore, it was the method adopted in the beginning almost everywhere. And it is still the official method followed exclusively in many of our States, and to a less extent in all but a few of the remainder. About five thousand of the dependent children are thus disposed of, with celerity and ease, and the least possible immediate inconvenience to the local authorities.

If the intention and desire were to make sure that these dependent children should grow up to be paupers, vagabonds, and criminals, then this throwing them in with the human wreckage of the almshouse would be an ideal method of disposal. But if it be desired to make useful citizens instead of vagabonds, then the almshouse, considered as a home for dependent children, is simply an abomination. As to this, there is the most entire

unanimity of opinion among those who have given the subject attention. It is astonishing, therefore, to observe with what complacency our average legislators have viewed the matter. While so zealously mutiplying laws for the punishment of the criminal, they seem blind to the fact that in allowing children to grow up in almshouses they are conniving at the development of the thing they are striving later on to repress.

There are some noteworthy exceptions to this, as will appear presently; but in the main the effort that has rescued a large proportion of dependent children from the almshouses of our country has been an unofficial effort, made not by those whose business it is to protect society, but by benevolent individuals prompted to act solely through philanthropic motives. The sufferings of childhood appeal to everyone, and if the legislators were slow to act when the needs of the children were known, perhaps it was in some measure because private benevolence had acted so promptly as largely to forestall their efforts. Private orphanages, under various names, have sprung up everywhere, and these at present afford shelter to a large majority of all the dependent children under consideration—probably not fewer than sixty thousand in the aggregate.

As a rule, these institutions are supported by private endowments and voluntary contributions, but in two States, New York and California, such institutions receive money toward their maintenance from the public treasury. This very doubtful experiment of giving public support to institutions under private control was inaugurated in New York about twenty years ago. The bill authorizing this was aimed primarily at the removal of children from almshouses. It was urged that the easiest and most effectual way to accomplish this was to pay a per capita allowance to existing private institutions, or such as might be subsequently established, for each dependent child maintained by them. In effect, the State transferred its responsibility as guardian of these dependent children to private corporations, the latter accepting this responsibility for a monetary consideration. Having paid this money, the State practically washed its hands of the whole matter. It reserved no right to determine what children should be considered dependent, or how long the charges it paid for should be retained in the institutions. Each institution was allowed to be its own judge as to these matters,

and to draw on the public treasury for the maintenance of such children as it saw fit to receive and retain.

Whether the results have justified this doubtful experiment is a question the answer to which depends very largely on the point of view. The most patent result has been the development of the largest and most elaborately organized system of children's institutions that has ever existed. About 35,000 dependent children are cared for in the institutions of New York to-day, at an aggregate cost of something like four millions of dollars annually. New York City alone has twenty-five such institutions, caring for 16,000 children, one in 117 of its entire population, or one in thirty-five of its child population. That this inordinate growth of the institution system has been largely due to the method of State aid to private corporations is proven, among other ways, by the fact that the only other State whose child-institution system approaches that of New York, in size, is California, the only one having similar laws governing the matter. New York and California, between them account for almost 60 per cent. of the dependent children that are cared for in institutions other than almshouses in the entire country. New York alone supplies half the number.

It is certainly rather startling to learn that one child in every thirty-five in New York City is being reared at public expense in an institution, and comparison with other large cities suggests that this ratio is disproportionate. Philadelphia has but one such child to 2,000 of the general population; Boston, one to 856; even London, with all that we hear of the poverty and wretchedness of its "submerged tenth," has but one to 206 people, as against New York's one to 117. Such figures, however, are not conclusive as to the merits of the New York system, until one has inquired what the institution training really does for the child, and, on the other hand, what could be done for him by some other method. This question is worthy of very careful consideration, because it bears upon the utility of a large number of institutions in States other than New York and California; of practically the entire number, indeed, in which the 70,000 children under consideration are being trained.

To casual observation a well-regulated institution supplies the child with a neat, orderly home, and gives it a certain amount of schooling, and perhaps the elements of a useful trade. But

closer scrutiny shows that the institution also does something very different for the child. It makes him a part of a great machine whose working is never duplicated in the outside world. He is gradually moulded to fit his niche in this great machine until at last all spontaneity, independence, and individuality are well nigh pressed out of him. In a word, the institution training tends to make its recipient an automaton rather than a flesh and blood mortal. He can recite his school lesson and do his task in the work-shop well enough, but as for having any real dependence in himself or any true grasp of his proper position in the world, he has none.

The radical defect of this whole institution system is that it ignores the fact that the most important knowledge gained by the mind of any child in the world is gained by imbibition rather than by direct schooling. The brain of the child is very much larger proportionately than that of the adult, and its cells seem all to have the import of interrogation points. Constantly the child is imitating those about it, observing every detail of all that transpires, asking multitudinous questions—in a word, imbibing knowledge. At five or six years its mind is a marvelous store-house of facts. Meantime its emotional nature has been largely developed, and it has come to have distinct cognizance of matters ethical; and all this without the slightest definite effort at education being attempted or thought of by the parent.

All through childhood to adolescence this education by imbibition continues as the most important schooling to which the young mind is subjected. It is inevitable, therefore, that a child whose surroundings are abnormal imbibes ideas that are abnormal, and so it is not to be hoped that a child reared even in the very best institution will become a normal and properly educated person, however thoroughly it may be versed in mere school tasks. How piteously abnormal the institution child does become in point of fact only those who have observed it can adequately realize. You may see little tots of three or four, with the cherubic faces of infancy, sitting in rows on benches like so many dolls, seemingly devoid of sensation. Now and again one falls asleep and tumbles over on to the floor. But it does not set up a shriek like a normal child. Instead, it gravely picks itself up and crawls back to its seat. An electric doll would show as much emotion.

Seemingly, the poor little automaton has come to regard such hard knocks as a part of its regular portion. I have known even much older children to suffer pain from an acute pneumonia for days without so much as making known their condition. The spontaneity that characterizes the normal child's expression of its varying moods has been banished from the mind of the institution waif. Even its receptivity, the most deep-seated of its inherent qualities, has been all but dulled to uselessness.

All this applies to the best regulated of large institutions. Indeed, it might almost be said that the better "regulated" the institution becomes the more widely it differs from a normal environment, and hence the more harmful are its effects upon the minds of its charges. Yet without such systemization the institution could not be conducted at all, which is another way of saying that the defects of the institution system are inherent and ineradicable. By no possibility can a large institution be made to supply the atmosphere in which the mind of a child can be healthfully reared.

This conclusion has been forced upon those who have experimented with the institution method of caring for dependent children the world over. One observer has gone so far as to assert that institution children "grow up into half-idiotic men and women." A superintendent of poor in a great city assures me that he can tell an institution-reared man at sight by his manner and expression. The brand of his abnormal training is on him for all time.

Is it any wonder, then, that the average institution-reared child, turned out at last into a normal environment, finds himself greatly handicapped in the struggle for existence, and stands vastly more than average chances of falling into permanent pauperism or criminality? Yet about 70,000 children in the United States are being reared in this abnormal way, and the taxpayers and benevolent individuals are together paying over $10,000,000 a year to help on the work. How much it costs them later on to complete the task in the police courts, almshouses, workhouses and prisons, it would be impossible to correctly estimate.

In the light of these facts, the conclusion seems unavoidable that any system that disposes of dependent children by rearing them in large institutions is a radically faulty system. At best

such an institution is only a modified and improved almshouse, retaining the inherent defects of the almshouse. The method is utterly indefensible, provided it can be shown that some alternative method of greater promise is feasible.

Fortunately this question is not at all in doubt. The experience of child-savers in many lands and under all manner of diverse conditions proves that there is one best method of child disposal that, modified in details, is everywhere applicable. This method is the essentially rational one of finding a home for the dependent child in a normal, ordinary family. That this can be done has been demonstrated not only in such countries as Ireland, Scotland, England, Austria, Germany, and Australia, but in the only ones of our own States that are able to point with any justifiable pride to the results of their efforts to grapple with the problem of child dependence.

Merely to find a home for the dependent child in a family, however, is by no means the completion of the work. It is necessary that a system of official inspection should supplement the placing-out system to insure the best results. Without such inspection the system of placing out is open to many objections; but, with proper inspection, it is incomparably the best practicable solution of the problem of child-saving.

But how shall this rational disposal of child dependents be accomplished? Different practical answers have been given to this question in different communities. In most of the older countries of Europe, and in the very new civilization of Australia, it has been thought that the duty of caring for the children devolves properly upon the government. In Australia in particular a very elaborate system is in operation, by which the government, directly represented by its officials, finds homes for all dependent children, and officially inspects its charges in these homes, to the end that they shall receive proper treatment in all respects, including compulsory attendance in the public schools. An especially noteworthy feature of the system is that the government pays the board of its charges in the families to which they are consigned, continuing to do so while the child is of school age. The rate paid is $1.20 per week for healthy children, a larger sum for defectives.

In our country perhaps no single State has grappled with the problem as comprehensively as has been done in Australia, but a

half dozen States have made noteworthy efforts in that direction. Foremost among these is Michigan, which has the distinction of having assumed intelligent charge of its child dependents 25 years ago—long before any sister State gave the matter equally intelligent attention. What has come to be known as the Michigan system of child saving is not unlike the Australian system, which it antedates in point of time. The State assumes full control of dependent children, placing them first in a temporary home called a State school, but presently finding permanent homes for them in families. The final disposal is made so expeditiously that at no time are more than two or three hundred children detained in the single institution that is provided.

The Michigan system has been adopted by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, and Kansas, and with some modifications by Massachusetts. It has proven extremely satisfactory, judged by its results. Since its adoption in Michigan, the population of the State has increased more than sixty per cent., yet child dependence has decreased more than fifty per cent. There is now but one dependent child to ten thousand of the general population in Michigan ; whereas in 1874, when the present law became effective, there was one to about two thousand. The total yearly cost of caring for all the dependent children of the State only equals the sum that New York City pays for its similar charges each week.

Minnesota, under the Michigan system, cares for 130 children, at a total annual cost of $22,000. California, with a population almost the same as Minnesota, cares for 4,000 children, at an annual cost of $250,000. More striking illustrations than these of the relative merits of direct State care on the one hand, as against State aid to private institutions on the other, could hardly be desired.

A modification of the State system, in which the county assumes official charge of dependent children, but makes provision for them in institutions other than almshouses, has been adopted by Connecticut and Ohio. This method no doubt has certain advantages, but it is cumbersome, and to an unprejudiced observer its results have not as yet been such as will compare favorably with those of the unmodified State care system. Under its operation, Connecticut has one dependent child to 800 of the population, as against Rhode Island's one to 3,000; while Ohio

compares even more unfavorably with the adjoining State of Michigan.

Pennsylvania also adopts a county system, but in this case a splendidly organized private benevolent corporation, the Childrens' Aid Society, has practically assumed charge of the work of child-saving, taking upon itself the work of finding homes for the children, and if necessary paying their board. Usually board is paid only during a transition period. A system of efficient and vigilant inspection completes the work.

This Pennsylvania system is perhaps the most radical that is in operation anywhere, inasmuch as it places its charges in private families from the very first, dispensing altogether with the machinery of institutions. The especially noteworthy feature of the system, however, is the payment of board for the maintenance of children that cannot otherwise be advantageously placed.

Massachusetts has adopted this feature of the Pennsylvania system, in connection with its State schools, and it seems almost certain that other States will be obliged to do likewise before they can hope to make proper provision for a certain residual number of crippled and unhealthy children. As a rule, these most unfortunate dependents have fared badly at the hands of the legislators, even in those States that have taken the longest strides in child-saving work. When laws have been enacted making it illegal to detain children in almshouses, an exception has usually been made of sick and unsound children. Even in New York this was done, though one might have thought such a provision unnecessary there. One might naturally have assumed that the great institutions, putting themselves forward as charities, would have regarded it as a greater measure of benevolence to care for a crippled child, for example, than for a sound one.

But strangely enough such did not prove to be the case. The great public-private institutions refuse admittance to unhealthy or crippled children. These must remain in almshouses or be otherwise provided for. So the city of New York, after paying $1,600,000 a year to private institutions to have its dependent childern cared for, is obliged to maintain a public institution of its own for the care of several hundred peculiarly unfortunate children to whom the private institutions refuse shelter. In some cases the defect that debars a child is merely a crippled hand or foot, or a like infirmity.

No doubt, to the managers of these institutions, their attitude in this matter seems consistent with the spirit of broad charity that is supposed to be the foundation of their work. Personally I cannot reconcile the two. Be that as it may, however, the fact remains that not only in New York, but in almost every other State where child-saving efforts have been officially systematized, a certain class of defective children has been discriminated against. Quite generally provision has been made for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the feeble-minded. But there is a class of defectives falling under none of these headings, who, being ill or crippled, are usually left to the tender mercies of the almshouse when a law is passed excluding "healthy children from that unwholesome environment." It hardly needs saying that no child-saving movement that overlooks these defectives can claim finality.

Another defect of even our most enlightened child-saving laws has been the naming of too advanced an age as the time for compulsory removal of the child from an almshouse. Wisconsin, for example, names six years as the limit. Massachusetts draws the line ordinarily at four years, but allows children accompanied by their mothers to remain in almshouses till the age of eight. Even the lower limit is much too high, as anyone will agree who understands how early in life the child begins to imbibe ideas that help to determine its future career. If infants are to be received in almshouses at all, the maximum age limit of their retention there should certainly be two years, as at present provided by New York and Connecticut.

Reviewing this entire question of the disposal of dependent children analytically, it appears to me that there are four essential stages of its development in modern times, which may be outlined as follows :

1. A stage in which the State accepted dependent children as its legitimate charges, and contented itself with consigning them to almshouses. This method has now no defenders, yet it is still the official method of a majority of our States.

2. A stage in which private benevolence, recognizing the evils of the almshouse method, takes the matter in hand, and performs for the helpless children more or less efficiently, as a labor of love, the work which should be a duty of the State. In some cases, as in that of the Children's Aid Society of New York,

splendid service is thus performed; yet a method that permits a State to neglect its duties or transfer its responsibilities to a private corporation must be admitted to be fundamentally defective. Abundant work would remain for private benevolence if the State were to take into its own hands the work that properly belongs to it.

3. A stage in which the State awakens to its responsibilities sufficiently to join hands with the private corporations, to the extent of giving them financial aid or official recognition and support. According to the exact kind of support offered, very different results may accrue from this public-private combination, as witness the experience of New York on the one hand and Pennsylvania on the other. But the method is fundamentally defective, whatever its results in individual cases. If it be the duty of the State to care for its dependent children, then its duty is only half done under a public-private system of child saving. Yet such States as New York, Pennsylvania, and California are still resting at this half-way station.

4. A final stage in which the State arouses to its full responsibilities, and makes official and sufficient provision for its dependent children, shirking no part of its duty. Who but an anarchist doubts that the full and final care of dependent children is a proper function of the State? Yet less than half a dozen of the States of our country have seemed to recognize their responsibilities in this matter. When will the remainder fall into line?

Presupposing, then, that the disposal of dependent children is a duty that devolves properly upon the State, it would appear, in the light of what experience has taught as to the best methods of such disposal, that no State can claim to have done its full duty by this class of its charges until it has fulfilled efficiently the following conditions:

1. The assumption of official charge of all dependent children of whatever class.

2. The removal of all such children over two years of age from almshouses.

3. The provision of separate institutions for each of the following classes: (a.) feeble-minded, (b.) epileptic, (c.) deaf and dumb, (d.) blind, (e.) juvenile delinquents.

4. The provision of temporary homes in institutions or in

private families for all other dependent children, and of permanent homes for them exclusively in private families, as expeditiously as may be practicable, and where necessary the payment of board for their maintenance during adolescence.

5. The provision of a proper corps of official inspectors to vigilantly guard the interests of the children during their entire period of dependence.

Speaking of the present rather than of the future, it appears tolerably plain that as much as this is the simple duty of every State. Yet no single one of our States can claim to have fully met these conditions, though a few, as we have seen, are gratifyingly near it. Which one of them all, I wonder, will be the first to take the final steps toward doing its full official duty by the most helpless class of its dependents?

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

THE "NEW" IN THE OLD.

BY ANDREW LANG.

"MANY things are not so new as we fancy," said a lady lately; "I have been reading in a sermon that the Hermits suffered dreadfully from low spirits." The lady might have found plenty of historical low spirits, as in Lucretius's description of *ennui*. But things more professionally "new" are old enough.

As Mr. Higgins, of St. Mary Axe, says in his preface to *The Last of the Triangles* (1798), "what you" (the Tories) "call the *new principles* are, in fact, nothing less than *new*. They are the principles of nature." Thus the absence of any matrimonial tie, so dear to the new man and woman, is only that old state of promiscuity, with which Mr. McLennan thought that mankind began, though Darwin and Westermarck disagree. The absence of private (or any other) property is not a new ideal. Give a Fuegian a blanket. His group tear it into shreds and distribute it.

Let us not, however, go back so far, but begin our researches just a century ago. In the *Antijacobin* we find—see *The Rovers*, or *The Double Arrangement*—a satire on Ibsenism before Ibsen was born. The object of the author of *The Rovers* is Dr. Ibsen's; it is to inculcate "a wild desire of indefinable latitude and extravagance . . . a contemptuous disgust at all that *is*, and a persuasion that nothing is as it ought to be." Says Mr. Higgins, "I hold every government as an evil in itself," to be abated by force, if practicable, if not, "by didactic poems." We now prefer didactic novels, and didactic "problem" plays, *The Woman Who Did*, etc., but the noble principle is the same.

The new is the old! Every man or woman cannot be a tyrannicide, but every man can be a footpad, every married

woman can break the seventh commandment; every girl can, if she has the force of character, dispense her caresses as the modest violet distributes her perfume. Mr. Grant Allen might have written these beautiful lines on the Arcadian manners of Tahiti:

> "Learn hence, each Nymph, whose free, aspiring mind,
> Europe's cold law and colder customs bind,
> O! learn what Nature's genial laws decree—
> What Otaheite is, let Britain be!"

Our newest teacher could not denounce more feelingly than Mr. Higgins the condition of affairs in which we see

> "*One* man, with one unceasing wife,
> Play the long rubber of connubial life."

In *The Rovers,* the stage directions, so valuable for their conscientious minuteness, might have come from the pen of Ibsen himself. Observe, too, that careful blending of the ordinary—snobs would say the vulgar—with the lofty expression of the highest emotion. Matilda is "in love with Rogero, and mother of the children of Casimere." What a tragedy is in these simple words! To be sure, Matilda is not married to Casimere; that outrage is avoided by the delicacy of the poet. In our new work Matilda would be the wife of Casimere as well as the mother of his offspring, while, of course, "in love with Rogero." Cecilia is Casimere's wife. The ladies meet, and swear eternal friendship, at an inn.

"Landlady enters and places a leg of mutton on the table, with sour *kraut* and prune sauce; then a small dish of black puddings."

Such is Life!

Casimere arrives, hears that Matilda is present.

Cas. Ecstacy! Ecstacy!

[*Embracing the waiter.*

Landlady. You seem to be acquainted with the lady. Shall I call her?

Cas. Instantly—instantly—tell her her lover—her long lost—tell her—

Land. Shall I tell her dinner is ready?

Cas. Do so; and in the meanwhile I will look after my portmanteaus.

"An arrangement is finally made by which the ladies are to live jointly with Casimere," as in Gœthe's *Stella.* Nothing can be more "New."

When our New Woman is not proposing to herself and her readers a reversion to the ancient system of polyandry (on which

consult McLennan, Westermarck, Morgan, and Bachofen), she is apt to disdain and shrink from the atrocious and oppressive male sex. She is not so New but that Mrs. Mary Astell was before her, in 1709. Mrs. Mary "proposed a sort of female college, in which ladies nauseating the parade of the world might find a happy retirement." Queen Anne meant to endow this establishment, but Bishop Burnet persuaded her that it savored of Popery. Sir Walter Scott (who had nothing New about him) speaks of Mrs. Mary as a *Précieuse*, who is anxious to confound the boundaries which nature has fixed for the employments and studies of the two sexes. Swift laughed at Mrs. Mary in the *Tatler* (No. XXXII.). But the New woman who spurns the degrading coarseness of matrimony has closer patterns in Molière's Cathos and Madelon (*Les Précieuses Ridicules*, 1659 ' h ese ladies express themselves with such virtuous freedom that I could not quote them unless I were a New lady novelist, writing in a new *Key-Hole Series*. The student is, therefore, blushingly referred to the original drama by the unprincipled Poquelin. For Molière, too, had nothing New about him ; he laughed at these original delicacies of sentiment.

The New young lady in society is remarked for the generous breadth of her language and the large frolic of her wit. But, alas ! even this is not so very new. In the correspondence of Lady Suffolk (1714-1760), we find the maids of honor, led by the oldest and most prudish, Miss Meadows, larking about on a winter night, outside Kensington Palace, knocking on the panes and throwing open the windows of the inmates. Nothing can be more in the modern taste. I read, in a periodical devoted to the intellectual needs of woman, *The Lady's Realm*, that the most popular and most justly popular lady in England excels in the confection of "Apple-Pie Beds." I don't believe it, of course, but this news is of the kind that women love.

For a modern freedom of speech in the fair, see the ancient model, in the letters of beautiful, jolly Mary Bellenden (1720). What a breadth of phrase: alas, that the editor can only represent it by intelligible asterisks! Then, on the Newest morals, consult the epistles of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

"To speak plainly, I am very sorry for the forlorn state of matrimony, which is as much ridiculed by our young ladies as it used to be by young fellows."

Here her Ladyship gives examples, which, writing in quite an old periodical, I may not venture to cite.

"You may imagine we married women look very silly; we have nothing to excuse ourselves, but that it was done a great while ago, and we were very young when we did it."

Our married women, among the emancipated students of the new fiction, are obliged, like Lady Mary, to urge these frivolous palliations of their fault; of the ludicrous and impure situation in which they find themselves. When Miss Howe, about 1723, giggled ostentatiously in church, the Duchess of St. Albans told her that "it was the very worst thing that she could do."

"Oh, dear madam, no; I can do many things worse than *that*," replied Miss Howe, in all the pride of Novelty. So she went and did them, and then, with deplorable inconsistency, died of a broken heart. Let a New writer give us an historical novel on poor Miss Howe, a kind of pioneer or protomartyr of New women. One reads her letters, skittish letters, and one sees modern new young ladies frisking as gaily, down a path as flowery, surrounded by applause. Then, suddenly, shoulders are shrugged, and everybody says, "Poor Miss Howe!" No reflection is intended on the Maids of Honor, to which body Miss Howe belonged. Then there were Miss Biddy Noel and Miss Dolly Walpole (sister of the Minister), all as new and bright as a new shilling, but all victims to the Nemesis of Novelty.

The constitution of things appears to be against it. It leads, as A. K. H. B.'s Scotch minister said, "to the rop, the rahzor, or the ruvver," or at least to twinkling out, like a candle at a feast, into an unfragrant social darkness.

As to religious disbelief, and the Newness of that admired opinion, read Dean Swift's "argument to prove that the abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconvenience, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby" (1708). Swift admits that "a design to oppose the current of the people, besides the folly of it, is a manifest breach of the fundamental law which makes this majority of opinion the voice of God."

Swift was old-fashioned; we now speak of opposing the voice of science. Thus Professor James, of Harvard, in audaciously putting forth certain ideas which (if inconsiderately accepted) might lead us to the belief in a God, and even in the soul, re-

marks that he is very sensible of his danger. Many of his readers will appeal, in a shocked manner, to science, and cry, "Away with this antediluvian babble!" Mr. James, in fact, occupies much the same position as Swift holds in his celebrated argument. "I hope," says the Dean, "no reader imagines me so weak as to stand up in defence of real Christianity; . . . to offer at the restoring of that would be, indeed, a wild project." The ideas which Swift ventures to oppose were, he tells us, of a moderate novelty in his own time. He has heard it affirmed for certain, by very old people, that, even in their memories, a proposal to abolish Christianity would have appeared singular, and even absurd. The Gospel, however, is now repudiated "among the mass or body of the common people, who are grown as much ashamed of it as their betters." And all this, as we may say, was arrived at "by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning," still less of science, to which Professor James assumes such a deplorable attitude of distrust, not hesitating even to speak freely about Mr. Herbert Spencer! I conceive, then, that the newest of us, however well seen in the doctrine of molecules, should remember that it is not enough to be New, but that we should also be modest. Let "the ordinary cocksure evolutionist" (as Professor James put it) reflect that, with all his laboratories and biblical criticism, he has climbed no higher, and can deny religion no more absolutely and contemptuously than the mass of the common people did, under Queen Anne, and that without any aid from microscopes, X-rays, black boards, or popular lectures. This I consider a very salutary reflection.

My censurers, if they deign to reply to me, will urge that because the New Ideas are not really new it does not follow that they may not be true. Here they have me with them. Age has nothing to do with the matter. I would be the last to venture myself against "the current of the people"; or, as we now say, the *Zeitgeist*, by maintaining that blasphemy, adultery, rapine, and sedition are not things excellent in themselves, and highly characteristic of aspiring freedom. I am not so blind to the lessons of history. My private tastes incline, to be sure, in an opposite direction; like Swift, "I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity or the perverseness of human nature." This, however, is a mere "personal bias," the result, I think, of a confined education. When my more advanced friends tell me

how much they suffer at the sight of married people, at the nonsense which they would hear if they ever went to church, at the ridiculous constraints placed on the personal liberty of even the very prettiest and most liberal-minded young ladies, at the odious "taboo" which obliges us to wear clothes in Piccadilly (and that in the warmest weather), at the obsolete survival which prevents them from walking into Mr. Giuliano's shop and helping themselves to his enamels, I sympathize with them deeply. Their free impulses (as sacred to a Christian as my own) are cruelly thwarted. The most agreeable lady whom they know may be Another's, which is manifestly absurd. She ought, of course, to be theirs till one of them wants to be somebody else's. This is an intelligible posture of opinion; nor would I offend the popular current by calling it "immoral," or by using other hard words. But when I repeat that these ideas, however obvious and soaring, are *not* New, my first object is to subdue spiritual pride. My friends go about thanking the Nature of Things that they are not as other men, or even as that Squire, that attached married couple, or that Philistine. They are New! To this I answer (and I prove it from history) that they are *not* New, and therefore have the less cause for a kind of Pharisaical exultation.

Permit me to choose a minor instance. How often do you hear a gentleman or lady remark, with a manifest complacency, "Oh, *I* have no time for reading anything but the newspapers." This sounds highly modern, and gives a fine idea of the many and useful occupations of the speaker. But it is not New! Fielding, in *The True Patriot* (November 5, 1745), says that he means to accommodate himself to the times, and is informed "by my bookseller, a man of great sagacity in his business, *that nobody at present reads anything but the newspapers:*" to be sure Prince Charles was marching on London, and *that* news (*Oh, mon Prince!*) deserved perusal. However, Fielding adds (and the remark is not uncommon) that in his bookseller's opinion the newspapers are recommended by "their eminent badness." The same reason is at present given for the happy success of Mr. A's and Miss B's novels.

I have shown that the New is the old fashioned, and I have also proved that polyandry, free love, sedition, scepticism, and "bear-fighting" by the Maids of Honor, are not new, but of a

hoary antiquity. Thus, even the youngest among us may abate his conceit of his own originality. The practices of adultery, blasphemy, petty larceny, and simple bad manners will, believe me, be infinitely more alluring, more apt to entice proselytes, if pursued without an air of arrogance, without a displayed contempt of others, whose course of conduct may be different.

We owe a certain respect to prejudices which may be the result of heredity and of education. When I see an aged Duke feebly lamenting that his daughter, Lady Gwendoline, has eloped with a popular lecturer whom (to his great embarrassment) she firmly declines to marry, my smile of scorn for the mourner is tempered by the voice of tolerance. The Duke is a dotard of another generation. A regard for what he (absurdly enough) calls "the honor of his house," is congenital with him, as a taste for liquor may be with a person whose great aunt was a confirmed dipsomaniac. Science herself (unless I misread her) justifies a sentiment of toleration to those old-fashioned prejudices.

These antiquarian musings tend to discourage pride in the novelty of our modern attainments. These, as I demonstrate, are not New. "Do the Atridæ alone of men love their wives?" asked Achilles, in an old-fashioned poem, *The Iliad.* Are the disciples of the new ideas the first who have loved the wives of other people? Certainly not. All these new virtues have not only been tried, but have actually been practised as institutions, though for some mysterious reason (which a superstitious age might have attributed to the direct machinations of the devil) these practices and institutions did not prosper. They perished in the struggle for existence. This does seem to carry a presumption that these haggard old New Ideas may not be precisely adapted for use in the world "as God made it," or if you please, as it has been evolved. This is singular and disappointing; however, by all means let us give the New Ideas a fair chance. Our old moralists declaim against them. Swift and Molière and Canning treated them with raillery. It is curious to see how this manner has gone out, and to watch the owl-like gravity of our modern criticism.

ANDREW LANG.

WHAT WILL BRING PROSPERITY?

BY CHARLES STEWART SMITH AND FRANCIS B. THURBER.

I.

THE commercial and industrial returns of the United States for the past four years show a very low average of prosperity, and during 1896 the gains from business pursuits have well nigh touched the zero point. Contrary to the general expectation, these conditions have not changed for the better since the presidential election in November last, and the volume of general business is so reduced that employment for capital is difficult and unremunerative. This state of things is reflected in the money market of New York City, where the ruling interest rates for money at this date are 1½ to 2 per cent. on call and 3 to 3½ on four to six months' loans.

In marked contrast to the condition of business in our country, the boards of trade and government reports prove that the past year in Great Britain has been one of unusual prosperity. For several months past and for the first time to any considerable extent in the history of our transactions with the great financial centres in Europe, the banks of this city have loaned millions of dollars to European bankers upon bills of exchange as collateral, drawn abroad and accepted and made payable here by the agents of foreign bankers. This new development in our exchanges is temporary and is due to our small importations and low rates for money consequent upon trade depression at home and better business conditions abroad.* "Bad times" in the

* This movement began immediately after the presidential election and was due to the fact that the European rate of discount ruled from three to five per cent., while the rates here on first-rate collaterals at the same period were about two per cent. The maximum amount loaned to the foreigners was estimated at $75,000,000, and certainly exceeds $60,000,000. The total sum now outstanding is about $20,000,000 in consequence of the reduced discount rates abroad. The European bankers who were generally lenders of money to this country became borrowers here, and found considerable profit in these transactions.

United States have usually been the sequence of panics, over-trading, speculations, bad crops, and like causes. As a rule the attack has been acute and the recovery rapid, but the long-continued depression still prevailing has assumed chronic symptoms. While I am aware that little that is new can be said upon this subject, yet a candid and rational inquiry into the causes of our present unusual position may suggest appropriate remedies.

A general answer to the "why" suggested in the foregoing would be that want of confidence, uncertainty, and distrust of the future have paralyzed business energy and caused timidity as to all new enterprises; men have said and acted upon the theory that "until times improve, we don't expect to make money; we are only trying to pay expenses and save previous accumulations." A more careful and detailed consideration of existing conditions would reveal the fact that we commenced the easy and downward path when Congress, backed by an unwise sentiment largely prevalent in the South, inaugurated the policy of aiding the owners of silver mines by buying their product and storing it in the Government vaults.*

For more than a third of a century we had found a permanent market abroad for a majority of our railroad bonds and other securities. Foreign investors have watched with anxiety for years past the growing silver craze, which culminated in the adoption of Bryanism by the Democratic party. And, as an inevitable result, the usual foreign demand for American securities ceased long since as an investment; previous holdings were returned, and the drain of gold from this country threatened serious disaster. American securities have, since the silver agitation, been bought and sold in Europe on speculation only.

Whatever may have been the criticisms and political animosities regarding the administration of ex-President Cleveland, yet the calm verdict of history will do justice to the heroic defence by the President and Secretary Carlisle of the nation's honor and credit, and to their determined opposition to the debasement of our money.

* March 1, 1897. Amount silver in Treasury:

Dollars	391 millions
Smaller coins	15 "
Silver bullion	109 "
Amount in circulation:	
Dollars	55 "
Smaller coins	64 "

The experience of the Treasury Department proves that it is impossible to force over 60 millions of standard silver dollars into circulation.

Although sound-money ideas prevailed in the late election, yet the result was not absolutely decisive as to the future, because of the large adverse vote, and because the party now holding the reins of power are aiding the silver agitation by encouraging the idle dream of international bimetallism, for it is certain that neither England nor Germany will ever adopt this heresy. That there is danger still ahead is apparent in the renewed organization and activity of sound-money clubs, and the declarations and note of alarm sounded by the very important Sound Money Convention recently held in Indianapolis. If the foregoing statements are true, then the inference must be accepted, that *a single gold standard as a measure of values firmly established beyond peradventure is the first requisite to business revival.*

We must stop continual tariff agitation and let merchants and manufacturers have peace and time to adjust their operations to existing conditions without constraint, change, or fear of change. It is true that the people of the United States prefer that the revenues of the Government should be derived from indirect taxation, *i. e.*, through the Custom House. It is equally certain that we must have revenue enough to pay expenses without borrowing. An increase of the existing tariff which will afford this relief will give us all the protection which we need or should ask for in the mutual interest of both producer and consumer. The tariff question should be settled as quickly as possible, and the determination of the President to call an extra session of Congress is wise. Financial legislation, however, should not be neglected during the extra session. If Congress should pass an act providing that the word "coin" used in reference to all Government obligations, whether principal or interest, should be interpreted to mean "gold," it would go far to help the situation both at home and abroad. The Secretary of the Treasury should be required to cancel gradually (say extending over a period of three years) all greenbacks when received in his department, but as this might cause confusion in bank reserves, some legislation and amendment of the Banking Act would be necessary. That this whole question of the currency should be referred to a committee of experts is a most wise suggestion by the President.

The President has in his late message referred to the subject of "Trusts." He could hardly avoid it. It is in the air. This subject is far reaching. It demands and will have a candid con-

sideration of the respective claims of capital and labor and the interest of the consumer.

Dr. Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, England, well said:

"Economics may tell that either rent, or interest, or wages may rise or fall; but it belongs to ethics to say which of these has the prior right to consideration in the adjustment of the upward or downward scale. Questions between classes are never merely class questions, and what depresses the standard of living in any one class lowers the level and worth of life throughout the community as a whole. Legislation should seek to deal justly with both classes—with the demand of the men for a living wage, and for the masters for guarded property and fair profits."

Herbert Spencer says with equal force:

"For however great the degree of evolution reached by an industrial society, it cannot abolish the distinction between the superior and the inferior. Whatever arrangements for carrying on industry may in time to come be established, must leave outstanding the difference between those whose character and ability raise them to higher positions and those who remain in the lower. Evidently the aspect of any law differs according as it is looked at from above or below; the two aspects require to be coördinated."

It may not be irrelevant to ask what are trusts or corporations, and what are their relations to the general welfare of the community? I repeat what I have said in another connection: I believe in 'evolution'; and corporations or trusts with large aggregations of capital are evolved as a natural sequence from the small beginnings of trade and commerce 100 years ago as the necessary machinery to handle with efficiency and economy the enormous transactions of the world to-day, It is the condition of large progress. This country and all commercial and industrial countries would be one-half a century behind their present position without this evolution of capital. The same cause has produced trade unions and with the same beneficial results to the wage-earners. Both trade unions and corporations are healthy signs of the times. All these associations are limited partnerships upon a large scale to accomplish Nineteenth Century work. No one man can own 50 or 100 ocean-going steamers or build a railroad 3,000 miles long, and the wage-earners cannot successfully compete with organized capital, without a like organization on their part.

There is, no doubt, in the public mind a hostility to corporations. While these institutions have not been without fault, no attempt should be made to widen the breach between capital and

labor, or to illustrate and enforce the Bryan doctrine of hostility to capital upon the part of wage-earners. The Lexow Trust Committee have, unfortunately, taken up and carried forward this part of Bryan's work, where it fell from his hands. Twenty-five years hence this constant attack against organized capital will seem as absurd as were the riots and attempt to destroy mills and machinery half a century ago in England, when the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire replaced the hand with the power loom.

What we want of our law-makers is to give fair play to honest industry, whether represented by private workers or by organized labor or capital. If present laws are not sufficient, they should be so amended in respect to corporations which affect public interests that there may be an official annual examination in the same manner in which the national and State banks are examined for the protection of their large number of stockholders. The officers and directors should make a sworn statement so plain that any man can understand their condition and operations. If this were done in the same open manner in which it is done in the case of banks, all grounds of hostility to corporations would gradually cease. Secrecy begets distrust in such matters.

Congress at its extra session should be clothed with the power and responsibility of dispelling all doubt as to our circulating medium and other problems which need legislative solution. If this part is performed in Washington wisely and well, the common sense of the people will supply all that is needed to cause agricultural, industrial, and commercial affairs to move again with all the energies of this great nation.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

II.

FIRST, confidence; for confidence means credit, and credit means business and exchanges. Ninety-five per cent. of all the business of the country is done on credit, and probably nearly the same proportion of the world's exchanges are effected by credit in some form; hence, the puerility of the talk of the necessity for more money, when, in fact, we simply need more confidence and credit. Shrink the confidence of the country one-third and we shrink the business of the country one-third, or

more than six times the amount of the exchanges effected by all the gold, silver, and paper money in circulation. The effect of this upon the labor of the country is illustrated by the results of financial panics which block all the wheels of industry and throw hundreds of thousands of persons out of employment.

The first step toward prosperity in this country should have been the settlement of our finances on a permanent basis, but the necessities for revenue have pressed the tariff question to the front, and this question has to be first disposed of. It bids fair to be speedily settled at the special session of Congress which has been called by President McKinley and on lines which will be protective to American industries. While protection may be overdone, the majority of the American people evidently believe, with that good man, the late Peter Cooper, that "nothing can be called cheap which leaves our own good raw materials unused and our own labor unemployed!"

So far as the currency question is concerned, if Congress will proceed on the lines recommended by the Indianapolis convention of business men and appoint a non-partisan commission to investigate and report at the next regular session of Congress what is wise and necessary to provide a sound and elastic currency for all parts of the United States, it will probably be the best possible solution of this intricate and many-sided problem.

Second, as a third step to confidence and prosperity, let Congress pass at the present extra session the Torrey Bankruptcy Bill, which was promptly passed by the House of Representatives in the last Congress, but which was "stood up" in the Senate, under the existing rules of that body, by a few Senators who talked away the opportunity of half a million men to earn a living—dismasted craft in the commercial cyclones of the last few years, who have been trying to work into port under jury-masts and refit.

Third, settle the obligations of the Pacific Railroads to the Government on an equitable basis and amend the Inter-State Commerce Act so as to permit pooling—the right of contract which all other citizens and corporations enjoy, and in the absence of which one-third of the railroad mileage of the United States has been forced into the hands of receivers during the last few years, bankrupting thousands of investors, throwing an army of a hundred thousand men out of employment directly,

and indirectly five times that number in collateral industries, besides reducing the wages of millions of workers in almost every department of industry. The transportation interests of this country directly employ three-quarters of a million men. They touch the industrial and commercial interests of the country at every point. The transportation interests of the country are the cutwater to commercial prosperity. Owing to the competition of waterways and unlimited building of railroads, transportation rates have been depressed to an unreasonable point. The people of the United States are to-day getting their transportation for about one-half that of any other commercial nation. The time has gone by when there is ground for any fear of excessive rates for transportation in this country. All we have to guard against now is unjust discriminations which still exist, both as to persons and places. The great majority of both shippers and carriers desire reasonable, uniform, and stable rates for transportation, but the selfish minority of each, in endeavoring to overreach competitors, perpetuate these unjust discriminations, obtain unjustly low rates, and demoralize the great interests, which if placed on a fairly profitable basis would lead all other interests in the march to prosperity.

Fourth, establish an American merchant marine which will be self-sustaining in time of peace and constitute a militia of the seas in time of war. Steamship lines work for their own countries just as trunk lines of railroad work for their termini. The building, repairing, and sailing of ships employs our own labor and utilizes our own materials, besides distributing the products of our fields, forests, mines, and factories to the markets of the world. Let us follow the example of our successful competitors for the world's trade, pay liberally for mail service on the ocean, whether it be called subsidy or by whatever name—*Get there.* This is what we have done on land by "Star Route Service"; why should we not do it on the ocean! If the same principle had been applied to our postal system on land that has been applied on the sea—paying only the amount of postage collected on any particular route—it would have stopped two-thirds of the postal routes in the United States, for only one-third pay a profit.

Under the forces of steam, electricity, and machinery the "Field is the World" in commerce as in religion. There are fourteen hundred and forty millions of people of which we have

seventy ; they all have wants, both natural and educational, and we need a place to dispose of our surplus productions.

A word as to educational wants as distinguished from natural wants is in order. Heretofore the great bulk of our exports have been natural products, the products of agriculture. With the general introduction of steam and electricity, distance and time have been abbreviated and annihilated, and the fertile lands of all the world have been brought into close competition with those of the United States, resulting in the levelling of the values of natural products and the lands which produce them. It is, in a great measure, due to this that our agricultural interests are not more prosperous, and, hence, the necessity of developing to the fullest extent our manufacturing industries, both to create and preserve the home market and supply the educational wants of the world. In explanation of the term "educational wants," I would state that while on a trip around the world some years ago an English manufacturer of cotton goods, who had moved his plant from England to India, was telling me of the great increase of the manufacture of cotton goods at Bombay, and prophesied that they would soon be supplying the entire demand in Eastern countries for cheap cotton goods. I had just come from China, where American fine cottons were taking the market because they had less clay filling, and I remarked : "Well, if the Americans get the market of the East for fine cottons and you get it in the cheaper grades of cotton goods, what are the Lancashire manufacturers going to do?" "Oh," said he, "the mother country will open up Africa and make it the fashion to wear breechclouts." And this is precisely what British diplomacy and British arms have been doing since that time. It also illustrates what I mean by educational wants—wants of fashion. American inventive skill, combined with our command of the great forces of steam, electricity, and machinery, has produced thousands of articles in this country which are so much more convenient and useful than those employed for the same purposes in other countries that all it needs is to bring them to the attention of the consumers of the world and we can get a fair share of the trade of the other thirteen hundred and seventy millions of people who constitute the population of this globe. But it needs intelligent effort, for until a peasant who has been using a crooked stick for a plow has seen something better he is satisfied with the

crooked stick. Our government should develop its consular service, pay a price which will command the permanent service of competent men (not a foreign vacation with expenses only half paid), apply the principles of Civil Service, which, epitomized, are permanency and promotion, the principles which control in every well regulated business, and, with the individual and co-operative effort now being made by manufacturers to extend the market for American products, we will have taken an important step forward toward prosperity.

Fifth, create a department of "Commerce and Manufactures," in the government of the United States, with an officer in the Cabinet like the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary of the Treasury is overloaded, as is illustrated by the deaths of three successive secretaries, Folger, Manning, and Windom.

Sixth, let "the common sense of most" abate the rivalries of one-cent sensational journalism, which now invade the sacred precincts of the family, the cradle, and the grave. Make it disreputable and unremunerative. At present it seeks profit by arraying capital against labor and corporations, which are natura allies—not enemies. Neither can thrive permanently while doing an injustice to the other. Rivalries of political organizations to catch the tenement house vote are subject to the same criticism. The wholesale denunciation of Trusts is the denunciation of an economic evolution which is conferring enormous benefits upon the community in general. This has undoubtedly been attended by minor evils, which, with careful study and due deliberation, can be remedied, but it is not good policy to burn down all our houses to get rid of an occasional wasp's nest in the peak. Let capital treat labor fairly and then appeals to prejudice will fall on unwilling ears. Only what is fair and reasonable will bring permanent prosperity to either labor or capital.

FRANCIS B. THURBER.

ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL A. H. MARKHAM R. N.

A YEAR ago it was my privilege to discuss in the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the North Polar Problem.

It will be my object in this article to treat briefly of the conditions appertaining to the opposite end of the world, namely, that immense unknown area in the southern hemisphere, immediately surrounding the South Pole, extending northward to the Antarctic Circle, and comprising an area of something like 8,000,000 square miles ; a region absolutely unknown and undiscovered. It seems scarcely credible that practically at the commencement of the twentieth century, when the forces of nature have, by the advancement of science, been brought so much under the domination of man, more especially when they are taken in connection with the facilities of modern travelling, so extensive an area should have remained unexplored and buried in obscurity.

It is, however, somewhat comforting to know that we now appear to be gradually awakening from the apathetic indifference with which we have hitherto been content to remain regarding our geographical knowledge, or rather ignorance, of this particular portion of the terrestrial globe, and are beginning to realize that it is not only desirable, but necessary in our own interests, as well as from a scientific point of view, to undertake a systematic exploration of the Antarctic regions.

On one occasion only has any really serious attempt been made to explore and investigate the regions situated to the south of the Antarctic Circle, and that attempt, incredible as it may appear, was made more than 50 years ago !

Nothing of importance has been undertaken since ; even the portals of this unknown area can hardly be said to have been ap-

proached during that time. Half a century is a long period, especially in this enterprising and adventurous age, when the ever restless and enthusiastic energies of the pioneers of civilization are leaving their indelible footprints over portions of the globe that fifty years ago were deemed almost inaccessible, for one particular part of the world to remain wrapt in the same impenetrable darkness that has surrounded it from time immemorial.

It is, therefore, time that we should arouse ourselves to the fact that Antarctic research is of vast scientific importance, and endorse the views of men of science on both sides of the Atlantic regarding the desirability of promoting Southern exploration.

Well may the question be asked, "How is it that so much money has been expended, so much time spent, and so many lives sacrificed in furthering our knowledge of the North Polar area, when its antipodes should remain unexplored and apparently uncared for?" The answer, however, is obvious. Our interest in the North was originally aroused, more than 300 years ago, when the prospect of discovering a short passage to India, China, and Japan was considered of the highest commercial importance, so as to avoid the long, tempestuous and, in those days, dangerous route round the Cape of Good Hope. The Arctic regions were practically at our own door, for they could be reached from European and American ports after a few days' sail—the Antarctic, on the other hand, was a long way off, and until the beginning of this century was far removed from any port or harbor that could be utilized as a base of operations. This objection has, however, been removed, for we now have commodious harbors and towns in New Zealand and Tasmania, just as capable of supplying necessaries, and affording facilities of equipment, and as near to the Antarctic Circle, as are European and American ports to the Arctic regions. Then, again, it must be remembered that in consequence of so many expeditions having been despatched for the discovery of those northeast and northwest passages already alluded to, and also in search of those brave men who have been lost in their endeavors to unveil the hidden mysteries of the North, our interest in those regions has been more excited, and our desire to obtain further information more keen, and therefore our thoughts and attentions have been attracted northwards, and away from the Southern regions.

Now, however, the time has arrived when the question of Polar research in both hemispheres should be equally considered. There is still much to be done in the North, and so long as gallant explorers like Nansen, Jackson, and Peary continue to devote their energies in that direction, we shall not rest satisfied until the entire area of nearly a million and a half square miles has been faithfully delineated on our maps; but it is an indisputable fact that there is much more than this to be done in the South, for there is more than seven times that extent of undiscovered area to be explored, and although the Antarctic Circle has been pierced in two or three places, our geographical knowledge of that region is not only extremely limited, but may be regarded as purely conjectural. In the Antarctic we have absolutely everything to learn!

The first attempt at Southern exploration was made more than a hundred years ago, when that famous seaman and celebrated navigator, Captain James Cook, was despatched from England with this object in view. His instructions were to endeavor to reach a large continent, which it was supposed existed, extending from the Pacific towards the South Pole, and which imaginative map makers and cartographers of the sixteenth century had depicted on their maps covered with mountains, lakes, and rivers. Cook never came across this vast southern continent, for the simple reason that it had no real existence, but his progress was baffled by huge fields of impenetrable ice, which effectually defied all his efforts to advance.*

The following entry in his journal clearly expresses his views on the subject. "I had now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude and travelled it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent unless near the pole and out of the reach of navigation. Thus I flatter myself, the southern hemisphere has been sufficiently explored, and a final end put to the searching after a southern continent which has at times engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers for near two centuries past and been a favorite theory amongst the geographers of all ages."

The dangers attendant on the exploration of high southern

* Two years before Captain Cook's memorable voyage, *i. e.* in 1772, a French navigator, M. de Kergeulen, sighted high land in lat. 49° S. on the 69th meridian of E. longitude, which he somewhat hastily assumed was the long-talked-of southern continent, but on subsequent examination it proved to be an island which now bears his name.

latitudes were fully recognized by Cook, who writes, "that the risk run in exploring a coast in these unknown and icy seas is so very great that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture further than I have done, and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow storms, intense cold, and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous must be encountered, and these difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country, a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice."

Cook's predictions have not in this instance been verified, for already navigators have penetrated further to the south than he did, and the difficulties and dangers alluded to by him have not certainly been in excess of those encountered by explorers in the Arctic regions. Weddell, Ross, and Kristensen have all passed the extreme position attained by Captain Cook, but so far these are the only explorers who have suceeded in crossing the 70th parallel of south latitude.

The first named, an energetic sealing captain, while pursuing the avocations of his trade, in a small brig named the "Jane," actually succeeded in 1823 in passing the high position reached by Cook, and sailed three degrees further to the southward, but at some considerable distance to the eastward of the track of the great navigator. Unlike Captain Cook, who alluded to the "inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country," Weddell writes hopefully, a day or two before he reached his extreme southern position, that not a particle of ice was to be seen in any direction; that the weather was mild and serene, and the sea literally covered with birds! This, however, is only another instance of the uncertain and varied conditions of ice and sea in high latitudes at different periods.

In 1839, in consequence of urgent representations made to the British government by the Royal and other learned societies, it was decided to despatch a naval expedition with the object of prosecuting scientific researches, more especially with reference to observations in territorial magnetism, in the Antarctic regions. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Captain Sir James Clark Ross, a skilful sailor, an experienced navigator, and a man of great scientific attainments. He had already earned a deservedly high reputation as an explorer by his discovery of the North

Magnetic Pole, after enduring great hardships and privations, during an enforced residence of over four years on the barren and sterile shores of Boothia Felix. No man could have been selected better qualified for the command of such an enterprise, and the result conclusively proved the wisdom of the selection. The ships placed under his command were the "Erebus" and "Terror," the identical vessels that six years later sailed from England under Sir John Franklin on his last, ill-fated expedition.

Ross sailed in September, 1839, and reached Tasmania the following August, where he heard for the first time of the discoveries of Wilkes and D'Urville, but neither of these explorers had succeeded in penetrating beyond the 70th parallel of latitude; but then it must not be forgotten that their ships were in no way adapted for ice navigation. For three years did Ross persist in his endeavors to penetrate the ice, on various meridians of longitude, with the view of reaching a high latitude, and with such success that he had the satisfaction of carrying his clumsy bluff bowed old ships to latitude 75 degrees 3 minutes in about the longitude of New Zealand.

In order to attain this high position he had sailed for more than 300 miles in an east and west direction, along an absolutely impassable barrier of ice, rising like a great perpendicular cliff to a height in some places of over 200 feet above the level of the sea, and sinking to a depth of over 1,000 feet below. From his highest position land was observed stretching away to the eastward, a range of stupendous mountains rising in many peaks, and culminating in two high mountains of an estimated altitude of 15,000 and 10,000 feet, to which the names were given, respectively, of Mounts Terror and Erebus. Both were evidently of volcanic origin, and from one dense columns of smoke intermingled with incessant flashes of flame were observed. To the large tract of land on which these mountains were situated, was given the name of Victoria Land, after Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England. Numerous glaciers of gigantic dimensions were seen filling up the broad spaces between the hills, and projecting several miles into the sea. It was a great disappointment to Sir James Ross and his companions that they were unable to make a closer inspection of this apparently vast continent, but all attempts at landing were frustrated by the enormous masses of ice that lay between them and the land, and

they were reluctantly compelled to abandon an enterprise so fraught with interest, and return home.

As an instance of the varying manner in which the peculiarities of a country strike different observers, it may be remarked that whereas Captain Cook, a very correct and shrewd observer, condemned the country, weather, etc., in unmistakable language, Sir James Ross writes that "on some days the sun shone forth with great brilliancy from a perfectly serene and clear sky of a most intense indigo blue, and the members of the expedition gazed with feelings of indescribable delight upon a scene of grandeur and magnificence beyond anything they had ever before seen or could have conceived."

The expedition was productive of much useful and valuable scientific knowledge, more especially with regard to the physical and biological conditions of the Antarctic regions, while the position of the South Magnetic Pole was approximately determined to be about 150 miles to the southeast of Mount Erebus. No other expedition, equipped on the same elaborate scale, has been despatched for the purpose of exploring those interesting regions since the return of Sir James Ross. It is very true that H. M. S. "Challenger," while engaged on her scientific and interesting voyage round the world, crossed the Antarctic Circle, but it was no part of her duty to penetrate into the unknown area, more especially as she was not constructed for the purpose of navigating ice-clad seas, but she materially added to our knowledge of high southern latitudes during her eventful cruise.

When we reflect on the amount of interesting work that was accomplished by Sir James Ross in his old cumbrous, dull sailing ships, more than half a century ago, we may safely assume that a couple of well-found steamers, competently commanded, and replete with all modern requirements, would reap a more abundant scientific harvest in the course of one navigable season, than was achieved by Ross during the three years he was engaged in his interesting exploration of the South Polar regions. As a verification of this assumption, I will take as an illustration the recent voyage made by the whaler "Antarctic," practically the first steamer, specially constructed for ice navigation, that has attempted to penetrate for any distance the ice fields of the South.

This vessel, under the command of Captain Kristensen, left

Melbourne, in Australia, on the 28th of September, 1894, fully equipped for a whaling and sealing voyage ; but it was arranged that in prosecuting the commercial part of the enterprise, they would also use their utmost endeavors to promote geographical research by attempting to reach Ross's great continent, and, if possible, even a higher latitude. After a brief stay in Tasmania the Antarctic Circle was crossed on Christmas Day, and ten days afterwards they entered the main body of the ice in latitude 67 degrees on the 125th meridian of east longitude.

In another ten days they succeeded in working their way through the pack for about 200 miles in a southerly direction, when they reached open water.

In this large expanse of water many whales were seen, but unfortunately they were not of the right sort for commerce, and were therefore not molested. Continuing to push their way to the southward, they reached the latitude of 74 degrees 10 minutes and 173 degrees east longitude, on the 22d of January, only four weeks after they had crossed the Antarctic circle. This was undoubtedly a great achievement, clearly proving the advantages that steam possesses over sails as a motive power in a ship engaged in ice navigation. During the voyage they succeeded in effecting a landing on the great Southern continent in the neighborhood of Cape Adare, and thus had the extreme gratification and honor of being the first human beings that had ever set foot on Victoria Land.

A large collection of geological and other specimens were made, with which rich and interesting harvest the "Antarctic" returned to Melbourne, reaching that port on the 12th of March, after an absence only of five and a half months.

This cruise of the little "Antarctic," so bravely and so skilfully conducted, as a pioneer voyage of discovery in the high latitudes of the Southern hemisphere, must always be regarded as of the highest interest and importance, as showing what can be done by a well-found steamer competently commanded.

The time is now ripe for a prosecution of Antarctic research, and it should be carried out on a scale equal to that governing the expedition which was despatched under the command of Sir James Ross more than fifty years ago, when the gain to science that would result would, I feel assured, be of far greater value and interest now than it was half a century ago.

I have already said our knowledge of the Antarctic regions is extremely limited. The fauna of that large Southern continent is absolutely unknown; no land animals have ever been seen there, nor have any traces of vegetation been discovered, except, I believe, a few moss specimens and a lichen that were gathered by Captain Kristensen in the neighborhood of Cape Adare. So far as we know at present, the land is barren and sterile beyond conception. On the other hand, the fauna of the Antarctic sea is immensely rich, and is reported to be by Dr. John Murray "apparently more abundant and more peculiar than in any other region of the ocean's bed." Further investigations in the South Polar regions would be of the greatest value as enabling us to obtain a knowledge relative to hitherto unsolved problems in the science of oceanography.

Geography, and its closely allied sister, Geology, would be essentially benefited by further research. The possible extent of what is known to be a vast tract of country would, perhaps, be ascertained. The nature of the formation of its rocks would be determined, and possibly rich fossiliferous deposits found. More volcanic mountains may be discovered. The extent and depth of the ice cap, which has been seen by all navigators that have penetrated far South, would probably be satisfactorily determined. Pendulum observations, and others bearing on terrestrial magnetism in a high Southern latitude, would be of the greatest value and importance.

Professor Neumayer, than whom there is no higher authority, says "that without an examination and a survey of the magnetic properties of the Antarctic regions, it is utterly hopeless to strive with prospects of success at the advancement of the theory of the earth's magnetism."

In a report drawn up by a committee of the Royal Society of London, the importance of further researches into the question of terrestrial magnetism is very strongly urged. It says that "while many branches of science will benefit by observations in this Southern region, it is more especially the requirements of magnetism which have forced themselves upon the notice of your committee, and there can be no doubt that an exploring expedition is urgently needed to add to our knowledge in this branch of science." In continuation, the report points out that in calculating the magnetic state of the whole surface of the earth, it is ab-

solutely indispensable that the calculation should be checked by observations made in high Southern latitudes. It is further stated that while our knowledge of the position of the North Magnetic Pole has been determined, that of the South Magnetic Pole is not known to within about a hundred miles. In order to determine it position, it is not absolutely necessary to reach that spot, but it can be fairly well fixed by calculation, if accurate observations of the magnetic inclination were made in various positions in high Southern latitudes.

Looking at the necessity of the renewal of Antarctic research from a practical standpoint, I will mention one particular reason which will, I think, suffice to illustrate the desirability, nay, the necessity, of obtaining further information regarding the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism.

The days of old wooden sailing ships are numbered, and their place has been taken by large swift steamers, which carry valuable cargoes of human freight and rich merchandise to all parts of the world. An accurate knowledge of the variation of the compass, especially in those regions where fogs are prevalent, and where the sun is frequently obscured for several successive days, will enable a direct course to be steered with confidence, materially diminishing the distance that would otherwise probably have to be traversed, and thus ensure a perceptible saving of time, which, it is hardly necessary to say, means money. This is especially applicable to vessels constructed of iron or steel. The change of magnetic declination in the Southern hemisphere, especially along those great trade routes to the Cape of Good Hope, Australia and New Zealand, is known to be very great, but the *exact* change is unknown, and can only be correctly ascertained by a series of systematic observations taken in high Southern latitudes.

A perfect knowledge of the conditions of the ice is also of very great interest. The icebergs met with in the Southern regions differ very materially in size and shape from those seen in the North. They are of a uniform tabular topped shape, with steep precipitous sides and many of them of enormous bulk and length. They are, it may reasonably be inferred, fragments from that immense ice barrier along which Ross sailed for a distance of over 300 miles, and which stretched away to the southward like a vast and interminable sea of ice.

Captain Kristensen reports having seen one of these huge bergs, which he estimated at over 50 miles in length, and which, at first, was mistaken for an island and actually named after the promoter of his enterprise. This is not to be wondered at, for we know that many of these bergs have been frequently seen so discolored as to be easily mistaken at a distance for land. This discoloration is due to the presence of mud, clay, gravel and stones, and even large boulders of red sandstone and basalt have been seen on them, sure indications of land to the southward.

It is almost superfluous to add that the science of meteorology would be greatly promoted by the despatch of an Antarctic expedition. The assertion that our knowledge of meteorology must be considered as absolutely incomplete until we have continuous observations recorded during a period of two or more consecutive years in high Southern latitudes is very true, and these observations would add very materially to our knowledge of the effect that results from the changes of climate over large areas of ice covered seas.

And, finally, writing as a naval officer and one who has seen considerable service in the regions of "thick ribb'd ice," I cannot help expressing a very decided opinion that, apart from the valuable scientific information that must necessarily accrue from a naval Antarctic exploring expedition, fitted out and despatched under the auspices of government, the very fact of employing officers and men during peace time, on a service which essentially demands from them all the pluck, energy, and resources and other qualities that are so highly valuable in war time, cannot but be of the greatest importance to that nation which employs her navy on such a laudable and patriotic service.

I will conclude with the following extract from a speech recently delivered by the Duke of Argyll on the subject of Antarctic exploration: "I confess I feel an immense interest in the question of an Antarctic expedition. I always feel a little shame that civilized man, living on his own little planet, a very small globe, should, in this nineteenth century of the Christian Era, not yet have explored the whole of this little area; it seems a reproach on the enterprize, civilization, and condition of knowledge of the human race."

And in these admirable sentiments I cordially concur.

A. H. MARKHAM.

THE BLACK PLAGUE.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL WALTER WYMAN.

THE Plague, known also as the Bubonic Plague, Levantine, Oriental, and Black Plague, and Black Death, is a disease which has ravaged from time to time the several countries of Africa, Asia, and Europe almost from time immemorial. The literature on the subject is appalling in extent, a mere enumeration of titles, with authors, covering forty pages, royal quarto size, of the *Index Catalogue* of the library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army, and a score or more columns in the *Index Medicus*, published since the issue of the *Index Catalogue* in 1889.

Manetho, an Egyptian historian who lived at the beginning of the third century, B. C., described pestilences supposed to have been the plague as having occurred in the reign of the most ancient Egyptian kings. It prevailed in Athens 429–431 B. C. Thucydides has described it and had the disease, and Hippocrates noted it. It is said that Athens lost more than one-third of its population by the epidemic.

According to Rufus of Ephesus the plague prevailed in Lybia in the third century B. C., and its home was considered to be in Northern Africa. The great plague reported by Livy, who died 221 B. C., is said to have destroyed a million of persons in Africa, but it is not mentioned that it passed into Europe. Plague is also alluded to in the Bible, Zechariah xiv., 18, as peculiarly Egyptian, of which country this disease has been a great scourge.

In the Christian era it is not until the sixth century that we find the bubonic plague in Europe. In 542 it spread over Egypt, and passed to Constantinople, where it carried off 10,000 persons in one day, and in the same century appeared in Italy, and extended also along the northern coast of Africa. It prevailed in England in the seventh century.

In the fourteenth century it was introduced from the east and prevailed throughout Armenia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Northern Africa, and nearly the whole of Europe. Hecker calculates that one-fourth of the population of Europe, or 25,000,000 persons, died in all of the epidemics in the fourteenth century. It was in this century that the first measures were taken to check the spread of the plague, Venice appointing in 1348 three guardians of the public health for this purpose.

In the fifteenth century it recurred frequently in nearly all parts of Europe; in one year, 1466, the mortality reaching 40,000. The first quarantine establishment was founded in that century, in 1403, on a small island adjoining Venice.

The sixteenth century was not more free from plague than the fifteenth. In 1572, 50,000 died at Lyons. In 1576 Venice lost 70,000.

In the seventeenth century it still prevailed in Europe, though less widely than in the middle ages. In 1656 one of the most destructive of all recorded epidemics raged in Naples. It is said to have carried off 300,000 in a period of five months. The great plague of London was in 1664 and 1665. The total number of deaths in 1665, according to the bills of mortality, was 68,596 in an estimated population of 460,000, out of whom two-thirds are supposed to have fled to escape contagion.

In the eighteenth century it prevailed extensively in Europe, the most notable epidemics being in Marseilles (1720), when from 40,000 to 60,000 persons were carried off. In 1721 it appeared in Toulon and spread over Provence, and out of a population of 250,000 persons 87,659 are said to have died. Sicily was visited in 1743, namely, at Messina, where the mortality was between 40,000 and 50,000. In 1771 it broke out in Moscow, and more than 50,000 persons, nearly one-quarter of the population, were carried off.

The nineteenth century has been marked by a recession of the plague toward the East, although in 1815 it appeared on the eastern coast of Italy, confined to a small district—its last appearance in that country. An isolated epidemic appeared in Greece in 1828. It appeared in Egypt between 1833 and 1845, the last year witnessing the last plague epidemic observed in that country, and marking its great eastward recession.

There was an epidemic of extreme severity in Cairo, 1835,

during which there died a number of the inhabitants equal to the whole adult male population.

In 1840 Dalmatia, in 1841 Constantinople, and in 1843 and 1844 the eastern part of Egypt were its western boundaries.

Since 1850 the western limit of the plague is the Canary Islands (1852), while its eastern limit is the Island of Formosa, off the coast of China, where it now prevails.

Since 1850 the disease has oscillated, now east and now west, between the Red Sea and the Pacific, in China, India, Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Russia, Caspian Sea, Afghanistan, Tripoli. There have been since 1850 but 19 years when it has not been recorded in one or the other of these countries. The last outbreak of plague on European soil was in 1878 and 1879 on the banks of the Volga.

As to the "plague belt," it may be said that since 1850 the disease has never travelled further north than Astrakan, about 45 degrees north, although within the present century it has visited Moscow, Norway, and Sweden, and latitudes as far as 60 degrees north. According to Cantlie, the plague belt is from 19 degrees west longitude to 121 degrees east longitude, and between 48 and 19 degrees north latitude. According to the same author, it has never been known in the Western Hemisphere or anywhere south of 19 degrees north of the equator, with the possible exception of several reported cases in Singapore, which is in 2 degrees north latitude. During the ninteenth century the belt of the plague may be roughly described as the basin of the Mediterranean, and the strip of country in Asia, from Turkey to China, running parallel to that sea; but the Mediterranean part of the belt has disappeared almost wholly within the present generation.

Formerly it was asserted that plague never appeared east of the Indus in India; nevertheless, it has been observed during the present century in more than one distinct centre in India. Since 1871, it has been heard from, particularly in China.

It should be remarked in this connection that, according to Lowson, the history of the disease in the Far East is, with the exception of Rocher's Papers, a perfect blank.

The present epidemic in Bombay is generally believed to have been introduced from Hong Kong. There was a violent epidemic in Hong Kong, in 1894, and an exacerbation of it in the same city in 1896. It was brought to Hong Kong in 1894

from Canton, distant only eight hours by steamer, and is supposed to have been introduced into Canton in 1894 by way of Thibet, from Northern India. The officially estimated mortality to February 9 is 13,221, though it is claimed that it was much greater.

This disease furnishes a striking illustration of the scientific advance of modern medicine. It was not until 1894 that positive knowledge of its true nature became known. Now, its cause, method of propagation, and the means necessary to prevent its spread are matters of scientific certainty. True, investigation is still necessary to make this knowledge complete, but enough is known to warrant the foregoing statement. All through the centuries, before and during the Christian Era, down to 1894, the subject has been enveloped in darkness, and there has been the same groping after facts, the same unsuccessful search for the true cause, the same struggle in ignorance against its ravages, on the part of physicians, sanitarians, and public officials, as has marked the history of that other great epidemic disease, cholera, now likewise robbed of its terror by science.

One has but to reflect upon the vast amount of research, thought, and labor involved in the preparation of that mass of literature previously referred to, and to the misery, disaster, and death of which it is the exponent, in order to appreciate the value of the great discovery of 1894. It is to the immortal Pasteur and to his contemporary Koch, in their establishment of bacteriology as a science, that credit is due for the possibility of this discovery, and to a Japanese physician, Dr. Kitasato, a student in the laboratory of Koch, we owe the discovery itself.

When in 1894 the plague was epidemic in Hong Kong, hundreds dying daily, great apprehension existed on the part of Japan, and accordingly Drs. Kitasato and Aoyama, with assistants, were commissioned by the Japanese Government to visit Hong Kong and there study the disease, the former to make bacteriological investigation, and the latter to report upon its clinical and pathological characteristics. The report of Kitasato announcing the discovery of the plague bacillus was published under the auspices of the University of Tokio, July 7, 1894, and may be found in full in the Annual Report of the Marine Hospital Service for 1894. Other investigators during the same year were, on the part of the English, Doctors Lowson and Cantlie;

on the part of the French Government, Dr. Yersin; of the German Government, Dr. Wilm; and of the United States, Dr. Arnold, of the Navy, to whom we are indebted for the cultures which form the basis of the experiments now being conducted in three laboratories in the United States.

It has been defined as an acute febrile disease of an intensely fatal nature, characterized by inflammation of the lymphatic glands, marked cerebral and vascular disturbances and by the presence of a specific bacillus. Although one gland alone may be clinically apparent, most, if not all, of the lymphatic glands are found to be enlarged at the post mortem examinations.

A bubo is simply an inflamed gland, and the name bubonic plague is given to the disease because of the inflammation, and sometimes suppuration, of the various lymphatic glands of the body. In from three to six days after exposure the disease makes its appearance in the individual. This period—the period of incubation—in some instances may reach nine days. The patient complains of high fever, a swelling of one or more of the lymphatic glands, and has delirium early in the attack, though seldom violent. The fever persists at least a week, and convalescence thereafter is slow. In fatal cases death usually occurs at the height of the disease, between the second and eighth day, frequently within forty-eight hours. If life is prolonged for five or six days the prognosis is better. The glands most commonly affected are those of the thigh and groin, next of the axilla, and sometimes those in the neck. The swollen gland quickly attains the size of a hen's egg, and unless death intervenes, after five or six days the gland softens and is filled with pus, which may be evacuated. In many cases of the severer type the bubo (inflamed gland) has not time to form, and then there are hemorrhages from the mucous membranes and beneath the skin-hemorrhagic extravasations—the so-called petechial spots. It is probably this phenomenon, giving a dark appearance to portions of the skin, which has given the name of "black death" to the disease. Large buboes may form in a few hours after a time when a person has felt in the best of health. And, on the other hand, patients die of the disease without the appearance of a single affected gland, although the post mortem examination shows the glands to be slightly swollen, and their substance contains the plague bacillus.

According to Wilm death is generally caused by paralysis of the heart; in other cases it is from brain complications—meningitis, cerebritis, and hemorrhage.

The death rate varies in different epidemics, and is estimated at from 50 to 90 per cent. It varies, however, apparently, according to nationalities. From the official reports of the epidemic in Hong Kong, in 1894, the death rate of the several nationalities was as follows: Chinese, 93.4 per cent.; Indians, 77; Japanese, 60; Eurasians, 100, Europeans, 18.2. The relatively small percentage of deaths among Europeans is attributed to the European blood and stamina, to the early treatment and confidence in the European medical attendant.

The cause of the disease is a bacillus somewhat resembling that of chicken cholera—a small short rod, with rounded ends of the non-spore-bearing variety, characterized by its property of extremely rapid multiplication and the facility with which it enters the human organism. It is found in large numbers in the pus from the buboes, occasionally in the interior organs, in grave cases in the blood, and in the fæces. It is also found in the dust of infected houses and in the soil. While so virulent, its resisting power to chemical disinfectants is feeble, succumbing shortly in a one per cent. solution of carbolic acid, or of lime water. It dies in four days if kept at a dry heat of 60 degrees C., or 140 Fahr., or in half an hour if subjected to a temperature of 80 degrees C., 176 degrees Fahr.; and in a few minutes if subjected to a heat of 100 degrees C., 212 degrees F. As demonstrated in the Hygienic Laboratory of the Marine Hospital Service, it is easily destroyed by all of the ordinary disinfectants. On the other hand it develops easily in many culture-media at the ordinary temperature—18 to 22 degrees C., or 64.4 to 71.6 Fahr.

The length of its life, when exposed to favorable conditions outside of the human body, is as yet undetermined. Experiments on this point are being conducted in the Hoagland Laboratory in Brooklyn, and the bacillus exposed on filter paper and on blankets in a dark closet is reported as still living at the end of the thirty-eighth day. How much longer it will live is a matter of conjecture. This has an important bearing upon the quarantine measures necessary to be enforced, particularly with regard to merchandise from an infected port.

An interesting suggestion as to the cause of the prevalence of

this disease in India and China is offered by Dr. Charles W. Dabney, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to the effect that it may be because the people of India are so badly fed, and fed only on rice and other grains which contain very little protein. As compared with wheat, oats, Indian corn, and rye, rice, by the protein standard, is the poorest food of them all. Additional credence may be given to this theory from the fact that plague so often accompanies famine. Other conditions are known to favor it, such as overcrowding and filth; but in cities and localities where these two elements are present, while the disease has raged violently, it has been made to disappear in time; while in India, where these conditions prevail, with faulty nutrition added, the disease is persistent.

The methods by which the bacilli enter the human body are three in number—by inoculation (through an external wound or abrasion), by respiration, and by introduction into the stomach. The Japanese investigator, Aoyama, contracted the disease by inoculation incurred during a post mortem, and one of his assistants died of the disease contracted in the same manner. According to Lowson, skin to skin infection is impossible, unless the one to be infected has some wound, and the infector's skin has been soiled by fæces, blood, or the contents of buboes. The individual may contract the disease by inhaling the dust from infected houses which contains the germ; furthermore, by imbibing infected fluids or eating infected food.

It may be contracted, therefore, through one or more of the above-mentioned channels, by prolonged and intimate contact with the plague stricken, as in the case of a nurse carrying a child ill with the disease. Also by the handling of fomites—clothing, bedding, and other infected materials, and by eating with soiled or unwashed hands. Infection from bodies found in the street, in houses, or awaiting burial may take place if the clothes have been soiled by discharges. Cantlie says: "Bulard sleeping in the dead man's shirt proves nothing further than that the plague-infected garment did not generate the poison of an intensity sufficient to infect. The poison grew every moment more dilute, but a nurse carrying a child, throwing off contagion continuously, is an exposure of a different stamp." According to Lowson the poison is not given off in the ordinary respiration of a patient suffering with the disease; and sputum and saliva

from an infected person have given negative results in the only case which Lowson investigated upon this point.

The conditions favoring plague are similar to those favoring typhus fever, namely: crowd poisoning, bad ventilation and drainage, impure water supply, famine or imperfect nourishment, and inattention to sanitary requirements. It is probable of this disease, as of yellow fever, that human habitations and the ground may become so thoroughly infected as to establish endemicity. The bacillus may infect food and water, though how long it will retain its virility in water is as yet undetermined. Clothing and other personal effects, bedding, etc., may be infected through the discharges. The bacillus is not killed by drying, as is the case with the cholera bacillus, and may be carried in the dust arising through the cleansing of dwelling-houses which plague patients have occupied.

A very important element in the spread of plague in houses and localities are rats and other animals. It has been found that rats, mice, snakes, beetles, bugs, flies, dogs, and jackals are infected during an epidemic. It is significant that the purely herbiverous animals—horses, oxen, sheep, goats and rabbits—are exempt. Rats die in large numbers, and generally this phenomenon is observed in advance of the appearance of the plague among human beings. The cause of their infection is still a subject of discussion. The soil becomes infected, and a very common belief in Oriental countries is that the rat contracts the disease from miasmatic emanations from the soil, but this has never been scientifically demonstrated, and is probably incorrect. The fact that mortality among rats precedes an outbreak of plague among human beings is explained by Lowson by the fact that rats have their snouts about an inch above the floors of houses, and are more liable to inspire plague-infected dust than are human beings.

Modern science in its development of the serum therapy of disease appears to have found a thoroughly efficacious remedy in the treatment of this disease, which hitherto has maintained an average mortality of 90 per cent. A French physician, Yersin, was the first to use the serum from an immunized horse upon cases of a severe type. At Amoy, in 1896, he treated 23 cases of plague in this manner, all of whom recovered excepting two, whose cases were desperate from the outset, and upon whom treat-

ment was not begun until the fifth day of the disease. The method is similar to that of the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria, the efficacy of which is now thoroughly established.

In the prevention of the spread of the disease in a given house, all hygienic measures are necessary, such as proper sewerage, purity of water supply, isolation of the sick, disinfection of clothing and bedding, of the evacuations, and disinfection of the room, all unnecessary contact with the sick to be avoided, great care to be exercised with regard to food and drink, and according to Kitasato, after recovery the patient to be kept in isolation for at least one month. It is believed that we have a valuable aid in disinfection of rooms and houses in formaldehyd gas, which has now been established as a reliable agent superseding sulphur and which can be used without injury to metals or fabrics. Experiments with this gas as a disinfectant have been carefully made within the last year in the laboratory of the Marine Hospital Service, and the results published in the Public Health Reports issued by the Bureau. A formalin lamp for the generation of formaldehyd gas, suitable for practical use in dwellings, has been invented and successfully tested.

The advice of Kitasato that the patient should be kept isolated one month after apparent recovery is significant. Like precautions are necessary with regard to other contagious diseases, and too little attention has heretofore been paid to this very necessary precaution against the spread of contagious disease. For example, patients apparently recovered from cholera may carry within the intestinal tract the germs of the disease a variable time, possibly fourteen days. Patients who have apparently recovered from diphtheria may still be found to have the diphtheria bacillus present in the throat for many days.

As a means of preventing the spread of the disease, mention should not be omitted of the efforts of Haffkine, who has prepared, and is now using in India, a prophylactic lymph, in other words, a vaccination against the disease, which recent reports indicate is successful. Over a thousand natives and leading Europeans have already been inoculated in Bombay.

The means to be adopted when the disease becomes epidemic in a city consist, first, of a house-to-house inspection. In Bombay the Government has undertaken the inspection of 30,000 houses.

There should be prohibition of the use of dwellings unfit for habitation, and abatement of overcrowding should be required. Buildings and premises infected or suspected should be vacated for cleansing and disinfecting. The sick should be removed to hospitals or treated in their own homes, and the well who have been exposed should be removed to refuge camps. Infected bedding, clothing, etc., should be destroyed. It is the opinion of some English writers that when plague has been thoroughly fixed and established in a given city, its speedy eradication is impossible. However this may be, it is a fact that the subsidence of the plague seems to depend upon the abatement of its virulence in the due course of its evolution, and it is generally conceded that a period of seven months is necessary for the subsidence of an epidemic.

From the foregoing lines it may be readily understood how the malady may be transmitted from one country to another by travel and commerce, either overland or by sea. As with cholera, the chief element connected with its spread from India to other portions of Asia and into Europe and Africa, are the religious pilgrimages. Pilgrims from infected districts visit the shrines which are also visited by people from non-infected districts, who carry back with them the germs of the disease.

With a view to preventing the spread of the plague from India into Europe, an International Sanitary Conference has been called by the Italian Government at the instance of the Austro-Hungarian Government, which assembled at Venice, February 9th, 1897, and was expected to adjourn *sine die* about the middle of March. The representatives from the United States are Consul-General Wallace S. Jones, and Passed Assistant Surgeon H. D. Geddings, U. S. Marine Hospital Service, technical delegate. The direct interest that the United States has in the prevention of the spread of the disease into Europe may be seen from a consideration of the dangers which would threaten this country, provided the disease should become epidemic in certain European seaports, especially those from which large numbers of emigrants embark for the United States. For example, there is a large emigration from Naples, and the vessels which bring immigrants from Naples have Marseilles as their port of original departure. Thus, the infection of either port would be a matter of serious concern, and it should be remem-

bered that Marseilles is the great entrepôt on the Mediterranean of commerce from the Orient.

There are two features of this disease which are matters for serious consideration, so far as the United States is concerned; one is the fact that while the period of incubation of the ordinary plague, the violent form of the disease, is from three to six days, there is said to be another form called the ambulant, or walking form, or *pestis minor*, in which the symptoms are mild, the patients not being confined to bed. They may be afflicted for a period of from 10 to 30 days before the symptoms have developed which call attention to the disease, and it may then develop into the violent form. The other feature is the prolonged and still uncertain length of life under favorable circumstances of the plague bacillus. This has an important bearing upon the possibility of conveyance by merchandise. Personal effects are easily disinfected, but certain classes of merchandise are so difficult and expensive to disinfect as to render the measure impracticable. New merchandise plays a comparatively small role in the conveyance of contagious diseases, yet when suspected it must be disinfected or forbidden entry, until a time has elapsed covering the natural life of the bacillus.

The system of quarantine adopted by the United States is deemed sufficient to meet any emergencies. The law and regulations relate to foreign as well as to domestic ports, and require every vessel leaving a foreign port for the United States to have a bill of health signed by the consul certifying that all the requirements have been complied with. The regulations for foreign ports are such as to insure the sanitary condition of the vessel, its cargo, and passengers before sailing.

In addition to the above there is a complete and uniform system of quarantine for domestic ports. These are explicit with regard to inspection before entry, removal and treatment of the sick with contagious disease, the isolation of those who have been exposed to contagion, the disinfection of the vessel and any articles of cargo that may be infected, and finally with regard to vessels bringing immigrants, a notification to be sent to the proper state health authorities of the expected arrival within their jurisdiction of immigrants who have arrived on the infected vessel, even though all precautionary measures necessary at quarantine have been taken.

The government is well equipped with quarantine stations for the disinfection of infected vessels, and has besides several large stations where immigrants can be detained in barracks under observation, as at the Delaware Breakwater and Fisherman's Island (entrance of Chesapeake Bay), on the Atlantic coast; and Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, and Diamond Point, Washington, on the Pacific.

The Marine Hospital Service has control of twelve national quarantine stations and five inspection stations. At other ports the quarantine is maintained by State or municipal authorities, but these are obliged to conform in their practice to the regulations laid down by the Treasury Department, of which the Marine Hospital Service is a Bureau. To ensure this conformity, once or twice a year, as may be necessary, every State or local quarantine station is thoroughly inspected by a trained officer of the Marine Hospital Service. It is no longer possible, as it was prior to 1893, for a port in one State to maintain a lax quarantine to encourage its commerce, while a port in an adjoining State is enforcing proper quarantine for the exclusion of disease.

It seems impossible that the plague should ever again ravage the earth as in previous centuries.

Modern quarantine is effective to a degree. Though old-fashioned and absurd as administered by some of the European countries, and imperfectly executed in others, and influenced too greatly by commercial considerations in England, it nevertheless has proven, and will continue to prove, a powerful shield against this Asiatic invasion. Even should the disease spread to certain European countries, modern sanitation of cities, the knowledge of disinfectants and improved disinfecting appliances, and modern knowledge of the disease itself would doubtless enable it to be confined within reasonable limits.

WALTER WYMAN.

THE UPRISING OF GREECE.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P., AND DEMETRIUS N. BOTASSI, GRECIAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT NEW YORK.

I.

WHEN the Kingdom of Greece was constituted, mainly by the heroic efforts of the Greek people in the war of independence, the interference of the protecting States, England, France, and Russia, left her with boundaries so narrowly drawn that she was as a kingdom cramped and starved. Only a few of the least profitable of the islands were given to Greece, although in many of the others the maritime population had been more successful against the Turks than had been any other section of the Greeks who rose against Turkish rule. Most of the islands were restored to Turkey, although Samos was given autonomy under a Greek Prince and with a Greek Parliament and a local *gendarmerie* of her own.

In 1867 an outbreak occurred in Crete, which was supported by volunteers from Greece, and which lasted for a couple of years. The Turks put it down by pouring regular troops into the island, which the command of the sea, at that time possessed by them as against Greece, enabled them easily to do.

In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, both the Cretan question and that of the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus were discussed, and it was ultimately decided, on the proposal of France, to augment the territory of the Greek kingdom, acknowledged to be far too small, by the addition to Greece of those portions of Thessaly and Epirus which were almost exclusively inhabited by people Greek both in religion and in race. Holding as I did at that time office in the Greek Committee, as the body of the sympathizers of Greece in England was called, I was familiar with the

position of the negotiations with Turkey which followed the Treaty of Berlin, and lasted until the time when I became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in April, 1880. When we took office nothing had been done towards causing the Turks to carry out the proposal which had been accepted by the Powers at Berlin. Ultimately, by our efforts, the rest of Europe following somewhat uneasily the guidance which we gave, a compromise was arrived at and Greece received the greater portion of the proposed accession of territory in Thessaly, while Turkey retained the greater part of what by the French proposal was to have been given to Greece in Epirus. Notably there remained to Turkey the town and district of Janina, one of the ancient centres of Greek cultivation. Of the Greek mountains of the classics, neither Pindus nor the true Olympus is yet of the Greek kingdom, and the great majority of the Hellenic race are still outside the boundaries of the Hellenic kingdom.

The ability of the King of Greece was shown by the manner in which he contrived to keep turbulent subjects, with a strong patriotic impulse and with an overwhelmingly strong case, quiet until the time came when they were able to act with effect. In 1886 Greece had shown some signs of trying to conquer by arms the portions of Epirus which had been withheld from her after the Congress of Berlin had declared them to be hers by right; and Great Britain unfortunately took the lead in a blockade of the Greek coasts by the fleets of the great Powers, which was represented as being the preservation of Greece against conquest by Turkey, the probable result of her rash acts, but which was, in fact, pressure on Greece, by the starvation of her fishing population, to accept a veto by the Powers on an action which might already at that time have proved successful.

From time to time since 1886 Greek bands have fought on the frontier of Northern Thessaly and in Macedonia, but on the whole the attitude of Greece has been one of expectancy, in which she was rather prepared to prevent Bulgarian eventual rivals from gaining the upper hand in Macedonia, than concerned in attacking the Turks, whose loss of the European provinces seemed but a matter of time. Greece, like Russia, seemed to think that she could afford to wait. The violent scenes at Constantinople of the last year or two, producing risings in Asia

Minor, in the Lebanon, in Palestine, and in Crete, the Greeks again became hard to hold, and Greek volunteers began to pour into Macedonia and into Crete in the autumn of last year. Things came to a head in Crete and the recent action of the Powers is the result.

Had the Powers been in earnest in their desire to coerce Turkey to bring about a better government of its empire, it is in the Greek islands of the Archipelago that coercion might most safely have been begun. The dangers of a partition of continental Turkey are great and should suffice to prevent the operation. The risks of conflict between Austria and Russia, and between Russia and the United Kingdom, are tremendous; and France could not on this occasion be left out of the account as she was in the proposals made by the Emperor Nicholas I., to Sir Hamilton Seymour, before the Crimean war, when Russia proposed that England should take Egypt and Crete, and that the future of continental Turkey east of the Isthmus of Suez should be settled between Austria and himself. All the Powers at the present moment are opposed to a partition, although Lord Salisbury made an incautious speech on the first night of the present session in which he said that if the offer of the Emperor Nicholas were to be renewed at the present time it would be gladly accepted. The policy, however, of freeing the islands of the Archipelago which are entirely Greek by race and mainly Greek by religion, from a Turkish rule which is wholly alien, and in their case not even a necessary evil, is distinct from that of continental partition, and might be adopted without danger to the general fabric of Turkish rule, if the Powers were true to the policy which they have professed. The doubt is whether Germany, Austria, and Italy are really friendly to the claims of Greece. Germany is, we are told, in fact unfriendly. Austria has her own claims on territory inhabited by Greeks in the direction of Salonica, and Italy had some years ago pretensions in Albania which brought her into sharp conflict with the Greeks. In France there is a good deal of feeling in favor both of the classical Greek cause and of the person of King George; and in England the Greek cause is extremely popular.

One of the chief difficulties of the question lies in the fact that the emperors and the conservative statesmen naturally desire to see the pacification of the Levant at the end of the efforts that

they are making, whereas this pacification is not likely to be their outcome. Supposing the Cretan question settled, the probability of a renewed outbreak in Macedonia in the spring is hardly perhaps decreased by the settlement which will have been come to.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

II.

THOSE who are condemning Greece for disturbing the peace of Europe ought to stop and think of the circumstances which brought about the present state of things, and lay the responsibility where it should be, and not on Greece and her sovereign.

The present insurrection of Crete is the ninth since that unhappy island came into the possession of the Turks in 1669. In 1821—the Greek War of Independence—Crete revolted with the other islands against the rule of the Sultan, but when, by the treaty of London of 1830, Greece became an independent Kingdom, the island was handed back to Turkey, and since that time the insurrections of the Cretans have been periodical and, at times, very serious.

It is generally admitted that Crete has been always one of the worst governed provinces of Turkey, and no Christian people in the Ottoman Empire suffered more than the Christians of Crete at the hands of their Mussulman rulers. In 1840 the island was handed over to Mehemet Ali of Egypt, but shortly afterwards the Turks took possession again and ruled with such high hand that in 1866 a formidable insurrection broke out which lasted over two years. The brave islanders came very near attaining their cherished hope, union with Greece, had it not been for the jealousy of the European Powers and the distrust of each other, which enabled the Turks to become masters once more. That war cost the Turkish Treasury more than $30,000,000, or as Ali Pasha, the grand vizier, remarked at the time, more than the cost of the Crimean war.

At the end of 1868 an organic law was promulgated, making some liberal concessions to the Cretans, but, as usual, they were never put into practice, and dissatisfaction and chaos were the result.

After the signature of the San Stefano treaty the Cretans

made an earnest appeal to the Berlin Congress, through the Greek delegates, for the amelioration of their pitiful condition, and the result was the insertion of the following article in the Berlin treaty:

"Article XXIII.—The Sublime Porte undertakes to apply scrupulously to the Island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868, whilst introducing into it the modifications which may be considered advisable."

The Turks signed the treaty, but never troubled themselves about the organic law. A fresh insurrection (1878) broke out, and the Porte resorted to its usual tactics, promises, and sent Mukhtar Pasha to Crete to pacify the island, with full powers to grant certain privileges in accordance with the above organic law. Negotiations began at once between the Turkish Commissioner and the Christian delegates, and the result was the treaty of Halepa, signed on the 15th of October, 1878.

By the terms of that treaty the Governor of the Island was to be a Christian, and a limited measure of autonomy was granted. But the new regime did not work, or in plainer terms the Turks did not let it work. A Christian governor was appointed, it is true, but a military governor was sent at the same time, who had the command of the troops, and being a Mussulman could act independently of the civil governor. The position of the former became thus untenable, and after the appointment of one or two more Christian governors, with no better result, the Porte threw off the mask and a real Mussulman was sent finally. The concessions of the Halepa Treaty were withdrawn one after another, and that famous instrument became eventually a dead letter.

The result was another insurrection in 1889, which so exasperated the Sultan that he abolished formally all the privileges granted by the Halepa pact.

The island has been in a state of ferment ever since, and in July last (1896) open hostilities broke out between Mussulmans and Christians with the accompanying evils of plunder, massacre, and the burning of villages. These troubles culminated eventually in open insurrection; the Christians took to the mountains and occupied the principal strategic positions, and sympathizing volunteers went to their assistance from Greece. Had the Greek government encouraged the insurgents then, things would not have come to the dangerous point they have now reached.

Through her Consuls at Canea and Heraklion, Greece advised the insurgents to stop the aggressive war, assuring them that the Powers were working for their benefit, and that the Porte would renew the terms of the Halepa treaty, whose execution would be supervised by the foreign Consuls.

The Porte, pressed by the Powers, through their ambassadors at Constantinople, promulgated finally one Irade, or Imperial Decree, the terms of which were as follows:

Article 1. The Governor-General will be a Christian, appointed by the Sultan, with the approval of the Powers, for five years.

Art. 2. The Governor-General will have the right to veto the measures passed by the Assembly, but in case he fails to exercise this privilege within two months, said law will be considered as valid.

Art. 3. In case of disturbances the Governor-General may use the Imperial Army to re-establish order, but, with the exception of this eventuality, the soldiers must remain within the fortresses.

Art. 4. The Governor-General will appoint the employees of secondary posts, the number of which will be fixed later on. The employees of higher grades shall be appointed by the Sultan.

Art. 5. Public officers will be distributed in the proportion of two-thirds to Christians and one-third to Mussulmans.

Art. 6. The election of members to the National Assembly will take place every two years. The sessions will last from 40 to 80 days.

The Assembly will vote the estimates for two years, will audit the accounts, and decide every law and proposition by two-thirds majority.

Art. 7. Any proposition for an increase of expenditure cannot be introduced except by the Governor-General or the appropriate Committee.

Art. 8. The firman of 1889, which grants to Crete one-half of the customs revenues, is hereby confirmed. The tax on imported tobacco goes to the Treasury of the Island. The Sublime Porte will assume the deficits which remained unconfirmed by the Assembly, deducting, however, the amounts advanced by the Imperial exchequer.

Art. 9. A Committee, including European officers, will reorganize the local *gendarmerie*.

Art. 10. A committee, which will include foreign jurists, will study the necessary reforms for the administration of justice, preserving intact the existing treaties (capitulations).

Art. 11. The publication of books and newspapers is permitted. Also the establishment of printing offices and of scientific associations according to law.

Art. 12. Kurd immigrants cannot establish themselves in the Island without the permission of the Governor-General. He will have the right to exile any of them who cannot show visible means of existence and whose presence may be considered as detrimental to the public order.

Art. 13. The General Assembly will begin its sittings within six months after the confirmation of this Constitution. The elections will take place in accordance with the law of 1887 and until that time the Governor-General will carry out the existing regulations, in conjunction with the Municipal Council.

Art. 14. The great Powers will undertake to see that the above regulations shall be faithfully carried out.

The above organic law was accepted by the Cretan Delegates and signed on the 3d of September, 1896, with the following declaration :

"The undersigned, plenipotentiaries to the Cretan General Assembly, do declare that we accept, in the name of the Christian population of Crete, the organic law, communicated to us by the Consuls of the Great Powers September 1, 1896."

The Cretans were at the time satisfied with these concessions, and waited for the promised reforms, but in vain. The Porte put all sorts of impediments in the way of the reorganization scheme; the Mussulmans of Crete were enraged at the concessions made to the Christians, the Consuls looked on passively and did nothing, and disorder reigned in the unhappy island once more. The Christians became restless, the Turks arrogant, and the revolting scenes of pillage, massacre, and incendiarism were renewed, more fiercely than ever, culminating with the terrible slaughter at Canea, which forced the European Powers to look once more into the Cretan question, which threatened to take unexpected proportions and reopen, perhaps, the dreaded Eastern question.

Greece was accused of fomenting the insurrection of July, 1896, and helping secretly the insurgents. Nothing is further from the truth. On the contrary, the Greek Government, through its Consul-General at Canea, counselled moderation to the insurgents, promising that she would use all her influence with the great Powers to obtain from the Sultan the concessions asked. It is true that many volunteers from Greece joined the insurgents, being in hearty sympathy with them, but the government was entirely powerless to prevent their going. Premier Delyannis expressed himself as follows to a foreign correspondent at the time :

"There must be an end to the present state of things in Crete. The impression made by the recent massacres, devastations, and plunder has created a public opinion which cannot be overlooked by the Greek Government. We cannot always act as guardians to Turkey and endeavor to suppress the sentiments of our brothers, by postponing indefinitely the fulfilment of their most cherished aspirations.

"In the Berlin Congress Mr. Waddington said to me : 'Have patience. Crete is a ripe fruit. It will soon fall.' But think what we had to go through ever since. We have made immense sacrifices in money. We

always advised the Cretans to have patience and be prudent. But there are moments when, on account of Turkish misgovernment and oppression, they lose patience, and then they resort to arms. Their villages are burned and they extend to us supplicating hands. We are bound to protect them, but it is a terrible drain on our resources, for the reason that Europe and the Sultan are doing us the favor to let us feed and clothe these poor people, reduced to abject misery by the Moslem fanatical hordes."

The recent massacres at Canea rendered the position of King George and his Cabinet well-nigh untenable. Something had to be done and that without delay. The excitement rose up to fever heat. Officers of the regular army deserted their posts and went to Crete to join the insurgents. Committees of citizens were formed and gold from home and abroad poured in in a steady stream. Dangerous demonstrations were made under the windows of the King and of Prime Minister Delyannis and the word "treason" was often pronounced among the crowd. No human power could stem the current; the whole nation had risen like one man clamoring for armed intervention in Crete. What could the King and his Cabinet do, except to follow the national current? A Greek torpedo flotilla under Prince George, the second son of the King, sailed for the Cretan waters and an expeditionary corps of regulars, 1,500 strong, commanded by Colonel Vassos, Aide-de-Camp to the King, landed at Platania, near Canea, to prevent further massacres and establish order. The Cretans hailed the landing of the troops with delight. They brought law and order to them. But this bold movement was frowned at by the great Powers. They called it rash, senseless, and dangerous to European peace. They sent their men-of-war to Canea and landed marines to preserve order. They even bombarded with shells the positions of the insurgents, when the latter came dangerously near the city walls. Thus we witness the sad spectacle of Christian Europe upholding Turkish rule in Crete against the wish of its inhabitants, not from conviction that they are doing right, but because they are afraid that by the transfer of Crete to the Greek rule other Turkish provinces may revolt and reopen thus the Eastern question.

The idle talk about the integrity of the Turkish Empire deceives nobody to-day. The dismemberment of Turkey began over 100 years ago. In 1783, Turkey lost the Crimea. In 1830 she lost Greece. In 1857 Moldavia and Wallachia, the two Danubian principalities, were united, and finally became the present flour-

ishing kingdom of Roumania under King Charles in 1881. In 1862 the Turkish garrison evacuated Belgrade, and in 1878 Servia became an independent kingdom. Bulgaria is virtually independent under Prince Ferdinand, and Turkey quietly acquiesced in the absorption of Eastern Roumelia in 1887. Kars and Batum were snatched by Russia in 1878. England seized Cyprus in the same year, and Austria was comfortably installed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Where is the alleged integrity of the Turkish Empire in the face of the above historical facts? Bosnia and Herzegovina, two essentially Mussulman provinces, have nothing in common with Austria, which now rules over them. But when the question of Crete and Greece comes to be considered, all Christian Europe shakes with holy horror at the unreasonable aspirations of Greece in seeking to free an island inhabited by a homogeneous population, professing the same faith and situated at its very doors. But in this advanced era of civilization a new force, that makes for justice, is always felt on occasions like this among civilized nations, and that is "public opinion." While Lord Salisbury was declaring in the House of Lords that Crete cannot be united to Greece, one hundred English Liberals were signing a telegram of sympathy to King George, and a monster meeting of 30,000 Englishmen in Hyde Park were passing resolutions in favor of Greece.

Numerous meetings were held in the principal towns of Italy, expressing lively sympathy with Greece, and not only money was contributed, but many volunteers started for Crete to fight on the side of the Cretans. Two hundred French students in Paris offered their services to the Greek Minister in that capital, to go to Crete at their own expense, provided the Greek Government would recognize them as a military body, and lastly the United States Senate passed unanimously a resolution of sympathy with Greece, following the American traditions of 1821, the year of the Greek war of Independence. Greece to-day has enlisted the sympathies of the whole civilized world, and whether she succeeds or not this time to fulfil part at least of her national aspirations, she has proved beyond doubt that the old spirit of Hellenism is fully alive among the Greeks of to-day, and that they are justified in their claim to be considered an important element in the regeneration of Eastern Europe.

D. N. Botassi.

A SPANISH VIEW OF THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY CAPTAIN JOSÉ GUITIÉRREZ SOBRAL, NAVAL ATTACHÉ OF THE SPANISH LEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

IT is not the purpose of this article to enter into a technical study of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, or to discuss the question as to whether this inter-oceanic route is or is not more practicable of realization than the rival routes of Panama and Tehuantepec. It is indisputable that, whichever one of the three routes shall be finally adopted and the work carried to a successful conclusion, the benefits to commerce and navigation will be very great. For many years past it has been the dream and ambition of science and capital to cut the isthmus which unites the two Americas, but the work heretofore undertaken for this purpose has not borne the desired fruit. The first project was to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, the idea being to construct a canal whose waters would be on a level with the two oceans, thus avoiding the necessity for locks, and making it similar to the Suez Canal; but it was speedily discovered that, owing to the great inundations of the Chagres and the passage of the Culebra, it would be necessary to construct locks which would carry the canal above the maximum rise of the former river and the lowest level of the Culebra. The difficulty, however, in the first of these two requirements is, that there is no means of supplying water to locks above the highest level of the Chagres, and besides it would be necessary to adopt precautionary measures to prevent the inundation of that river from endangering the canal.

The Tehuantepec project consisted simply in building across the isthmus of that name a railroad of four tracks, to be traversed by specially constructed cars capable of sustaining the vessels to be transferred from the port of Barra in the Gulf of

Mexico to Salina Cruz on the Pacific Coast, the distance between these two ports being 154 miles. There exists in Nova Scotia a railroad 17 miles long which unites the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence and which is capable of transferring vessels of 2,000 tons.

The third project is to construct a canal across Nicaragua by utilizing the San Juan River and the Nicaragua Lake. Whilst this would not form a level-water canal, it would, nevertheless, require but few locks, and these could easily be supplied with water, since there are natural deposits.

As has been said, none of these three projects has yet been carried to a successful issue, and this need not excite surprise when it is considered that the Isthmus of Suez, of infinitely more importance, remained for centuries and centuries closed to the vast commerce which has always been carried on between the peoples of Europe and those of the Orient. I am far from ignoring the advantages which any one of the three projected canals would give to the country it intersected; but at the same time I am certain that, for international and universal commerce, it would never be of the same importance as the Suez Canal. I base this belief upon the fact that the Red Sea forms part of the road which unites two hemispheres, whose productions, industries, and manufactures are entirely different. Europe and Asia, from whatever point of view you may consider them, are two distinct and separate regions, whereas Europe and America consist of populations very similar to each other. As in liquids currents form themselves, owing either to difference of level or to inequality in specific gravity, so in the mercantile world will be found commercial currents between two countries due to the fact of inequality of production, or to the fact that one produces what the other does not.

When we pass through the proposed canal and come to the Pacific side, the first thing we see toward the south are the lands of Peru and Chile, and toward the north the lands of Mexico and the United States, countries which, owing to the conditions of soil and the character of the population, can raise all such products as are raised in Europe and in still greater quantity. Besides, it must be borne in mind, that those Pacific coasts are intimately connected with the Atlantic by great railroad systems which traverse the United States, Mexico, and Canada at the

north, and Chile and the Argentine Republic at the south; and these railroads are constantly bringing to the Atlantic seaboard merchandise for export to Europe. Even the great rivers of America would seem to minimize the need of a canal at any part of the Isthmus. The superb Mississippi, with its great tributaries, the Missouri and the Ohio, pour their waters into the Gulf of Mexico, to which they carry the wines made on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the flocks and herds of the great West, and the wheat of Manitoba. The Amazon and the Orinoco bear to the eastern coast the productions of those sections bordering on the Pacific; and as river transportation at all times offers the great advantage of reduced cost, it is hardly probable that an artificial channel like an isthmian canal will ever succeed in diverting from the water-courses named the vast commerce which they carry to the Atlantic coast. Nor is it to be supposed that the Nicaragua Canal would be able to compete with the Suez route, and thus influence European commerce. The commercial current between China, Japan, and Australia, and Europe would not follow the Central American route; for, besides being longer, it would mean the crossing of two wide oceans offering no ports of call at which to fill up in the frequent cases where vessels start on a voyage with light cargo. It is precisely in the frequent discharging and receiving of freight at the different Mediterranean and Oriental ports that a shipowner finds his profits; in short, the lines of marine transportation are similar to those of land—they seek the centers of production and not the desert, the latter being represented on the water by the wide ocean.

Here are the distances from Liverpool to various points in the far east *via* Suez and *via* Nicaragua, respectively:

From Liverpool.	Via Suez, miles.	Via Nicaragua, miles.
To Singapore	7,958	14,326
To Hong Kong	9,810	13,786
To Yokohama	11,765	12,111
To Melbourne	11,350	12,748

As will be seen from the above table, the distance from Liverpool to the east of Asia and Australia, *via* Suez, is shorter by several thousands of miles than *via* Nicaragua; and what is true of Liverpool is still more so of the ports of France and Spain, the advantage of the Suez route becoming still more striking the

further one proceeds east along the Mediterranean. I do not mean by these arguments to convey the idea that I consider the construction of the Central American Canal to be a useless project; on the contrary, I believe it will be very beneficial, but more so to the American continent than to Europe.

The following table of distances from New York to points on the Continent will show this more clearly:

From New York.	Via Cape Horn, miles.	Via Nicaragua, miles.
To San Francisco	14,840	4,946
To Behring Straits	17,021	8,026
To Acapulco	12,071	3,122
To Callao	10,689	3,701
To Guayaquil	11,471	3,053
To Valparaiso	9,750	4,688

It is evident from the above table what an advantage the maritime commerce of America would derive from either the Panama or Nicaragua Canal. The vessels which now sail with cargoes of lumber from Oregon and Washington would thereby be saved a journey of thousands of miles at present rendered necessary by way of Cape Horn; and such important ports as New York and New Orleans would be brought into close connection with China and Japan, as will be seen from the following table:

From New York.	Via Suez, miles.	Via Nicaragua, miles.
To Singapore	11,549	11,578
To Hong Kong	13,401	11,038
To Yokohama	15,314	9,863
To Melbourne	14,920	10,000

From New Orleans.	Via Suez, miles.	Via Nicaragua, miles.
To Singapore	12,100	10,865
To Hong Kong	13,650	10,325
To Yokohama	14,650	8,650
To Melbourne	14,790	9,287

The distance between New York and Singapore is almost equal by either of the two routes named; but in the case of the other ports the saving in distance from American eastern ports is very great; in other words, the construction of the canal is of prime importance to such eastern ports of the American Continent.

In the year 1790 the centre of population in the United States was Baltimore, and proceeding parallel with the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude, this centre has been shifting until, in 1890, it was found to be between Cincinnati and Indianapolis, that is, in the valley of the Ohio River. The commercial

centre of the United States is gradually moving toward the West; but will this movement continue in the future, or will it stop its course in the valley of the Mississippi? A single topographical condition places the matter in doubt. The Rocky Mountains separate the extreme West—Oregon, Washington, and California, bathed by the Pacific—from those States which are watered by the Mississippi. The relations of these two regions with the East are sustained by means of the railroads which traverse the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and these latter, at the present time, enjoy a monopoly in the transportation of Western products. Any one having the most rudimentary knowledge of the laws of commerce will see at a glance that the greatest enemy of this syndicate of transcontinental railroads would be found in a Nicaragua Canal, hence it is that the former will, as a matter of self-preservation, seek to place every obstacle in the way of a canal enterprise, no matter at what point it may be projected.

In view of the vast extent of this Republic, I am inclined to think that the extreme West will constitute a sphere of production independent of the Central States, of which Chicago may be said to be the metropolis, and the commercial independence of both of these regions is likely to be powerfully affected by events which have recently occurred in China and Japan. Even England herself will be likely to feel the influence of what has taken place in the waters of the Yellow Sea; for the late war between China and Japan has ushered in a new era, both political and commercial, with respect to the far East.

If, as a result of the war, Japan has not obtained any great political advantage on the continent of Asia in the shape of territorial aggrandizement, by which she may at no remote time claim a share in the probable partition of China, she has in exchange obtained a signal success in her commercial treaties with the former country. Twenty-five Chinese ports are at present open to the commerce of Europe and America, and both of these latter can now carry their merchandize into the interior upon payment of a scale of duties by no means onerous.

Of these twenty-five treaty ports, fifteen only were open to the Japanese, and if the latter wished to carry their trade into the interior of the Celestial Kingdom they had to pay such heavy duties and fulfil such impossible conditions as to practically debar their

entry. By the new treaty, however, Japan comes under the most favored nation clause, so that she now not only enjoys greater scope for her commercial transactions, but can also utilize the new ports recently opened up to universal commerce, viz., Chun-King and Hang-Chow. This new commercial treaty is beneficial to all nations, but there is one that will derive especial benefit from it, that one being the United States. China, as we all know, comprises a vast population, and is a country whose natural wealth has long lain dormant for lack of development, and this being fully understood by Americans, they have turned their eyes to that inviting field. By reason of their political economy, the United States have succeeded in shutting the gates of Europe to many of their products, and owing to the vast quantity of improved machinery now existing in the Republic, it is found that domestic consumption alone cannot absorb the output, hence the necessity for a new market in the far East. A powerful commercial current is likely to be formed on the Pacific Coast of the United States, a current which will in all probability give Americans a great advantage over England with her Suez route in supplying the Asiatic market. The advantage will consist in reduced distance, always a powerful factor in transportation; and, as the reader will perceive from the preceding tables, the distance from San Francisco or even New York to Hong Kong and Yokohama is much shorter than from Liverpool to those ports. I select Liverpool as the point of comparison, since the most active competition for the trade of the far East will undoubtedly be between England and the United States. Up to the present time, this competition has been destroyed as far as the United States is concerned, thanks to the protectionist policy, which has sought to and has indeed subserved the particular interests of New York and Pennsylvanian manufacturers, but at the expense of other parts of the country which are purely agricultural.

It may be objected that the greater cost of transportation by the Isthmus of Suez than by the Pacific will be offset by the cheaper cost of production in England. It is undoubtedly true that the cost of production has heretofore been, and is still, greater in the United States than in England, but the difference is yearly becoming less marked, since wages in the United States are continually succumbing to the inevitable law of demand and supply, and in spite of protective measures they must ere long approxi-

mate to at least the English standard. Some time ago, when emigration had not assumed its present proportions skilled labor was in a position to dictate almost its own terms, but to-day the opposite is the case, as there is a plethora of such labor going from one industrial centre to another in search of work, and as a consequence, such labor has to submit to the laws of competition. The manufacturing centres of the United States are in the East, and from the Eastern section there is a constant emigration of workmen who, having in vain sought work in Wilmington, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Chicago and other industrial centres, betake themselves to the far West. It follows from this, that the Western shores of the United States are destined to carry on a much greater trade with Eastern Asia than with Europe, and that New York and New Orleans will continue to constitute the export ports for such products of the Central States as are to be shipped to Europe.

Once built, the Nicaragua Canal will be highly beneficial to maritime commerce between North and South America, for that canal will be the natural channel for vessels going from the Southern Pacific coast to the North Atlantic coast, and *vice versa*. The Gulf of Mexico will profit by it by putting itself in communication with the western coasts of the Central American republics, and Europe will avail itself of the route in order to reach the shores of Chile and Peru and those of Mexico on the Pacific. On the other hand, the Suez Canal has greatly shortened the distance between Europe and Asia, between which from time immemorial there have existed commercial relations of vast importance. By way of the Suez Canal, vessels proceed to the immense coasts of Arabia, India, Siam, Cochin-China, China, Corea, Japan, and the Philippine Islands, all of them rich in products unknown in America. Compare the movement of vessels *via* the Cape of Good Hope before the opening of the Suez Canal with the present tonnage *via* Cape Horn and it will be seen that the latter does not constitute one-tenth of the former. The recent failure of the Panama project was due not so much to financial scandals, shameful as these were, as to the fact that there was no clear conception, as there was in case of the Suez Canal, of the great advantages to be derived from the work, once accomplished. The loss of some millions of dollars may be contemplated with calmness when one is buoyed

up with hope and conviction; and those who proposed to unite the waters of the Mediterranean with those of the Red Sea looked such possible loss steadily in the face and proceeded confidently with the work of building the Suez Canal, notwithstanding the ill-concealed, if not active opposition of a powerful nation like England.

It is sufficient to glance at a map of the United States to see at once how important, in a strategic and military sense, the Nicaragua Canal would be to this country. The Atlantic and Pacific coasts, now separated by some 12,000 miles of water, require for their defence powerful squadrons which have to manœuvre independently of each other, since they are so widely separated that it is impossible for them to render each other mutual support. The 2,043 miles of coast, stretching from Sandy Hook to Florida, 1,852 miles from this latter to the Rio Grande, and 1,810 miles from the Mexican frontier to the Straits of Fucar, making a total of 5,705 miles, render it a matter of difficulty to defend so extensive a littoral, and in this enumeration I have left out of calculation the 3,000 miles of coast comprised in the Alaskan possessions. Along the vast coast line I have alluded to are situated some of the most important cities of the Union—centres of population enormously rich in manufacturing industries and yet almost defenceless against attack from any one of the European fleets.

It is not sufficient for the North American Republic that the Nicaragua Canal should be built; she desires more; she not only aspires to a preponderating influence, but almost to absolute ownership of this interoceanic route known as the "Key of the Pacific." The interests of the United States, says an American writer, must never be exposed to the contingencies of a European war, which might result in the seizure of the Nicaragua Canal by some of the belligerents. Halifax, Bermuda, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica, Kitts, Saint Vincent, Granada, Trinidad, and other islands in the Caribbean Sea now owned by European powers, would at any time constitute a danger for the United States in case the latter were not in possession of the canal, which he insists should be perfectly fortified, not only at its two extremities, but along its entire extension, so as to guard it from falling into the power of any hostile nation. Of all the possessions I have enumerated the most important in the estimate

of Americans are those belonging to England. As to Cuba, although occupying a commanding strategic position with reference to Mexico and the Caribbean sea, the island inspires no apprehension in the United States so long as it is in the possession of Spain, for it is not supposed that the latter will in any contingency interfere in the affairs of Nicaragua. What is to be guarded against, says the same American writer, is, that in the event of Cuba becoming independent, she must not be permitted to become another Black Republic like Hayti, and to save the island from such a fate, the intervention of some strong power would become necessary. The official character of the writer referred to (Assistant Secretary of War) did not permit of his specifying which nation would constitute this strong power, but anyone who is at all familiar with American affairs can readily guess for himself.

It is clear that no nation is so much interested as the United States in the construction of an isthmian canal which will unite the waters of the Atlantic with those of the Pacific; for both in a commercial and military respect (especially the latter) it will be likely to prove of great benefit to the Republic. For my own part, I have always considered the great extent of the United States as, in one sense, their weakness; but the cutting of the canal will bring the remoter sections into connection. In case of war, their Atlantic squadron could at once go to the assistance of their Pacific squadron in the event of danger to the latter and *vice versa*—a thing which is to-day impossible.

I have no idea that the American nation will haggle over the outlay necessary for the work proposed, and they will certainly not be deterred from the enterprise by reason of the prejudice it will cause to European possessions in American waters; but I believe it will be necessary for Spain, in case the projected canal should be carried to a successful conclusion, to fortify her possessions in the West Indies and to maintain such a fleet in those waters as will neutralize to some extent the control of the canal by the United States. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that the nations of Europe will ever consent to such exclusive ownership; on the contrary, I think they will, with every show of justice, offer it their strenuous opposition. Even the Latin nations of the American continent, who now understand the full significance of the Monroe Doctrine, will probably oppose such

exclusive dominion, for they have come to know that the doctrine referred to is the Upas Tree beneath the shade of which their independence is expiring.

If the possession of the Nicaragua Canal gives its owner the option of throwing open or closing communication between the Pacific and the Caribbean Sea, it no longer facilitates but puts an embargo on communication between the last-named and the Gulf of Mexico. At the entrance to this gulf, whether coming through the Straits of Florida or those of Yucatan, there stands a sentinel who can watch it with ease, and can at a given moment bar the way to the ports of Texas, Louisiana, and those of the other States.

The degree of influence or control to be possessed by the United States over the Nicaragua Canal must depend upon the concurrence of various nations, but Spain as the owner of Cuba must at all times exercise a powerful influence in the Gulf of Mexico, and its fleet in those waters will play no secondary part.

Havana is the naval port of the Florida channel, and it only remains to seek a site which will in like degree dominate the Straits of Yucatan, and with proper fortifications at Cape San Antonio, which in stress would serve the Spanish fleet as a refuge, the position of Spain in the Gulf would be a commanding one.

J. G. SOBRAL.

THE NEED OF COPYRIGHT REFORM.

BY W. MORRIS COLLES, DIRECTOR OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

It may not be uninteresting to briefly investigate some of the more flagrant anomalies of the copyright laws which obtain in the United States and England. Sooner or later we believe the time will come when a code largely common to the two countries will be formulated, and we think there is little in the way of unity of action. The needs of authors and of the owners of copyrights in the United States and England are practically identical. What we require is a simple and clear enunciation of what copyright is, how it is created, and how it is protected; a ready means of elucidating dealings with it so that these shall be certain and clear. There can be no question whatever that an immense and a growing interest is being injuriously affected by the doubts, delays, and difficulties which surround the most simple transactions to which copyright is incidental. Some of these are, perhaps, inevitable, but many, if not most, will undoubtedly be removed, as they have been removed in the case of other vocations involving at least as complicated incidents.

Let us take, for instance, the term for which copyright endures. There is no reason whatever why a uniform term should not be agreed upon by the united voice of the world. By English common law, it is the opinion of many, that an author's copyright, prior to the Act of Anne, the first of the copyright Acts, was a perpetual right and endured for all time. In America there is, it is argued, no common law at all and the right was never anything else but statutory. For it is not possible to regard copyright as having had any existence in the States prior to the Constitution of 1786, or the first Copyright Act of 1790.

We must disregard the local laws of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and those other States which distinguished themselves by early copyright legislation. The Act of Congress of 1790 followed almost in terms the British statute of 1709. It gave to the author the same term of protection, for it was not until 1831 that this was extended by a right of renewal to author or his widow or children for a third term of fourteen years. This limit has remained unaltered, so that America stands in the position of conferring upon authors the shortest term known to any civilized country. Many successful American authors live to see some of their works common property, so that they would be better off in Japan. English copyright enjoys shorter protection than that of any other language. Spain and Italy are not regarded as very enlightened countries, but the former since 1879 has given life and eighty years, while the latter adds to a period enduring for life and forty years the right to a five per cent. royalty from all publishers for a further term of forty years.

A lively controversy has raged round all these terms. There is the school which holds the opinion very strongly that an author is not entitled to any protection at all, and there is the school which holds the ultra view, that an author is entitled as of right to perpetual copyright, and there are the means between these two extremes. The verdict of all the interests concerned is in favor of a common term, and it is widely held that this should be a mean between the periods prevailing, that is, life and thirty years, the term recommended by the Copyright Commissioners of Great Britain in 1878.

The first thing, therefore, for American reformers to take in hand, is the lengthening of the term in the United States, so that it should come into line with that prevailing in other countries. It is hardly fair reciprocity to give only the limited copyright now prevailing in America. As the law stands a British, or any other, author, acquiring a good American copyright, and dying just before the expiration of twenty-eight years, would not be able to leave any property behind him at all unless he had a widow and children.

Moreover, is it not ludicrous that the legislation of the United States should rest upon an obsolete statute of the reign of Queen Anne, and not upon established principles? Certain rash

writers have taken it into their heads to refer to the Act of Anne as being the cornerstone of English copyright law. It is difficult to discuss the question on that premise. The act was passed solely on the initiative of the Stationers' Company, whose members having at that time "fifty thousand pounds invested in copyrights," missed the remedies provided by the Licensing Acts, which had been abrogated in consequence of the triumphs of the constitutional objections to the principle of a censorship which had existed since Milton's day.

It was during its passage through Parliament that this "Act for the Encouragement of Learning" emasculated the law by giving future writers certain remedies for a term of years. Sixty years later it was decided by the House of Lords that the act was substitutionary and not cumulative, and that it had taken away all the old common law rights. In its penal sections the act followed with servile exactitude the Parliamentary Order of 1643, and the Licensing Act of 1662. The term fixed by the act was deliberately copied from the Statute of Monopolies of James I., not by reason of any analogy, but as a convenient period for an experimental remedy to run.

Now, can anything more absurd be conceived than that the copyright law of America should have been built upon a misapplied act of James I., unless it be the contention that the mistake established the truth of the principle that copyright is a monopoly?

Instances without number have been given of the injustice worked by the shortness of the term allowed by the American copyright law to authors. In the case of Washington Irving most of his better known works were out of copyright during his lifetime, but he could not even leave his nieces any claim to a renewal of the rights in his great "Life of Washington," which was only completed in the year of his death. Fenimore Cooper, too, lived to see many of his rights pass into the public domain. Lowell saw his early works become public property long before he died; so did Oliver Wendell Holmes, who enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his earliest efforts sold as "Holmes' Poems." Whittier underwent the same personal experience, and so did Bancroft, the earliest volumes of the first edition of whose "History of the United States" became public property in 1876 and 1879, while the copyright in the whole work expired in 1882.

Now, this is an obvious injustice, whatever may be said for or against the rights of authorship; the least that can be allotted to an author is protection during his life. The time is not far distant when the public verdict will be declared in favor of one uniform term which will secure to an author an adequate recompense and insure the return to honest literary endeavor that is not insured under our present imperfect and heterogeneous systems.

Next to the duration, if not before it, come what have been styled the investitive facts of copyright. No doubt a great stride towards uniformity has been made by the signatory states of the Berne Convention. The conferring of equal benefits with natives upon the authors of all the works of any of the states which have adhered to the convention on compliance with the conditions necessary in the "country of origin" renders absolute community in practice *pro tanto* unnecessary. The adhesion of the United States to the convention would mark an epoch in the history of intellectual property of unexampled importance; but that event seems destined to be postponed for a long while to come, and meanwhile it is eminently desirable for some common basis of practice to be agreed upon as to the acts conditional to copyright.

As things are, it is all chaotic. Registration, where it exists, and is conditional as in America, is a cut and dried formula, and it is generally more or less clear what are the required forms to be gone through. But is registration sufficient to secure a United States copyright? Is not publication also a condition precedent? Copyright in Great Britain is a more difficult *crux*. There are not, so far as we are aware, any precedents existing in any country to elucidate the point as to what constitutes publication. Thus a practice has sprung up of publishing *pro forma* which is, if you think of it, a contradiction in terms. For surely publication must imply a dedication to the public use, and publication *pro forma* can be nothing of the kind. Registration, as we have said, is an ascertainable fact. But registration may not be "good." As a matter of practice it is often bogus, and so you get a register, supposed to be conclusive evidence of title to valuable property, which is full of bogus entries. Then again the deposit of copies as provided for in nearly all countries is a tax. In Great Britain five copies may be required, one for the British

Museum, and one for each of the four libraries designated in the Act, if they call for them. In America, Belgium, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Canada, two copies are required ; in Spain and Bolivia, three copies, and in Venezuela four copies, and so on. Now, surely in the interests of literature this should be adjusted. If one copy only of any work were deposited at the National Library of each country in which copyright was sought, it should suffice to justify the claim of protection. The question is full of difficulty, and any conceivable machinery is liable to work badly, but nothing could be more mischievous than the present system, or want of system.

America has the advantage of Great Britain in having established a practical uniformity for the different classes of copyright. To take the words from the statute, "maps, charts, musical or dramatic compositions, engravings, cuts, photographs, paintings, drawings, chromos, statuary, and models or designs, if intended to be perfected as works of fine art," come within the same rules as books, as far as these are applicable. But American law has no definition of the word "book."

Now in England the case is very different. Not even is the term the same. In music, lectures, engravings, paintings, statuary, it varies and rests upon such distinct statutory rules as to give rise to the impression that there are different kinds of copyright. Then, again, take registration (which in the United States is uniformly essential) ; for books in England it is optional, for paintings, drawings, and photographs compulsory ; with statuary, again, it appears to be unnecessary to register at all since 1883, nor is any registration required to protect the copyright of an engraving. It is idle to generalize. Each case can only be dealt with as it arises, and in view of the facts, statutes, and precedents; but can a more complete muddle be conceived than the problem before anyone desiring to comply with the law in both countries ? It calls for a jury of experts to say what are the necessary investitive acts to be performed. In the case of music and any of the forms of artistic work the present system is monumentally chaotic. In other words, instead of the matter being simple and sure, it is full of difficulty and doubt, highly complicated and in large part unsettled and uncertain. Not even the judges themselves are clear as to the meaning of the statutes they have to interpret.

English and American reformers should give their lawmakers

no peace until they have individually obtained a code which shall be homogeneous and clear, dealing with all branches which make up this wide question. It should be within the power of every man to ascertain without loss of time or money the nature of the rights which he acquires for his artistic work, whatever shape it may take, and how to protect those rights.

If we turn from the incidents of copyright to the remedies for its infringement, we are in a more parlous case still. Both in England and America the position of a copyright owner is an unenviable one. One of the most simple remedies in theory known to English equity, an injunction to restrain a man from doing an act which he has no right to do, is in practice like playing with a boomerang. Anyone attempting to restrain an offender by an application of this character, after a long investigation involving an intolerable expense, stands a good chance of ascertaining that he ought to have pursued some other remedy. In short, in the present state of English practice, nobody knows until it is all over whether an injunction is the right remedy or not. It is said that there is a growing reluctance on the part of judges to grant injunctions; there is certainly likely to be a growing reluctance to apply for them. An action for damages in a copyright matter, again, can only be described as a luxury. Further, it is no doubt annoying to its owner to see a garbled version of a monumental work set before the public; but we doubt whether it would not be more annoying to him to have to pursue such a remedy as an action for libel, which is what the English precedents indicate to be the only legitimate course.

In the same way in the United States the course of litigation does not seem to be very much smoother. The total absence of any intercommunication between the executive branch which has the control of copyright matters and the judicial authority is perhaps inevitable; but it is certainly not generally understood that the functions of the Librarian of Congress are purely mechanical, involving no question of discretion and conferring no rights not subject to review. The United States Court has enriched the law of copyright by many most valuable decisions; but, to say the least, the process of obtaining the decisions of that tribunal seems to be not a little tedious. The reported cases which have come up for decision under the act of 1891, for instance, serve sufficiently to illustrate that the methods of American

courts differ little from those of English courts in point of certainty and dispatch.

Now, to dismiss the question of procedure in a few words, it must be confessed that the majority of cases of infringement are very trivial. The improper use of a copyright photograph, the illicit performance of a dramatic piece, the piracy whether in whole or in part of a copyright book, are all acts that could be dealt with in a summary manner, and punished (without prejudice to the pursuit of other and further remedies if desired) by a moderate penalty. The truth is that offenders have so long enjoyed comparative immunity on account of the intricacy and inevitable delay of legal proceedings that they often snap their fingers at the law, secure in the belief that they will not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their illicit gains. Now, if in both countries the tortuous procedure which belongs from time immemorial to the settlement of points of law were supplemented by a summary process capable of review, so as to obviate any miscarriage of justice, the game would not be worth the candle, and copyright owners would come by their own.

W. Morris Colles.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

NEITHER in his inaugural address nor in his first message to Congress has President McKinley indicated distinctly a foreign policy. His temporary silence on the subject is, of course, due to the fact that Congress has been convoked in special session for the single purpose of readjusting the tariff so as to make the national revenue at least equal to the national expenditure; and all the energies of the administration will be, if the executive is able to control events, concentrated on the attainment of that end. We scarcely need to say, however, that it is not always possible for a chief magistrate to avert international complications or to prevent public opinion from forcing international questions upon the Federal legislature. There may arise at any moment, for example, out of the situation in Cuba a crisis which will compel the United States to depart from the attitude of indifference which they have maintained for the last two years. So, too, an attempt on the part of Congress to repudiate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which on its face seems meant to be perpetually binding, may provoke serious remonstrance from Great Britain. The alleged intention, also, of the present government of the Dominion of Canada to propose a reciprocity treaty may make it needful for the President to declare what in his judgment should be the present and the eventual relations between this country and British North America. Then, an overture may be made once more by Denmark looking to the sale of her West Indian Islands. What Mr. McKinley would do in any of these contingencies has not been explicitly signified; for the reason, as we have said, that he hopes to have his hands left free for the solution of a fiscal problem. All that the President has said

with reference to matters of foreign policy is that he will assure to American citizens in all parts of the earth the enjoyment of their treaty rights, and that he desires to see confirmed by the Senate an arbitration treaty with Great Britain ; not necessarily the treaty negotiated by Mr. Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote in its original form, but, at all events, some modification of that treaty, which shall assert clearly and impressively the preference of enlightened nations for arbitration over war.

Few and brief, however, as are the allusions to the foreign relations of the government in the President's first state papers, we cannot be said to be left in the dark regarding his views and prepossessions. Mr. McKinley is no political accident ; he has been repeatedly tested in the public service ; he has come to his high office by no sudden leap out of obscurity, but after a protracted and varied experience in State and National affairs : he has been long in the public eye, and all men familiar with the political history of the nation during the last quarter of a century have learned to know something of his character and temperament, of his opinions, his sympathies, and his aims. Consequently, we are able to forecast to a considerable extent the foreign policy of the Federal government under the new administration, because we are acquainted with the main principles by which it will be shaped. It is only the time and mode of the application of those principles under the pressure of absorbing domestic business or of perplexing considerations of expediency, about which we are in doubt. One thing, for example, is certain and obvious, namely, that the course of our government with relation to foreign powers during the four years to come will be one determined and carried out by President McKinley himself, and that therein even the Secretary of State will play but a subordinate and ancillary part. Such has almost always been the case in the history of our Federal Executive, and such was manifestly the intention of the authors of the Constitution when they made the President himself, and not his Minister for Foreign Affairs, responsible to the Federal Legislature. It also seems probable, in view of what we know of the man and of the party which he personifies, that the foreign policy of President McKinley will be the opposite of that of President Cleveland, except in two particulars, namely, the assertion of the Monroe doctrine in the Venezuelan affair, and the affirmation of

the principle of arbitration. It may be averred with confidence, for instance, that the present Chief Magistrate would never have recalled from the Senate the Hawaiian treaty. He would undoubtedly have recognized the claim of Americans on the Hawaiian islands, both because they constitute a large and dominant element of the population, and because they were the Christianizers and the civilizers of the original inhabitants; neither would he have overlooked the value of the group to this country, considered as a purveyor of raw sugar, and as an almost indispensable station of coal supply and of repair, placed as it is midway in the Pacific Ocean. With regard to the Venezuela matter, we believe that Mr McKinley would have proclaimed from the outset of his term of office, without waiting until more than half of it had expired, that the forcible seizure of territory claimed by an American republic, coupled with England's persistent refusal to permit the claim to be tested by arbitration, constituted a flagrant infringement of the Monroe doctrine. For, surely, the occupation of an extensive gold-bearing region, including the mouth of the great river Orinoco, was one of the acts which President Monroe must have had in mind, when he declared that we could not view any interposition by any European power for the purpose of oppressing governments on this side of the Atlantic, whose independence we have acknowledged, or of controlling in any manner their destiny, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. It is by no means a purely academic question whether Mr. McKinley would have promptly taken in the Venezuela affair an attitude substantially identical with that which Mr. Cleveland tardily assumed. Similar controversies are far from unlikely to recur at an early date. On the side of Brazil the frontier of British Guiana remains undetermined; the same is true of French Guiana or Cayenne; and a similar dispute might arise at any hour between Brazil and Dutch Guiana, which latter, through the marriage of the girl Queen of Holland to a German prince, might become an appanage of the German Empire. It is, therefore, of the utmost consequence that for the four years to come we should have a President, as we believe we shall have, who, on behalf of a feeble South American republic, and for the purpose of upholding the integrity of its territory, would face France or Germany as firmly as he would face the United Kingdom.

What have the Cuban combatants for liberty to look for from the new President ? There is at least one thing which, it seems, the Cuban revolutionists should be able to count upon in the course of the coming twelvemonth, if President McKinley in the expression of his instinctive sympathies shall be swayed by the example of so cautious and conservative a statesman as was James Madison. We refer, of course, to the recognition of the Cubans as belligerents. It will be remembered that the *independence* of the Spanish-American republics was not recognized by President Monroe until his second term was considerably advanced, when their independence was a notorious and incontrovertible fact. It should, at the same time, be recalled that almost from the outset of the uprising against Spain this government had conceded to the Spanish-American revolutionists the full enjoyment of *belligerent* rights. Touching this point, we quote a paragraph from Monroe's second inaugural address, delivered on March 5, 1821 : " This contest was considered at an early stage by my predecessor [Madison] a civil war in which the parties were entitled to equal rights in our ports. This decision, the first made by any power, being formed on great consideration of the comparative strength and resources of the parties, the length of time, and the successful opposition made by the colonies, and of all other circumstances on which it ought to depend, was in strict accord with the law of nations. Our attitude has, therefore, been that of neutrality between the parties, an attitude which has been maintained by the government with the strictest impartiality. No aid has been afforded to either, nor has any privilege been enjoyed by the one which has not been equally open to the other party, and every exertion has been made in its power to enforce the execution of the laws prohibiting illegal equipments with equal rigor against both." President Monroe went on to explain that, by this equality between the parties, their public vessels had been received in our ports on the same footing; they had enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms, munitions of war and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which had been passed long before the commencement of the contest; our citizens, finally, had traded equally with both, and their commerce with each had been alike protected by the government.

Another thing which Mr. McKinley seems certain to note

with interest, after the passage of a tariff bill shall enable him to consider the expediency of recognizing that a state of war exists in Cuba, is the solicitude to extend toward the revolting Spanish-American colonies all the benefits of true neutrality exhibited by Mr. John Quincy Adams, when, as Monroe's Secretary of State, he wrote to Mr. Rush a letter, dated January 1, 1819, from which we make this extract: "While this state of things continues, an entire equality of treatment of the parties is not possible; there are circumstances arising from the nature of the contest itself which produce unavoidable inequalities. Spain, for instance, is an acknowledged sovereign power, and, as such, has Ministers and other privileged agents to maintain her interests and exercise her rights conformably with the use of nations. The South Americans, not being yet acknowledged as sovereign and independent states, cannot have the benefit of such officers. *We consider it, however, as among the obligations of neutrality to obviate this inequality, as far as may be practicable. We listen, therefore, to the representations of their deputies or agents, and do them justice, as much as if they were formally accredited.*" It should be borne in mind that Buenos Ayres did not herself declare her independence until 1816, and that Chili did not declare hers until 1818, when Madison's second administration was over. Belligerent rights, however, we repeat, had been conceded to them by the United States for many years. Now, there is more patent and conclusive proof of the existence of a state of public war in Cuba to-day than there was of the existence of a public war in Buenos Ayres, Chili, or Venezuela, when the insurrectionary governments of those countries were recognized as belligerents by Madison. The evidence is furnished by Spain herself, which has upon her pay rolls in Cuba, including volunteers, over 200,000 men, a larger force than she ever maintained simultaneously upon this continent against all her revolted colonists in South America, Central America, and Mexico. In the case of Madison, the recognition of belligerency was made by the Executive, although it was known to have the hearty approval of Congress. In the present instance, Mr. McKinley can have no doubt that a recognition of the Cubans as belligerents would be applauded by the Federal Legislature. He knows that a concurrent resolution in favor of such an act was passed a year ago by the last Congress, and he

knows that the present Congress is in complete accord with its predecessor in this particular. With regard, indeed, to the recognition of the *independence* of Cuba, it is natural that President McKinley should deem it wise to move with caution and circumspection in a matter so aggravating to Spain. What he will do in reference to this matter will doubtless depend on circumstances, by which we mean the duration of the struggle, the measure of success attained by the insurgents, the attitude of European powers, and, above all things, the treatment of American citizens by Spain. A recognition of the Cubans as *belligerents* is a very different thing; it could give Spain no reasonable ground of offence; and, as we have shown in the case of the other Spanish-American colonies, this preliminary step was taken by Madison many years before the second was resolved upon by Monroe.

Although, however, the official expression of the President's sympathies for the Cuban revolutionists will, no doubt, be carefully adjusted to the interests of our own country, those very interests require him to protect the lives and property of American citizens; and this he will unquestionably do under all conditions and against whatever odds. A citizen sojourning in a foreign country is, of course, expected to obey its laws, but, when accused of breaking them, the strong arm of our federal government will be lifted to assure to him every tittle of his treaty rights. Nor, we are confident, will any attempt be made under the new administration, as was made by Mr. Olney, to discriminate between native and naturalized citizens of the United States on the pretext that naturalization papers may have been obtained by fraud. It is the business of the State court which issued them to annul such papers, if due cause be shown; but, in the absence of such annulment, it is not for a federal official to impeach a certificate good upon its face, and to assume to prejudge a case of which he has no proper cognizance. From the course already pursued by our State Department there seems to be good reason to believe that, before Mr. McKinley has been a month in office, there will be a general jail delivery of American citizens wrongfully incarcerated in Cuba.

A word should be said about the interview alleged to have been given by Mr. Sherman to the correspondent of the London *Times*. To the Secretary of State were imputed the assertion,

"If Spain would give me a quit-claim deed to the island of Cuba, I would not have it," and the further statement that he is opposed to all annexation. Especially was he said to have repelled the notion of desiring the annexation of Canada, peaceably or otherwise, to the United States. "Such a move," he is alleged to have said, "is for the interest of neither party." We understand that Mr. Sherman has repudiated a large part of the interview reported in the *Times*, and we are confident that the words ascribed to him do not express the views of the President. It is impossible that Mr. McKinley should not recognize the strategical, industrial, and commercial value of Cuba to this country, although for the moment the annexation of the island is not mooted by anyone. With respect to the annexation of Canada, we may be equally sure that our Chief Magistrate will abide unswervingly by the platform upon which he was elected. That platform, framed by the Republican party in its National Convention at St. Louis, comprised the following affirmation: "We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the Continent by the free consent of its inhabitants." Continental union, peaceably effected, was thus established and proclaimed a principle of the Republican party. The principle was accepted by the people at the ballot-box, and every member of the administration from the President down is bound by it. We have no doubt that Mr. McKinley, mindful of the pledge embodied in the platform to which he subscribed, will apply his influence and his ability in all lawful ways to further the movement for the voluntary incorporation of Canada with this Republic. He may not hold that extension of territory is desirable for its own sake; but he cannot but recognize that in the case of Canada there would be also an extension of market, and an extension of the field of American investments over Canadian mines and enterprises. Nor can he shut his eyes to the fact that the annexation of the Dominion of Canada would mean the final exclusion of war, with all its burdens and horrors, from this continent, and the secure dedication of North America to industry and peace.

We have said that in his inaugural address Mr. McKinley expressed his approval of the Anglo-American arbitration treaty, though he was careful to abstain from disputing the right and

duty of the Senate, as a part of the treaty-making power, to weigh its provisions with care, and improve them, if improvement seemed required. It goes without saying that the President, like every American, is a friend of peace and of arbitration, whenever such blessings can be secured without too great a sacrifice. It was not, however, as an advance agent of the millennium that the new Chief Magistrate came before his countrymen last November; it is to a narrower achievement, namely, the recovery of our national prosperity, that he stands pledged. If that could be best assured by the adoption of the arbitration treaty, in the form which it bore when it left Mr. Olney's hands, he would undoubtedly favor the confirmation of the instrument without amendments. If, on the contrary, amendments seem in the eyes of far-sighted men indispensable to the safe-guarding of our country's interests, we may depend upon it that the maintenance of such amendments will be viewed by the Executive with satisfaction.

When one essays to forecast the foreign policy of a chief magistrate who has thus far refrained from making any comprehensive announcement of his plans, one is forced, as we have said, to base prevision on one's general knowledge of the man. Such knowledge would have been inadequate in the case of Mr. Cleveland, who was somewhat suddenly lifted to the exalted place of a four year's king, without his being able to point to any considerable experience of public life in conspicuous places. This is not the case with President McKinley. His abilities, his temper, his acquirements, and his character have been tested, as we have said, in a great variety of important functions, which have kept him for many years in the eye of his party and his country. As a matter of fact we know more about him than during the last forty years we have known of any other President up to the hour of his taking office. This is as it should be. The tremendous powers of an American executive ought never to be intrusted to a man with any single aspect of whose public or private life his countrymen are unfamiliar.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

BY THE HON. PERRY BELMONT.

"A GOVERNMENT of the people, for the people, and by the people!" That was Lincoln's ideal description of a pure democracy, but what was the character of the governments established by the men of our colonial era?

By reason of the peculiar personal characteristics, the circumstances and political conduct of the early actual settlers in the Anglo-American Colonies, and the imperfect control exercised in England over the original corporations, or companies, it came to pass that after the Revolution the people of each colony had a perfect and absolute right as well as an experience of independent self-government. Beginning in 1776 each of the Thirteen Colonies, one after another, framed and adopted a written Constitution. Thereafter the people of the States made and subsequently amended, a written Constitution for the States united. None of those Constitutions, State or National, transferred all political sovereignty to the Government created. Any doubt in regard to that was removed by the Tenth Amendment, which declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The new industrial problems now pushing to the front respecting individual liberty and property give importance to those divisions of political power.

Neither the government of any State, nor that of the United States, had in the beginning, or has now, inherent sovereignty. Each has only so much as has been delegated by the people in the deed of incorporation. Very learned writers on political science have made volumes of discussion of the question, "What is a State?" The Supreme Court has, since the end of the Civil

War, defined a State in our Union of States as "a political community of free citizens, occupying a territory of defined boundaries, and organized under a government sanctioned and *limited* by a written constitution, and established by the consent of the governed." In the same opinion, after declaring that the perpetuity and indissolubility of the Union by no means imply the loss of the right of self-government by the States; that the preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union, and the maintenance of the national government, the Court made an utterance as felicitous and striking as was that by Lincoln describing democracy. It said:

"The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States."

When the War of Secession had been closed, there were adopted by the States certain amendments of the Constitution, intended, by additional powers given to the United States, to afford enlarged protection of the liberty and property of each one of the people. The Supreme Court has told us that those amendments "did not destroy the main features of the system." One of the most far-reaching was the fourteenth. The fifth had declared that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." That restraint had reference only to Congress, and did not limit the power of any State. The Constitution of New York has had, since 1821, a similar injunction, and the protection of the rights of individuals to liberty and property in New York has always been the duty of New York. The Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution gave to New Yorkers an additional guaranty that those rights of liberty and property shall not be invaded, but yet protecting an equality of rights in New York remains, as before, the duty of New York. The United States are now bound to take care that New York does not deny that equality. When the Fourteenth Amendment had been adopted there were men who hoped and believed that the former sovereignty of each State in the Union was at an end, and that thenceforth the Nation alone was to be the only real State. Happily the Supreme Court destroyed that hope and belief wherever it existed. Only two years

ago last January it decided that the relief of the citizens of each State from the burden of "monopoly," and the evils resulting from the restraint of trade among such citizens, had by the Constitution been left with the States, and left with them exclusively, subject always to the restriction that, in dealing with even such evils, the State could not interfere in disregard of "due process of law." The legislature of a State cannot make a monopoly unconstitutional by merely declaring that certain acts will constitute it. The new Amendment did not, said the Court, add new rights; it only provided new guaranties for such right as already existed.

The Fourteenth Amendment, since its adoption by the States, has been often invoked at Washington by corporations, companies, or individuals, complaining of unconstitutional exactions under the laws of one of the States, either as taxes, or for services rendered, which were, in modern judicial language, "clothed with, or affected by, a public use." The tendency of the decisions has been that the phrase, "due process of law," must have judicial application, "under the form and with the machinery provided by the wisdom of successive ages for ascertaining the truth of a matter in controversy." When, in railway administration, a State has empowered commissioners to establish rates (a task not feasible in regard to prices of all articles) and a railway has complained of the unreasonableness of a rate, and the State Court has adjudged that, under the State law, the unreasonableness cannot be investigated, then such State law is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment, because a deprivation of property "without due process of law." The judicial and not the legislative power is the final arbiter of the reasonableness of prices for services "affected by a public use."

I have briefly, and very inadequately, sketched in outline one part of the system of rights and duties by which, in our country, is prevented the arbitrary deprivation of liberty to pursue a lawful calling, acquire property, enjoy and transmit it; a system by which is inhibited the despotic spoliation by a temporary majority of the property of the minority, the laying of taxes and pecuniary burdens on one portion of the community, greater than are proportionally levied upon another; a system by which every lawful contract can be judicially enforced, and by which, at the same time, there is reserved to each State the power to make all

constitutional laws which, in the opinion of the legislature, will promote the public health, secure peace and good order for all the people.

The thirteen words in the Constitution of New York and the United States, to which I have already so often alluded, are a barrier against legislative, or judicial, invasion of individual right to liberty and property. While that barrier exists it cannot be evaded unless by Federal laws relating to coinage and currency and legal tender which,—taking advantage of the fact that the prohibition of the Constitution against enacting any law "impairing the obligations of contracts," constrains only the separate States and not Congress—invade the inviolability of property and the security of savings.

II.

THE antagonist and assailant of our American democracy is European Socialism. The word is quite modern, unless 60 years make a name old. Collectivism is the more recent term. The economic basis of each is much the same. Authors and experts do not agree in defining it. They prefer to describe at great length and with much qualification rather than define. Perhaps they find danger in definition. Dr. Schäffle, an esteemed German writer on economic subjects, declares that "the Alpha and the Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private, competing capitals into a united collective capital." Quite generally do Socialists profess to think that individual industrial liberty, the present organization of capital, and cut-throat competition will continually breed social, economic, and political anarchy, degrade wage-earners, increase idleness and vice among the rich, promote cheap and bad workmanship, and adulterations of food and drink.

The ills attributed to the gold standard by the advocates of free silver coinage are by Socialists assigned to unrestrained competition in production and distribution. As such competition between capitalists, between laborers, between labor and capital contending with each other for a rightful share of the product of both, goes on not only in each country, but between countries, it is apparent that schemes such as the Socialists urge must, like coinage reform in the sense of bimetallism, be international, or they will be in vain.

In what year of this century modern Socialism had its birth, and in what country, whether England, or France, or Germany, is of little consequence. It is not native to our country. It has been an importation. Within the last dozen years Germany has been the largest exporter to us of the theories on which it rests. An American reader of any one of the exhaustive and exhausting treatises which European Socialists have written, may say to himself, on laying down the volume, that the political, industrial, and social evils which Socialism proposes to remedy in Europe have never existed in the United States, and that if England, or France, or Germany could have had, a century ago, a government by democracy, a written constitution, public schools, secret ballot, an elective legislature and executive, an equality of all before the law, which the United States then had, European Socialism could not have existed to vex the Old World and the New.

With us, individual freedom, political and industrial, has been the rule. On the other side of the ocean, State coercion has been the rule. European Socialists tell us that when "protection" had been finally defeated in England by the elections of 1852 and the policy of "unrestricted competition," *Cobdenism and Manchesterism* as they describe it, had been accepted by Englishmen as an accomplished fact, and Mr. Gladstone had become for the first time Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Liberal party which, when a Whig party, had abolished so many meddling and vexatious restraints on individual activity, began to return to State coercion, and to pursue a path indicated by Socialism.

Herbert Spencer, in *The Man versus the State*, published in 1884, has described some of the results of those changes, restraining Englishmen in directions where actions were previously unchecked, and compelling actions which previously might, or might not, be performed as the individual chose. Since that date socialistic legislation has been forced on one or the other of the ruling parties, and in the direction of using Parliament to remove inequalities which had originated when electoral power was in the hands of a class. Such inequality does not exist in New York. The European aim, so far as it is discernible, seems to be that State employment shall give constant employment, and State ownership of property shall give to all a common enjoyment of it. Possibly that obvious tendency of legislation in

England is having an influence in the United States among those who think that England always leads the right way in finance, taxation, and industrialism, but they, thus influenced, do not always keep it in mind that British conditions are not our conditions, and that England has political, social, and industrial evils yet to be remedied, which we have not and never had.

As a rule, in our country, always excepting, of course, the period of slave labor, employers and workmen have been on an equality before the law. The relation has been one of contract, not involving criminal punishment for its rupture, as in England, where till within 30 years the magistrate could imprison the workman for violation of an agreement to work, but the workman could only have a civil suit against the employer. The breach of contract of service has in New York always been regarded like the breach of any private contract, as permitting only a claim for pecuniary damages, but not an application of penal law, excepting in cases of an unlawful conspiracy by workmen to injure an employer, or by employer to injure workmen.

III.

A PROTECTIVE tariff has been in our country a prevailing exception to perfect freedom from government control in industrial matters. Taxes laid for protection solely are not in this relation to be confounded with taxes levied only for revenue.

The essence of a protective-tariff tax is payment of a bounty to capitalists, under such circumstances that the size of the bounty cannot be ascertained by the taxpayer. Under the McKinley tariff law, imported raw sugar was exempt from duty, but a bounty of two cents a pound was given to domestic producers of sugar and one-half a cent a pound duty was laid on imported refined sugar. What portion of the tax on imported refined sugar was laid solely for revenue, and what portion to aid, benefit, and encourage the sugar "trust" formed in New York in 1887? Who can and will answer? The existing tariff lays 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, or about one cent a pound, on raw sugar, but on refined sugar the rate is one-eighth of a cent a pound, in addition to 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, and an extra one-tenth per cent. on refined sugar arriving from countries, especially Germany, giving an export bounty, and whose competition the sugar "trust" naturally dreaded. Which part of that tax on imported foreign

refined sugar was laid to shield the "trust" from the pressure of competition?

The advocacy of protective tariff taxes has, within the last quarter of a century, been potential in creating a "labor question" in our country. Carl Marx exploited his theory of surplus value in 1848; about that time Rodbertus taught that labor is the source and measure of value, and Lasalle, formulating "the cruel iron law of wages," employed his eloquent pen to defend his thesis that the workman, under then existing conditions in Prussia, could never rise above the standard of living required for his subsistence. He maintained that relief could only be had by voluntary associations of workingmen, with capital supplied by the State, which should merely reserve to itself the right to supervise and examine the books of account and finances of the association. But who then anticipated a "labor question" in this country? Why has it come? Must it not be that, beginning with the colossal tariff schedules of 1864, the incessant advocacy of "protection" has,—by accustoming capitalists interested in manufactures and their associated workingmen, to look upon the result of each Congressional and Presidential contest as the giving or withholding from them a government bounty,—extended its influence over the whole field of labor, diminished the importance and necessity of individual enterprise, energy, sagacity, and promoted the Socialistic theories that now environ us? Is not "indiscriminate charity" in the street to the unemployed, the underpaid, those unwilling to work, now condemned? If so, then why should Congress lay taxes in order to indiscriminately encourage everybody, the businesslike and the unbusinesslike, to embark in protected manufactures? It may be said that competition will naturally reduce prices, but what if manufacturers form "trusts" to prevent the reduction?

The laws of New York have not, in any essential particular, modified the Democratic rule of the earliest and latest Constitutions of the State which have established the legal equality of employer and workmen, the sacredness of individual rights, and prevented undue meddling therewith. If the Legislature has overstepped the limits of the rule, as in the law to prevent the manufacture of cigars and preparation of tobacco in tenement houses, or the law punishing as a criminal the purchaser of two

pounds of coffee under the inducement of a decorated cup and saucer as a gift, the judicial power has declared that there was not "due process of law." The New York Court of Appeals has unanimously given judgments on these and other topics which ought to open the eyes of the most blind Socialist. They should lead him to see that Socialism can never prevail in this State, unless over the ruins of the system of industrial liberty under which New York has lived and prospered.*

New York, popularly governed under a written constitution, has always recognized the fact that as human life can be maintained only by producing, trading, and using the proceeds, there should not be by the State restriction of contracts, or failure by the State to enforce lawful contracts. Otherwise voluntary co-operation among individuals cannot exist.

New York has confined the crime of conspiracy within fixed statutory limits; has declared that the orderly co-operation in order to increase wages of persons employed in any calling is not conspiracy; has enacted that no employer shall compel any person, in order to obtain work, to agree not to join any labor organization; has made it a crime to wilfully break a contract of service with the knowledge that the effort will be to endanger human life, injure personal property. All those laws are to protect industrial freedom.

Less than three years ago the people of New York adopted a revised Constitution. Are they willing to begin now to tear in pieces the new creation? If not, then the control by the State of production and distribution can only be under such ordinary legislative enactments as the judicial power shall declare are permitted by that Constitution. Individual liberty, which is the

* "The constitutional guaranty (due process of law) would be of little worth if the Legislature could, without compensation, destroy property, or its value, deprive the owner of its use, deny him the right to live in his own house, or to work at any lawful trade therein. . . . Under it (the police power) the conduct of an individual and the use of property may be regulated so as to interfere to some extent with the freedom of the one, and the enjoyment of the other . . . but the power, however broad and extensive, is not above the Constitution. . . . Under the mere guise of police regulation, personal rights and private property cannot be invaded, and the determination of the Legislature is not final or conclusive. . . . Such legislation may invade one class of rights to-day and another to-morrow, and if it can be sanctioned under the Constitution, while far removed in time, we will not be far away in practical statesmanship from those ages when government prefects supervised the building of houses, the rearing of cattle, the sowing of seed, and the reaping of grain and governmental ordinances regulated the movement and labor of artisans, the rate of wages, the price of food, the diet and clothing of the people, and a large range of other affairs, long since in all civilized lands regarded as outside a governmental function. Such governmental interferences disturb the normal adjustments of the social fabric and usually derange the delicate and complicated machinery of industry and cause a score of ills while attempting the removal of one." *In Matter of Jacobs, Vol. 98, N. Y. Reports, p. 98.*

encouragement of individual ability, and creator of the collective power of the State, must have the freedom guaranteed by that Constitution. The first invasion by Socialism of the rights of individuals to property is usually under the guise of taxation as in the recent income tax law with its $4,000 exemption.

IV.

TEN years ago several sugar refining corporations organized under New York laws attempted in New York to combine and form a partnership or "trust," but when the effort had been presented in due form to the Courts of the State, it was quietly but very effectively stamped out. The several corporations, abandoning New York, re-formed in New Jersey, and the refineries thereunder that were situated in New York continued production and distribution as before. The contrivance condemned by the New York Judiciary was an attempt by the share-owners in a number of corporations, through agreements among themselves to transfer to a committee all their certificates of shares, the committee taking from each corporation new certificates of shares in the name of the committee, and then giving back to the original owners certificates issued by the committee according to the original shares. The result was that the original owners of all the shares in all the corporations empowered the committee to control all the corporations for the benefit of the former.

In 1889 Senator Sherman represented to Congress his opinion regarding the evils of such "trusts," and, during the next year, was largely instrumental in securing the enactment of an ineffective Federal law making illegal any combination injurious to interstate, or international commerce, or trade in any of the territories. He fiercely denounced improper combinations of capital to monopolize the production and distribution of articles of food and enhance the price thereof, and yet in apparent unconsciousness of the inconsistency, he advocated in the same year the McKinley tariff. In 1892, when the condemned attempt in New York was fresh in the political mind, the Democratic and Republican national platforms vigorously denounced "trusts." President Cleveland, in the Address, which in March, 1893, inaugurated his second term, and also in his last annual message to Congress, reprobated "trusts." Neither the excellent platform adopted in 1896 at Indianapolis by the National Democrats, nor

platforms adopted in that year by the Republicans, the Populists, or the Silverites at St. Louis, men tioned "trusts." The Democratic (free silver) party at Chicago was the only one that distinctly referred to the "formation of trusts and pools." President McKinley's inauguration reference to trusts, a few days ago, although based, as he said, on Republican party "declarations in the past," referred by way of justification not to the silent Republican platform of 1896, on which he was elected President, but to the platform of 1892. The very day on which the new President condemned trusts, his competitor, Mr. Bryan, violently assailed them in a New York morning journal, not only because pernicious to industry and enhancing prices, but because he fancied "trusts" had been detected in tainting with venality the contents of the ballot boxes.

The most lynx-eyed, penetrating, and piercing political purifier, carefully studying the fifth, sixth, and seventh Titles of the New York Penal Code, intended to preserve the voting, the legislative and the executive integrity of the State, cannot, I think, put his finger on an evil not therein provided for, which cannot be reached and punished if it exist, and prosecuting officers will do their duty. If, however, corporations should be mentioned by name, if their franchises should for any offence be taken away, let it be so enacted. If it be really true that corporations do pay money to a party "boss" to manipulate caucus nominations, and an election of candidates for Governor, Senator, or Assemblyman, on the understanding that the "boss" will persuade such officers, if chosen, to further the improper schemes of such corporations, then let practicable amendments of the Code be made. But it will be intolerable, if a corporation, or partnership, or individual, whose constitutional right to liberty and property is assailed by black-mailing efforts at Albany, can not employ and pay reputable members of the bar to expose and resist before a legislative committee, or the Executive, such an assault. What is needed most of all is putting a stop to "jamming through" legislation without an adequate examination, argument, dispute, discussion, and debate.

The condemnation of "trusts" having been based by President McKinley on their exclusion of competition, which exclusion it was said they promoted, it will be illuminating to pause for a moment to observe what he officially defined in his in-

augural address as the "principle" which his Administration will insist upon in laying Federal taxes. Direct taxes, including income taxes, are, "for the most part" to be, he said, "avoided in every form." There is not to be needless increase of internal federal taxation. Zealous care for "American labor" is to control in the arrangement of tariff schedules. Obtaining sufficient money to defray government expenditure is to be one object, but the "controlling" object is to be "ample protection and encouragement to the industries and development of our country." That implies a shielding of protected manufacturers from foreign competition. The "trusts" seek freedom from competition.

Were a single individual to put into sugar-refining business capital enough to buy and operate all the refineries, he probably could not, under the existing laws of New York, be interfered with unless he violated health laws or police laws, no matter what quantity of sugar he refined, or at what price he held it for sale, or on what terms he consigned it to grocers for sale. Why should the law applicable to the business be varied if a rich man takes superintendents, or workmen, or any one else into partnership, or forms a perfectly lawful corporation. I am not now commending or condemning ; I am only analyzing. The "trust" cannot live in New York under our present Civil Code, but why should not a corporation be permitted to do what an individual could do if he had enough capital? A monopoly is a grant by the State, giving control over the supply of an article, or of a service, but a corporate franchise granted under the general laws of New York is not that. Any three or more persons may form an industrial corporation. Anyone may buy its shares if for sale. Each share has a vote for directors who can, by a majority of the shares, be annually changed. What can be more democratic ? A majority of the directors, acting according to law, can control the corporation. If the directors do not perform their duties properly, it will be the fault of a majority of the shareowners if that defect exists longer than a year. The New York Penal Code is very searching in punishing corporate mismanagement as a crime. In 1892 New York forbade a combination between a stock corporation and any person to create a "monopoly," or "the unlawful restraint of trade," or to prevent "com-

petition in any necessary of life." What is such "monopoly" or such "unlawful restraint," or such "competition," is not in any New York statute clearly defined. The definition and its application have, therefore, been left to the judicial power, whenever, in a suit, the question shall be presented. The courts can then decide when private property, or its employment, has become of such public interest, and so affected by the use the public is thus compelled to make, as to subject such property to restrictions not to be applied to other private property. New York corporate franchises are given only in trust, and on the condition that they shall not be used to the detriment of the State and its people. An Attorney-General is elected every two years, with ample powers to present an offending corporation to the courts which can take away the corporate franchise. A majority of the voters of the State can elect a vigilant Attorney-General if they will only take the trouble to vote at the primaries and on election day.

New York has so greatly improved her corporation laws and industrial laws that now only competent administration is required, unless it be that the example and experience of Massachusetts in securing from each industrial corporation compliance with the conditions of its charter, and the requirements of the public, through Commissioners with carefully limited discretionary powers, are worthy of attention, in order to best utilize corporate capital and preserve individual liberty.

New York Constitutions of 1846 and 1894 authorized the Legislature to alter, or repeal, corporate charters, subject, of course, to the rule that the use of such reserved power shall not deprive a corporation of its property, or annul its contracts. The Democratic State Convention of 1874 declared: "Corporations chartered by the State always supervisable by the State in the interests of the people."

The New York Legislature, perceiving that "trusts" in other States might by sales in New York imperil healthy competition, has enacted very drastic laws of prevention.

"Competition" is the watchword, and if an Attorney-General chosen by popular vote is alert and capable, harmful combinations should under existing laws be prevented. Capital is useful to its industrial owner when its products are extensively bought and consumed. A corporation will naturally keep its selling price

so low as not to tempt into the field a new competitor with new capital, new energy, and new prices. We live under a government by public opinion and the ballot boxes, and it will make extremely difficult in New York an arbitrary manipulation of industrial affairs by organized capital, even if it were possible to combine it for the effort. Capital in New York cannot be united as a voting force, unless its spoliation shall be attempted by a political party.

V.

THE report just now made in Albany by the Legislative Committee, of which Mr. Lexow was chairman, will be disappointing to New York producers and distributors of merchandise, to experts in social science, politicians, and thinking men of all classes. It fails to bring forth the truth that the demand for large capital, for completeness and economy of administration, is now so exacting that churches, libraries, colleges, and schools, and even social clubs, are beginning to feel the necessity of combination and consolidation. It omits, even although all the power of a legislative committee was in the hand of Mr. Lexow, to explain what New York wishes to know, the variation of prices of articles produced by "trusts," before and after their formation in 1887, before and after their dissolution in 1890 and 1891, and to give an accurate chart of prices each month of the years since 1883, including the influence of tariff laws and business depressions. It stigmatizes the natural reticence of witnesses who were agents of corporations under New Jersey laws in response to questions intended to convict the witnesses of crime. It confesses in one part of the report that "we cannot suggest at this time a remedy," and yet in another part suggests the remedy proposed by the Socialistic advocates of a Federal income tax, which is amendment of the Constitution, or a change of opinions on the Supreme bench. When it alludes to "monopoly," it does not refer to its ancient meaning in statutes, which is an exclusive right, or franchise, granted by the State. It does not define, or even describe, in terms appreciable and capable of practical application, which combinations of capital, conducted by New York corporations, it condemns. It declares that "the present agitation" grows out of hostility to a word which is "trusts," and then defines "trusts" as doing absurdly "unnatural" things, which very things New York has already, by existing laws,

made unlawful. It proposes a new law giving to the Attorney-General a power which brings to mind that twenty years and more ago the House of Representatives at Washington prosecuted an inquiry into a real estate "pool," in which Jay Cook & Co., debtors to the government, were concerned, and that Kilburn, a member of the "pool," summoned as a witness by a House Committee, refused to produce books and papers, and answer questions. By order of the House he was imprisoned. He sued the Sergeant-at-arms and the Committee. The case went to the Supreme Court, which unanimously adjudged that the House had not the power to investigate private affairs; that it had not judicial power; that investigating the real estate "pool," was the business of a Court, with which the House had no right to meddle, nor had it the right to order the arrest of Kilburn. The draughtsmen of the one piece of remedial legislation originally reported by the Lexow Committee have attempted to empower the New York Executive to constrain any person, by fear of imprisonment, to reveal to the Attorney-General evidence to convict of a crime, and have also endeavored to avoid the difficulties in the Kilburn case by associating with an executive officer a judicial officer bereft of all judicial discretion, thus trying to make an investigation seem to be judicial in law, when it is executive in fact. A straightforward way would be to ask a Grand Jury to investigate and indict an individual, and the Attorney-General to proceed in Court against a corporation, entering into forbidden combinations to prevent competition, etc. Whether or not the individual, or the corportion, has violated the law, is certainly a judicial question. Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, our New York Legislature, when it thinks of invading one's liberty, or property, has to count with the Supreme Court at Washington. There is a suspicion of a partisan purpose in Mr. Lexow's proposed remedy which any mere "worker" in politics can readily discern.

Amidst the profusion of well-rounded sentences in the report, it is not easy to discover the opinion of the Committee on the main question submitted to it by the Legislature, but it is fair to infer from the report that the Committee concede the right of New Yorkers to form industrial partnerships and companies, to decide what shall be the quantity of production

and if it be not "affected by a public use," the price of the product, and that New York can not deprive them, under the existing Constitution, of that liberty, but yet the Committee seem to believe that the existence of the right depends on its magnitude. Indeed the Committee affirm that a corporation cannot, in the opinion of the Committee, have the liberty to produce eighty per cent. ofthe refined sugar consumed in the country. The right to property depends, they seem to to fancy, on the size of the property, and freedom of contract on the magnitude of the contract. The major premises of the reasoning of the Republican legislative report are something like this; if the intelligence, energy, and savings of A interpose, in competition, a barrier against the success of B, on account of his stupidity, indolence, and waste, then the Constitution of New York and the United States should be so amended as to protect B from A, and give to B that which Socialists never weary of describing as an "equal opportunity."

VI.

Even if New York shall not, in a Socialistic sense, enter new spheres of action, as it is urged to do by Socialists, there will be needed better administration in the city and State. The division line between politics and administration cannot be easily drawn in theory, but it exists in practice. Insisting that administrative questions are not political questions gives little assistance. Public opinion makes majorities, and they rule under the restraint of our fundamental law. A State Commission intelligent enough to interpret that public opinion, as well as the law, to directors of industrial corporations, ought to be as useful in New York as it seems to be in Massachusetts.

It is often said that a democracy is not favorable for the highest work in administration, and that defective administration is the price we pay, and must continue to pay, for individual liberty, and yet in the affairs of organized capital in our country are to be seen the best types of administration. Why can it not be had in organized State and city governments? Is it exclusively a foreign art, a foreign science, a foreign faculty? We have to reconcile democracy and bureaucracy. We cannot get along with administration dislocated from the people and not responsible to public opinion. Under the head of administration may

be classified good bookkeeping by corporations, a uniform system for exhibiting capital, number of shares, gross earnings, operating expenses, fixed charges, taxes, debts, and net income applicable to dividends. Those things New York can require of all corporations organized and doing business in its jurisdiction as is now required of its railway corporations, and most valuable, if made public, would the fact be not only to the actual share-owners, but to those seeking safe investments. Conferring power on corporations is politics, but supervising and enforcing systematic and proper supervision of the power when conferred is administration. The rate, sum, and method of taxation is politics, but assessing and collecting taxes under the law is administration. The selection of the higher grade of administrative officers is politics, and the selection must, so long as we have government by party recognized in Federal and State laws, as notably and unfortunately in the case of our New York Police Commissioners, be made by the Executive after due consideration of public opinion. We must and will have a government of laws, but we also need a government by men who will be responsive to public opinion. Administration should be a public-spirited instrument of just government, and nowhere is it more needed than now in corporations, municipal as well as private.

May not New York rest awhile from meddling legislation, regarding either capital or labor, excepting so far as may be needed to adequately execute the laws we have? Such abstinence in law-making and such presence of capable law-administering should give the *coup de grace* to Socialism.

PERRY BELMONT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SPECULATION IN DAMAGE CLAIMS.

I.

In the February North American Review Mr. E. Parmalee Prentice writes on the above subject. He makes a good showing from his point of view; but by those who have observed, and by lawyers who have had experience in the trial of personal injury cases, his article will be regarded as from a corporation standpoint.

What he says about the "extensive litigation and large verdicts recovered" in the courts of Chicago is undoubtedly true; but the heavy damages given by the Chicago juries are not criterions of the damages recovered in many of the States, especially those west of the Mississippi and the New England States.

From an examination of the cases determined by Appellate courts in the past year for the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota, we find seventy-four reversals for defendants against fifty-nine affirmances for plaintiffs; and in cases where plaintiffs have prevailed a verdict as large as $5,000 was rarely given.

Mr. Prentice, while complaining of the size and number of verdicts, gives no account of the nature and extent of the injuries received by the unfortunate plaintiffs—whether slightly or permanently injured by the loss of arms, legs, or eyes, or perhaps death of the wage-earner; and says nothing about the negligence or the fault of defendants.

It is admitted that personal injury cases are numerous, but they can not be regarded as inordinately so when we consider the use of recently discovered powers, the large number of new machines operated in the industrial world, and the incompetence of so many of the workmen employed.

It is also true that occasionally large verdicts are rendered, but it should not be forgotten that the right to recover for injuries to the person (plaintiff) through the negligence of the party in fault (defendant) without contributory negligence on the part of the plaintiff is an old and well-settled rule of law based upon considerations of justice. Contributory negligence on the part of the plaintiff prevents recovery. This important defence was unknown to the common law; but with such defence being held valid by our courts of last resort we think the defendants in this class of cases have no reason to complain.

A man would think it very strange if denied the right to recover damages from a wrongdoer who injured his property. Why should an exception be made for an injury to the human body? A woman loses her husband

through the negligence of a railroad company—a man has his child crippled for life (a constant source of expense) by a defective street through the negligence of a municipal corporation—a woman is injured by being suddenly thrown or jerked from a street car. These unfortunates are usually poor, wholly unable to employ counsel; therefore their cases are taken by attorneys upon contingent fees. What would become of them otherwise? As long as the theory of the law is exact justice to all, no valid reason can be shown why damages should not be given in meritorious cases, and no reason why these cases should not be prosecuted on contingent fees. The old law of champerty has been rightly repealed in many States. When in vogue it tended to deny many people in limited circumstances a redress for their wrongs.

In Minnesota, corporations are held under rightful subjugation. It is a noticeable fact that in trials the Court is "boss" and not the corporation. Here the right of attorneys to agree with their clients as to compensation is unrestricted, and no abuse arises out of the prosecution of these cases.

A certain prominent railroad company defends and settles about six hundred cases annually for about four per cent. of the aggregate damages claimed. Another with about five hundred cases pays about four and one-half per cent. in fighting and settling. Yet another with a six thousand-mile system disposes of these suits for even a smaller sum. And the same is true of other railroads centering in St. Paul, and of the extensive system of electric street railways operated in the Twin cities.

With the able and fearless judges who adorn the trial courts of this country, who rarely shrink from judicially assuming and regulating the actions and verdicts of juries, it cannot be said that these cases are "practically indefensible."

If, as is frequently claimed, juries are prejudiced against corporations, does not such prejudice have a natural origin? From the time a railroad buys its first piece of right of way to the last act of interstate commerce which it has evaded, has it ever shown a disposition to deal fairly and honestly with people? Yes; sometimes. But more frequently it desires to fight on general principles—endeavoring to convey to the public the impression that all damages recovered will be absorbed in attorneys' fees unless their own terms of settlement are accepted.

When the time comes that corporations seek honestly to ascertain the true facts of each case, and pay damages when liable, and treat claimants and opposing counsel honorably, and refrain from settling with clients behind their attorneys' backs (which is too frequently done), and, generally, manifest a broader spirit of equity and justice toward the public, then, and not till then, will personal injury cases diminish and the ends of justice be promoted.

S. P. CROSBY.

II.

THE article in the February number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, on the subject of "Speculation in Damage Claims," by Mr. Prentice, of Chicago, although founded principally upon local experience, has a national application. The reports of the courts of appeals in every State of the Union will verify this statement. The perfected system of espionage, champerty, and conspiracy, which these "claim lawyers," runners, middlemen, and professional witnesses have formed, is the natural sequence of

organization to take advantage of the determination of certain classes to effect a more equal distribution of property.

The same mental peculiarities which make a Greenbacker, a Populist, a Socialist, or a Free Silverite, prompt the finding of a heavy verdict when a poor man is plaintiff and a rich man or a corporation is defendant, regardless of the law or the evidence.

The principal sufferers are, in a large measure, responsible for the success, thus far, of this highwayman in the jury box. The successful business men of the country decline to serve as jurors, take advantage of their exemptions or plead stress of business to an indulgent judge, who excuses them, allowing improvident professional talesmen to fill their places.

Moreover, the lists of names from which jurors are drawn are made, in most States, by aldermen and town politicians who, in remembering their impecunious constituents, necessarily omit the names of men of property. The result is that capital is not represented in the jury box. If the contest of the present and future is to be between capital and labor, as many claim, here is one sphere wherein labor may enter her judgments *ad libitum* for non-appearance.

There is but one remedy. The business men, the officers of banks, of railroads, and of corporations, commercial and manufacturing, must recognize the necessity of doing jury duty in civil cases when called. As twelve votes are essential for a verdict, in cases where manifest injustice may be done one vote of a fair man will preserve equity.

CHARLES NEVITT.

"CHESNUT," FOR EXAMPLE.

My friend, who lives upon Chestnut Street, in one of the large inland cities, has shown me her considerable collection of addressed envelopes upon which Chestnut has been mis-spelled, and that by those who may be called educated—not a few of the writers being college-bred; one (it was hard to believe, but she proved it beyond question) prominent on the Board of an educational institution of national repute (I hope that is vague enough to prevent its being localized by my readers). Another Chesnutter is a State Librarian (this upon honor), another an eminent jurist—a most interesting list when scanned with comments by my friend and made to support her views concerning certain marked defects in our educational system—the great need of a public or general movement in behalf of *culture of the attention* in our primary schools.

Why is it, she asks, that so many really educated people have never learned to spell? "Why should a man who has made invaluable contribution to the medical science of his age," and she holds up one of her envelopes, "spell Chestnut like that?" When asked if she ever took pains to correct the mistake of her correspondents—those, for instance, who had been misspelling the word for years—she declares she could not do that for many reasons, one of which would be the loss of the peculiar pleasure she has in getting letters addressed to Chesnut Street, because they all add to her material for speculation upon what is, to her, a serious problem. When one of her old Chesnutters, an old gentleman of the old school, who never fails to cross his t's and to dot his i's, and who makes every letter as plain as print—when he recently wrote to her and spelled

Chestnut correctly, as he never did before, she felt seriously alarmed about him, until she discovered in his letter that he was "nott quite sure" about something—proving to her that the impish t she had missed from Chestnut was *the* key, could it but be handled, to some psychological mystery in her correspondent's mentality.

"They are all of one stripe in a way," says my friend, "those who write Chesnut. They have the same mental squint—only with a difference—holding that Dr. Johnson, if his friend 'Boswel' had lived on a Chestnut Street would have written Chesnut every time."

Why is it that some folk (not many but some) who have been taught how to spell, and who must have seen that word frequently all their lives, will mis-spell it when they take pen in hand? And not only that familiar word, but a score of others. Who can tell just what is the root of the trouble? Is it a constitutional inherited peculiarity, or something usually acquired through false educational methods—a misleading of the memory until a wrong is perpetuated for all time? The autograph letters of many famous scholars add much to this subject. There are few comparatively of the great men of the last century who did not make grievous slips in their orthography; while as for the women who could write at all and write well is not their epistolary charm very largely in their quaintly delicious blunders—their "bloughing of buguls" and "konkering pashuns," etc.? Benjamin Franklin sinned often against the spelling-book, yet he wrote of spelling as "a little art," one that it was a shame for a man to be ignorant of; and that ignorance of orthography (how blandly ignorant of his own) was an unpardonable defect, "making many men of learning and understanding averse to writing even a common letter." If the men of learning and understanding of this day would but wax confidential to the reading public and reveal some of their individual experiences in mastering "the little art," we should be greatly entertained and profited, no doubt. What Poe so happily called "the depravity of inanimate things" has incarnation for many of us (who never spell Chestnut with one t, never) in certain words that rise up to torment and disgrace us whenever we must use them in writing—sending us to the dictionary every time; unless, like some among us, we print them loud and hang them over our desks. "Are there two r's in very? Tell me quick," a famous old theologian used to call out from his study when writing under whip of pressure. And lo! there hangs his photograph in his granddaughter's house, with the autograph he hastily inscribed upon it when hurrying to his train: "Your verry loving grandfather."

"These envelopes," says my friend, "prove to me beyond question that there is a stratum of unsound, unreliable memory-cells in most brains. The slips in orthography which educated people make are cognate—clues, if only accepted as such, to the source of the difficulty. These clues bear a relationship, more or less pronounced, to other symptoms of mental deficiency—sometimes it is failure in recalling names and faces; the middle initial of names, or, as in Dean Stanley's case, helplessness in counting small change. Inability to learn a foreign language is another common proof of abnormal brain-cells. The Chesnutters invariably show some one of these traits, and yet, the same heredity and environment will produce a poor speller offset by his twin brother who never makes a mistake in spelling, disproving, in a measure, what has been affirmed, that poor spelling, like wooden legs and glass eyes, runs in the blood of some families.

The training of children in concentration of attention, and in unbroken attention, is, according to this collection of Chesnuts, the great remedy for a mental fault, that is more general than many will admit. Will any one who has been mis-spelling Chestnut all his life, ever again mis-spell it after reading this? Not if his attention has been fairly concentrated upon the word, says my friend. And yet, here is the man who as clerk of a church vestry wrote "chappell" upon the records for years, and when his attention was called to his blunder, and he felt no little mortification, of course, didn't he spell it "chapell" in his next minutes? What was the cause? Was the root of his trouble in a congeries of lazy brain cells—useless stations on the lines of his mental telegraphy? The electrifying into activity of undeveloped or suspended brain-cells is what my friend would set our educators at, and in finding out and reporting the proportion of pupils, say in the middle grades of the public schools, who can write a letter to one of their family, off hand, without mis-spelling common words. Then she would add to the duties of educators the scientific study of the mentality, etc., etc., of poor spellers (not the Peter Quilliams, but the educated folk who have their occasional but chronic weak spots in orthography) with reports of the condition of their "spelling centres" as a rule, and the results of experiments by experts.

A revival of the old-fashioned spelling school has been tried in some localities, but only to prove that it does not, as a rule, reach the poor spellers; they stay away from it—they are not wanted in a spelling match. The spelling school was for the glorification of the good spellers. It did something, no doubt, for depraved brain cells before such mysteries were ever heard of in connection with spelling-books—before physical inertia could be charged to weak valvular heart action, and ugly tempers to microbes, and all the rest. The spelling school belongs to a past dispensation, says my friend, but it suggests what might do much for orthography, if the blackboard were made a conspicuous feature, and the attention concentrated upon the reading and writing of sentences, of which the following might be an example: "Mr. Wright, the wheelwright, does not write rite rightly," with helpful stories, occasionally, like that of the teacher who wrote upon the board the three words, "Boys, Bees, Bear," asking the children to construct and write a sentence in which these words would be used intelligently, one boy giving at once: "Boys bees bear when they goes in swimming."

JANE MARSH PARKER.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SHIELD.

THE American housekeeper is conceded to be the busiest woman in the known world.

In this country, where there is a large and growing demand for all the luxuries and most of the necessities of life, where there is none of the repose commonly found in an older civilization, the homemaker, besides discharging the functions of wife and mother, does the work of housekeeper, nurse, nursery governess, seamstress, and general housework servant. The chinks between her home duties she fills up with a woman's club or two, a few church societies, a couple of charities, and a Sunday-school class. To these she has lately been told she should add the trifling task of making domestic service a valuable aid to society in the work of moral reform.

The home-maker hears now, probably for the first time, that it is due to her that American domestic service is in its present deplorable condition. Had she and her class created a home atmosphere for servants she might by this time have brought the kingdom of heaven to her very doors.

These charges, and others in the same vein, are easily brought. Some of them are less readily proved. It is safe to begin by denying any implication that because of the attitude of the employers domestic service is considered degrading by any class of the community. No self-respecting woman of the so-called upper classes who possesses ordinary common sense perceives a caste distinction between the "saleslady" or factory girl and the house servant. Among these themselves is it that such social distinctions exist. The first and second classes named consider themselves many rungs higher on the ladder of position than the "living-out girl." They will not hesitate to acknowledge it.

Said a typewriter who had been forced by hard times to take a place as nurse in a private family, "I would't for worlds have any of my friends at home know that I had sunk so low as to go into service. They would never respect me again." She was an American. A girl's club in a New England town was nearly broken up a few years ago because an intelligent well-bred Scotch girl who was in service was admitted through a misunderstanding. To save the club, composed chiefly of shop-girls, she had to go. Another potent influence against domestic service is the disesteem in which it is held by many young men of the mechanic class who have themselves risen a little in the world, and who openly declare their aversion to marrying anyone who is only a "common servant."

There is little hope that a better class of girls will enter service until these conditions are changed and the servants and their friends respect the work.

The material conditions surrounding most servants are certainly not such as to prejudice them against their avocation. There are, doubtless, unkind mistresses who show no more consideration for their employees than if the latter belonged to that most desirable body of automatic attendants of which we read in "The Coming Race." But the majority of housekeepers are kindly, thoughtful, helpful. Possibly many follow the golden rule from selfish motives, for the terror lest the servant should leave if not cared for and indulged is a constant menace. Whatever the motive, the treatment is the same. The employer does what she can to make the servant comfortable. She cannot always give her a roomy, pleasant bed-chamber, because often she does not have it to give. She must take her house as she finds it. If circumstances force her to live in a small flat, her own bedroom is microscopic, and that provided for the servant is no better. Many housekeepers could tell of maids whose large, airy rooms were never kept in order unless the mistress added a daily inspection of them to her countless other duties, and who keenly resented such inspection. I have known of servants who always kept the doors of their rooms locked when they were not in them, for no reason except to conceal their untidiness from the mistress. So far from longing for separate chambers, as the maids have been credited with doing, they generally prefer company, and it is nothing unusual for them to beg to be allowed to room together, on the plea that if sleeping alone they are "that lonely."

The experiment of giving servants their private sitting-room I have known to be tried a number of times without encouragement. Some maids

may use it, others prefer the homely comfort of the kitchen and object to the extra work demanded by the care of another room.

The success of any effort made to regulate the work of the maid so that she may have a little time to herself each day also depends upon the girl. Some servants seem to prefer to linger over their noon meal until the middle of the afternoon rather than to get the dishes out of the way in order to earn a little leisure. The conviction some of them cherish that the mistress will impose more work upon them if by diligence a spare hour is secured is due to the servant's theory, not to the mistress's practice. Most housekeepers feel genuine pride in a servant who is "forehanded," and will boast of the industry of the maid who will get her work done by three o'clock and has an hour or two for herself before it is time to prepare dinner.

The same condition obtains with regard to advising girls as to their friends, their dress, and their reading. A few, who are on exceptionally confidential terms with their employers, might feel gratified for the interest thus displayed; most of them would consider such advice a kindly-meant impertinence—and with some reason.

Experience disproves the pleasant theory that the average servant likes to have her mistress work with her. A few exceptional servants may perform their tasks so well that they are willing to have their employers' eyes constantly upon them, but many resent the intrusion of "the leddy" into their special domain. Others dislike what they esteem surveillance, and nearly all feel a distaste of the thoroughness with which they are obliged to discharge their duties while in the company of the mistress.

To her credit be it said that she does not often yield to this opposition to her society. If the servant has no respect for the dignity of housework, it is seldom because of her employer's abstinence from it. Whatever may be the habits of the New England housekeeper, in those parts of that section unfamiliar to me, in all but the very wealthy homes of the Middle and Southern States, the mistress does much of her fancy cookery, superintends the making of preserves, pickles, and jellies, dusts her choicest bric-a-brac, washes her most delicate china and cut glass, presides over her linen-closet and has her eyes in every part of her house as conscientiously as does the virtuous woman of the Proverbs. Far from allowing her daughters to hate housework and grow up ignorant and incompetent about it, the homes are few where the daughter does not learn something of plain and fancy cookery, and of every other branch of housework except, perhaps, the very heaviest and coarsest. In many instances she has full charge of her own room, dusts the parlors, and is the cake and dessert maker of the family. This may not be the case in homes where a very large and competent staff of trained domestics is employed, under whose care work is conducted as by machinery. But it is not to these, but to people of slender means, to the well-to-do and to the modestly wealthy, for whom are written articles like that quoted above.

We have been told that the mistress should consider it missionary work to train a servant for another place. So it might be if the one thus trained displayed in that other place the orderly habits and accomplishments she has gained. Sometimes she does and earns higher wages thereby—an entirely legitimate course. Unless she has that incentive she is quite likely to require fresh instruction in each place, and to assume an ignorance, especially in matters of cookery, that leads one to think she fears to confess her proficiency lest she should be called upon to exercise it. It is hardly fair

to compare the work a mistress does in training a servant to that performed by a merchant with his office-boy. The latter enters a business house on a small salary, and gains an increase of wages by an increase of duties and responsibilities. If at the end of a period of years he leaves his employer for a place that promises better, there are plenty of other clerks, or bookkeepers or salesmen quite as competent as he waiting to step into the shoes he has left vacant. It is hardly necessary to remark that a totally different state of affairs prevails in domestic service.

The suggestion that sickness, emergencies, or extra work should be paid for with extra wages is excellent. Many mistresses already do this. The rule should, however, work both ways. Yet the housekeepers are few and far between who reduce a servant's wages one-third or one-half when all or part of the family are away from home for one, two, or three months and the maid is left with diminished duties or as, during the summer outing, with practically nothing to do. If she is ill for a week, and the mistress has to nurse her and either do the work of the sick girl herself or hire a woman to do it, that week's wages are not commonly deducted from the maid's stipend. If common humanity did not stay her, she would be checked by the thought of the obloquy that would be bestowed upon her by all who learned of her heartless treatment of the poor working woman.

This is no attempt to belittle the calling or virtues of the domestic servant. The former is honorable, the latter are many. But it is useless to expect that the millenium can be brought about in our kitchens without a radical change in the maids as well as in the mistresses—if it can be done then.

A woman who has given much thought to the perennial servant problem turned to her maid for light. The latter, an unusually intelligent girl, after suggesting several causes for the distrust that so generally exists between the classes of the domestic employer and employed, summed up the matter to her own satisfaction in the words: "Well, there are poor mistresses and poor maids. It's a pity the two don't always get together."

That they often fail to "get together" will scarcely be denied by the most optimistic. One of the many falsehoods crystallized into proverb form is contained in the saying: "Like mistress, like maid." Given good raw material, a wise mistress may convert an incompetent "greenhorn" into a well-trained servant, but she must have the good material to begin with. In a disheartening number of cases she will find, as does the mother with the child, that the education should have been begun a century before birth. It is rarely possible to uproot in a few months, or even in a few years, the faults and failings of generations. Example and training, advice and judicious reproof, alike fail to turn the tree from the shape into which it was bent while a twig.

Whatever the cause, the fact is indisputable that the influence of the mistress over the ordinary maid is of the slightest. The long-established class tradition places the servant always on the defensive. The word of a fellow-servant, who is nothing to her, will outweigh that of a mistress who has been uniformly kind to her for years. In like manner, example has little force, whether it be that offered in dress, speech, or behavior. Moreover, this class-distrust is so deep-seated that by its influence the servant's vision has become jaundiced. She cannot understand that her mistress had her welfare at heart in teaching and training her. Always her mental query is, "What does she (the mistress) expect to make by it?"

For the cause of faulty domestic service we must seek something further back than the conduct of the mistresses to the maids.

There is rarely an assemblage of housekeepers where the "vexed question" is not discussed, and such a discussion is pretty sure, first or last, to resolve itself into a testimony meeting, at which, however, there is seldom the oneness of testimony that marks similar meetings of a less secular character. One sister will relate her happy experience with a pleasant, good-natured servant, while another must bewail her sad case in having taken into her employ a girl who is untidy, untruthful, and light-fingered. They would none of them discharge a servant without giving her a written reference that would enable her to secure another place.

Here then, at least, one lays one's finger upon the chief cause of the incapability of the domestic servant. It is not because she is treated with positive unkindness or passive lack of consideration by her mistress. It is not because her hours are long, her work monotonous, her pleasures few. It is because housekeepers in their references place incompetence on a par with competence, laziness with industry, untidiness with neatness, and with that fine lack of logic so generally characteristic of their sex display the perverted loyalty of defending their employees at the expense of their own class.

We are all familiar with the argument these good women use to support their position. "I could not sleep at night if I thought any word of mine had prevented a poor girl finding a place," exclaims one, virtuously. No, dear madame? And yet you are not troubled with insomnia because you have condemned a sister housekeeper, unwarned, to the annoyances you yourself found unendurable.

"Perhaps the girl may do better somewhere else than she did with me," is the plea of another. True, she may. But what right have you to make another mistress the victim of such an experiment without hinting to her what is in store for her?

Give the girl a reference, by all means. But let it be just. Say that she is honest, obliging, and kind-hearted, although a poor cook who cannot follow a recipe. Or that the maid who has lived with you as waitress and chambermaid is neat and quick, but has a hasty temper, and is careless in handling china and glass.

The answer to this is ready. "But such a reference as this might lose her a place." It is not likely. Servants are all too scarce now, and mistresses will put up with many faults for the sake of a few virtues. And if such a reference did make it more difficult for its owner to find a place? What then?

I bear the "living-out girl" no ill-will. I myself have been blessed among women in the maid servant within my gates. It is for the sake of others like her that I wish incompetence could be rebuked and conscientious service rewarded. Now, the two are on an equal footing as regards wages, privileges, and references. And by whose fault? That of the housekeepers at large, whose consideration, like the gentle dew of heaven, droppeth alike on the just and unjust—so long as these are of the employed class.

"After all, I don't see that it makes much difference," says one woman wearily. "I have been keeping house twenty-five years and have had a large and varied assortment of servants. I have tried to recognize my duty to my equals as well as to my inferiors: When I could not truthfully give a girl a satisfactory written character, I have told her that she could refer her

next prospective mistress to me. I could number on the fingers of one hand the housekeepers who have come to me to learn the record of girls who had left my employ. Yet again and again I have heard of their obtaining excellent places with no apparent difficulty."

Here is another cause of the incapable service we deplore. Why should a girl trouble herself to work for a good reference when she can secure a satisfactory place without it? After all, we must grant her the failings of an ordinary human being. We all know that the persons are comparatively few who do their best work simply because it is right when their own interest is unlikely to be affected by their conduct.

To make reform in domestic service thorough and lasting, we must begin at the top. Until this is done we cannot hope for radical improvement in our employees. Biding that we must be content to work what little change we can by rose-water methods, knowing all the while that the poor servants are worse because of the system, the good ones tolerable in spite of the system.

CHRISTINE TERHUNE HERRICK.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXVI.

MAY, 1897.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D.D. (IAN MACLAREN).

He had been in many places over the world and seen strange sights, and taken his share in various works, and, being the man he was, it came to pass of necessity that he had many friends. Some of them were street Arabs, some were negroes, some were medicals, some were evangelists, some were scientists, some were theologians, some were nobles. Between each one and Drummond there was some affinity, and each could tell his own story about his friend. It will be interesting to hear what Professor Greenfield or Mr. Moody may have to say; but one man, with profound respect for such eminent persons, would prefer to have a study of Drummond by Moolu, his African retainer. Drummond believed in Moolu, not because he was "pious"—which he was not—but because "he did his duty and never told a lie." From the chief's point of view, Moolu had the final virtue of a clansman—he was loyal and faithful: his chief, for that expedition, had beyond most men the necessary endowment of a leader, a magnetic personality. It is understood that Drummond's life is to be written at large by a friend, in whose capable and wise hands it will receive full justice, but in the meantime it may not be unbecoming that one should pay his tribute who has his own qualification for this work of love. It is not

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that he is able to appreciate to the full the man's wonderful genius, or accurately to estimate his contributions to scientific and religious thought—this will be done by more distinguished friends—but that he knew Drummond constantly and intimately from boyhood to his death. If one has known any friend at school and college, and in the greater affairs of life has lived with him, argued with him, prayed with him, had his sympathy in the supreme moments of joy and sorrow, has had every experience of friendship except one—it was not possible to quarrel with Drummond, although you might be the hottest-tempered Celt on the face of the earth—then he may not understand the value of his friend's work, but at any rate he understands his friend. As one who knew Henry Drummond at first hand, my desire is to tell what manner of man he was in all honesty and without eulogy. If anyone be offended then, let him believe that I wrote what I have seen, and if anyone be incredulous, then I can only say that he did not know Drummond.

His body was laid to rest a few weeks ago, on a wet and windy March day, in the most romantic of Scottish cemeteries, and the funeral, on its way from the home of his boyhood to the Castle Rock of Stirling, passed the King's Park. It was in that park more than thirty years ago that I first saw Drummond, and on our first meeting he produced the same effect as he did all his after life. The sun was going down behind Ben Lomond, in the happy summer time, touching with gold the gray old castle, deepening the green upon the belt of trees which fringed the eastern side of the park, and filling the park itself with soft, mellow light. A cricket match between two schools had been going on all day and was coming to an end, and I had gone out to see the result—being a new arrival in Stirling, and full of curiosity. The two lads at the wickets were in striking contrast—one heavy, stockish, and determined, who slogged powerfully and had scored well for his side; the other nimble, alert, graceful, who had a pretty but uncertain play. The slogger was forcing the running in order to make up a heavy leeway, and compelled his partner to run once too often. "It's all right, and you fellows are not to cry shame"—this was what he said as he joined his friends—"Buchanan is playing A1, and that hit ought to have been a four; I messed the running." It was good form, of course, and what any decent

lad would want to say, but there was an accent of gaiety and a certain air which was very taking. Against that group of clumsy, unformed, awkward Scots lads this bright, straight, living figure stood in relief, and as he moved about the field my eyes followed him, and in my boyish and dull mind I had a sense that he was a type by himself, a visitor of finer breed than those among whom he moved. By-and-by he mounted a friend's pony and galloped along the racecourse in the park till one only saw a speck of white in the sunlight, and still I watched in wonder and fascination—only a boy of thirteen or so, and dull—till he came back, in time to cheer the slogger who had pulled off the match —with three runs to spare—and carried his bat.

"Well played, old chap!" the pure, clear, joyous note rang out on the evening air, "finest thing you've ever done," while the strong-armed, heavy-faced slogger stood still and looked at him in admiration, and made amends. "I say, Drummond, it was my blame you were run out . . ." Drummond was his name, and someone said "Henry." So I first saw my friend.

What impressed me that pleasant evening in the days of long ago I can now identify. It was the lad's distinction, an inherent quality of appearance and manner of character and soul which marked him and made him solitary. What happened with one strange lad that evening befell all kinds of people who met Drummond in later years. They were at once arrested, interested, fascinated by the very sight of the man, and could not take their eyes off him. Like a picture of the first order among ordinary portraits he unconsciously put his neighbors at a disadvantage. One did not realize how commonplace and colorless other men were till they stood side by side with Drummond. Upon a platform of evangelists, or sitting among divinity students in a dingy classroom, or cabined in the wooden respectability of an ecclesiastical court, or standing in a crowd of passengers at a railway station, he suggested golden embroidery upon hodden gray. It was as if the prince of one's imagination had dropped in among common folk. He reduced us all to the peasantry.

Drummond was a handsome man, such as you could not match in ten days' journey, with delicately cut features, rich auburn hair, and a certain carriage of nobility, but the distinctive and commanding feature of his face was his eye. No photo-

graph could do it justice, and very often photographs have done it injustice, by giving the idea of staringness. His eye was not bold or fierce; it was tender and merciful. But it had a power and hold which were little else than irresistible and almost supernatural. When you talked with Drummond he did not look at you and out of the window alternately, as is the usual manner, he never moved his eyes and gradually their penetrating gaze seemed to reach and encompass your soul. It was as Plato imagined it would be in the judgment; one soul was in contact with another —nothing between. No man could be double, or base, or mean, or impure before that eye. His influence, more than that of any man I have ever met, was mesmeric—which means that while other men affect their fellows by speech and example, he seized one directly by his living personality. As a matter of fact, he had given much attention to the occult arts, and was at one time a very successful mesmerist. It will still be remembered by some college companions how he had one student so entirely under his power that the man would obey him on the street and surrender his watch without hesitation, and it was told how Drummond laid a useful injunction on a boy in a house where he was staying and the boy obeyed it so persistently afterwards that Drummond had to write and set him free. Quite sensible and unromantic people grew uneasy in his presence, and roused themselves to resistance—as one might do who recognized a magician and feared his spell.

One sometimes imagines life as a kind of gas of which our bodies are the vessels, and it is evident that a few are much more richly charged than their fellows. Most people simply exist completing their tale of work—not a grain over; doing their measured mile—not an inch beyond; thinking along the beaten track—never tempted to excursions. Here and there in the world you come across a person in whom life is exuberant and overflowing, a force which cannot be tamed or quenched. Drummond was such an one, the most vital man I ever saw, who never loitered, never wearied, never was conventional, pedantic, formal, who simply revelled in the fulness of life. He was so radiant with life that ordinary people showed pallid beside him, and shrank from him or were attracted and received virtue out of him. Like one coming in from the light and open air into a stuffy room where a company had been sitting with closed

windows, Drummond burst into bloodless and unhealthy coteries, bringing with him the very breath of heaven.

He was the Evangelist to thoughtful men—over women he had far less power—and his strength lay in his personality. Without anecdotes or jokes, or sensationalism or doctrine, without eloquence or passion, he moved young men at his will because his message was life, and he was its illustration. His words fell one by one with an indescribable awe and solemnity, in the style of the Gospels, and reached the secret place of the soul. Nothing more unlike the ordinary evangelistic address could be imagined: it was so sane, so persuasive, so mystical, so final. It almost followed, therefore, that he was not the ideal of a popular evangelist who has to address the multitude, and produce his effect on those who do not think. For his work, it is necessary —besides earnestness, which is taken for granted—to have a loud voice, a broad humor, a stout body, a flow of racy anecdote, an easy negligence of connection, a spice of contempt for culture, and pledges of identification with the street in dress and accent. His hearers feel that such a man is homely and is one of themselves, and, amid laughter and tears of simple human emotion, they are moved by his speech to higher things. This kind of audience might regard Drummond with respectful admiration, but he was too fine a gentleman, they would consider, for their homespun. Place him, as he used to stand and speak, most perfectly dressed both as to body and soul, before five hundred men of good taste and fine sensibilities, or the same number of young men not yet cultured but full of intellectual ambitions and fresh enthusiasm, and no man could state the case for Christ and the soul after a more spiritual and winsome fashion. Religion is without doubt the better for the popular evangelist, although there be times when quiet folk think that he needs chastening ; religion also requires in every generation one representative at least of the higher evangelism, and if anyone should ask what manner of man he ought to be, the answer is to his hand—Henry Drummond.

When one admits, without reserve, that his friend was not made by nature to be a successful officer of the Salvation Army, it must not be understood that Drummond was in any sense a superior person, or that he sniffed in his daintiness at ordinary humanity—a spiritual Matthew Arnold. It would strain my

conscience to bear witness that working people, say, however much they loved him, were perfectly at home with him, and it is my conviction, from observation of life, that this is an inevitable disability of distinction. One may be so well dressed, so good looking, so well mannered, so spiritually refined, that men with soiled clothes and women cleaning the house may realize their low estate, and miss that freemasonry which at once by a hundred signs unites them in five minutes with a plainer man. While this may have been true, the blame was not his, and no man lived who had a more unaffected interest and keener joy in human life in the home or on the street. No power could drag him past a Punch-and-Judy show—the ancient, perennial, ever-delightful theatre of the people—in which, each time of attendance, he detected new points of interest. He would, in early days if you please, gaze steadfastly into a window, in the High Street of Edinburgh, till a little crowd of men, women, children, and workmen, loafers, soldiers, had collected, and join with much zest in the excited speculations regarding the man—unanimously and suddenly imagined to have been carried in helpless—how he met with his accident, where he was hurt, and whether he would recover, listening eagerly to the explanation of the gathering given by some officious person to the policeman, and joining heartily in the reproaches levelled at some unknown deceiver. One of his chosen subjects of investigation, which he pursued with the zeal and patience of a naturalist, was that ever-interesting species—the Boy, whom he studied in his various forms and haunts: at home for the holidays, on the cricket field, playing marbles on the street with a chance acquaintance while two families wait for their food, or living with many resources and high enjoyment in a barrel. There was nothing in a boy he did not know, could not explain, did not sympathize with, and so long as it lasts his name will be associated with the Boys' Brigade. While any other would only have seen two revellers in a man and woman singing their devious way along the street at night, Drummond detected that a wife, who had not been drinking, was luring her husband home by falling in with his mood and that before it was reached she might need a friendly hand. His sense of humor was unerring, swift and masterful. If he came upon a good thing in his reading he would walk a mile to share it with a friend, and afterwards de-

part in the strength thereof, and he has been found in his room exhausted with delight with nothing before him but one of those Parisian plaster caricatures of a vagabond. Lying on his back in the pitiable helplessness and constant pain of those last two years, he was still the same man.

"Don't touch me, please; I can't shake hands, but I've saved up a first-rate story for you," and his palate was too delicate to pass anything second-rate. Partly this was his human joyousness, to whom the absurdities of life were ever dear, partly it was his bravery, who knew that the sight of him brought so low might be too much for a friend. His patience and sweetness continued to the end, and he died as one who had tasted the joy of living and was satisfied.

His nature had, at the same time, a curious aloofness and separateness from human life, which one felt, but can hardly describe. He could be severe in speaking about a mean act or one who had done wickedly, but in my recollection he was never angry, and it was impossible to imagine him in a towering passion. He was profoundly interested in several causes, but there was not in him the making of a fanatical or headlong supporter. None could be more loyal in the private offices of friendship, but he would not have flung himself into his friend's public quarrel. In no circumstances would he be carried off his feet by emotion or be consumed by a white heat of enthusiasm. He was ever calm, cool, self-possessed master of himself, passionless in thought, in speech, in action, in soul. Were you in trouble he had helped you to his last resource, and concealed if possible his service; but of you, in his sore straits, he would have neither asked nor wished for aid. Many confidences he must have received; he gave none; many people must have been succored by him; none succored him till his last illness. Towards women, who are the test and revelation of men, he was ever chivalrous, but he left the impression on your mind that neither they nor their company—there may have been exceptions—attracted or satisfied him. He was too courteous a gentleman to give any sign, but one guessed that a woman's departure from the room meant to him no loss and was rather a relief. One was certain that he was loved; one was quite certain that he would never marry. So sexless was he towards women, so neutral towards men, so void of the elemental passions, which go to make the

color and tragedy of life, yet so noble and true was he, that one regarded him at times with awe, and for a moment thought of him as a being of another race, mingling with our life in all kindliness, yet maintaining and guarding his other world integrity.

This is at least perfectly certain that from his youth he refused to have his life arranged for him, but jealously and fearlessly directed it by his own instincts, refusing the brown, beaten paths wherein each man, according to his profession, was content to walk, and starting across the moor on his own way. Nothing can be more conventional than the career of the average Presbyterian minister who comes from a respectable religious family, and has the pulpit held up before him as the ambition of a good Scots lad; who is held in the way thereto by various traditional and prudential considerations, and better still—as is the case with most honest lads—by his mother's wishes; who works his laborious, enduring way through the Divinity Hall, and is yearly examined by the local Presbytery; who at last emerges into the butterfly life of a Probationer, and is freely mentioned, to his mother's anxious delight, in connection with "vacancies"; who is at last chosen by a majority to a pastorate—his mother being amazed at the blindness of the minority—and settles down to the routine of the ministry in some Scotch parish with the hope of Glasgow before him as a land of promise. His only variations in the harmless years might be an outburst on the historical reality of the Book of Jonah—ah me! did that stout middle-aged gentleman ever hint that Jonah was a drama?—which would be much talked of in the common room and, it was whispered, reached the Professor's ears; and afterwards he might propose a revolutionary motion on the distribution of the Sustentation Fund. Add a hand-book for Bible-classes on the Prophecy of Malachi, and you have summed up the adventures of his life. This was the life before Drummond when he entered the University of Edinburgh in 1866, and it ought to be recorded that he died an ordained minister and Professor of the Kirk, so that he did not disappoint his home, nor become an ecclesiastical prodigal—but with what amazing variations did he invest the years between! What order he took his classes in no one knew, but he found his feet in natural philosophy and made a name in geology. His course at the New

College he completed in three years and one year, with two years' evangelistic touring between; and he once electrified the students by a paper—it seems yesterday, and I know where he stood—which owed much to Holmes and Emerson, but revealed his characteristic spiritual genius. His vacations he spent sometimes in tutorships, which yielded wonderful adventures, or at Tübingen, where his name was long remembered. As soon as Moody came to Edinburgh, Drummond allied himself with the most capable, honest, and unselfish evangelist of our day, and saw strange chapters in religious life through the United Kingdom. This was the infirmary in which he learned spiritual diagnosis. For one summer he was chaplain at Malta; in another he explored the Rockies; he lived five months among the Tanganyika forests, where he sent me a letter dated Central Africa, and mentioning, among other details, that he had nothing on but a helmet and three mosquitoes. He was for a time assistant in an Edinburgh church, and readers of the illustrated papers used to recognize him in the vice-regal group at Dublin Castle. His people at home—one could trace some of his genius and much of his goodness to his father and mother—grew anxious and perplexed; for this was a meteoric course for a Free Kirk minister, and stolid acquaintances—the delicious absurdity of it—remonstrated with him as one who was allowing the chances of life to pass him, and urged him to settle. His friends had already concluded that he must be left free to fulfil himself, but knew not what to expect when he suddenly appeared as a lecturer on Natural Science in the Free Church College of Glasgow, and promptly annexed a workingmen's church. Afterwards, his lectureship became a chair, and he held it to the end, although threatened with charges of heresy and such like absurdities. You might as well have beaten a spirit with a stick as prosecuted Drummond for heresy. The chair itself was a standing absurdity, being founded in popular idea to beat back evolution and to reconcile religion and science, but it gave Drummond an opportunity of widening the horizon of the future ministry and infusing sweetness into the students' minds. He may have worn a white tie on Sunday duty at his church, but memory fails to recall this spectacle, and he consistently refused to be called Reverend—declaring (this was his fun) that he had no recollection of being ordained, and

that he would never dare to baptize a child. The last time he preached was about 1882, in my own church, and the outside world did not know that he was a clergyman. From first to last he was guided by an inner light which never led him astray, and in the afterglow his whole life is a simple and perfect harmony.

Were one asked to select Drummond's finest achievement, he might safely mention the cleansing of student life at Edinburgh University. When he was an arts student, life in all the faculties, but especially the medical, was reckless, coarse, boisterous, and no one was doing anything to raise its tone. The only visible sign of religion in my remembrance was a prayer meeting attended by a dozen men—one of whom was a canting rascal—and countenance from a professor would have given a shock to the university. Twenty years afterwards six hundred men, largely medicals, met every Sunday evening for worship and conference under Drummond's presidency, and every evening the meeting was addressed by tutors and fellows and other dignitaries. There was a new breath in academic life—men were now reverent, earnest, clean living and clean thinking, and the reformer who wrought this change was Drummond. This land, and for that matter the United States, has hardly a town where men are not doing good work for God and man to-day who have owed their lives to the Evangel and influence of Henry Drummond

When one saw the unique and priceless work which he did, it was inexplicable and very provoking that the religious world should have cast this man, of all others, out, and have lifted up its voice against him. Had religion so many men of beautiful and winning life, so many thinkers of wide range and genuine culture, so many speakers who can move young men by hundreds towards the Kingdom of God, that she could afford or have the heart to withdraw her confidence from Drummond? Was there ever such madness and irony before Heaven as good people lifting up their testimony and writing articles against this most gracious disciple of the Master, because they did not agree with him about certain things he said, or some theory he did not teach, while the world lay round them in unbelief and selfishness, and sorrow and pain? "What can be done," an eminent evangelist once did me the honor to ask, "to heal the breach between the religious world and Drummond?" And I dared to reply that in my poor judgment the first step ought

to be for the religious world to repent of its sins, and make amends to Drummond for its bitterness. The evangelist indicated that, so far as he knew his world, it was very unlikely to do any such becoming deed, and I did not myself remember any instance of repentance on the part of the Pharisees. Then, growing bold, I ventured to ask why the good man had not summoned Drummond to his side, as he was working in a university town, and knew better than any other person that he could not find anywhere an assistant so acceptable or skilful. He agreed in that, but declared at once that if Drummond came his present staff would leave, and that two men could not do all the work, which seemed reasonable, and besides every man knows his own business best, and that evangelist knew his remarkably well. Nothing more remained to be said, and I rose to leave. At the far end of the room some of the staff were talking together. "I gave them a 'straight talk' at the men's meeting last night, and then we had such a sweet little 'sing' and thirty souls dropped in." A young man of the better class was speaking, and I looked at the weak, self-satisfied face, but it is not necessary to write down my reflections as I left the place. Never did my friend say one unkind word of the world which condemned him, but it may be allowed to another to say that if anyone wishes to indict the professional religionists of our time for bigotry and stupidity, painful and unanswerable proof lies ready to his hand in the fact that the finest evangelist of the day was treated as a Samaritan.

One, of course, remembers that Drummond's critics had their reasons, and those reasons cast interesting light on his theological standpoint. For one thing, unlike most evangelists, it was perfectly alien to this man to insist on repentance, simply because he had not the painful and overmastering sense of sin which afflicts most religious minds, and gives a strenuous turn to all their thinking. Each thinker conceives religion according to his cast of mind and trend of experience, and Christianity to Drummond was not so much a way of escape from the grip of sin, with its burden of guilt and loathsome contact, as a way of ethical and spiritual attainment. The question he was ever answering in his writing and speaking was not how can a man save his soul, but how can a man save his life. His idea of salvation was rising to the stature of Christ and sharing His simple, lowly,

peaceful life. This was the text of his brochures on religion, which charmed the world from "The Greatest Thing in the World" to "The City Without a Church." It is said even they gave offence to some ultra-theological minds—although one would fain have believed that such persuasive pleas have won all hearts—and I have some faint remembrance, perhaps a nightmare, that people published replies to the eulogy of Love. It was quite beside the mark to find fault with the theology in the little books, because there was none and could be none, since there was none in the author. Just as there are periods in the development of Christianity, there are men in every age corresponding to each of the periods—modern, Reformation, and Mediæval minds—and what charmed many in Drummond was this, that he belonged by nature to the pre-theological age. He was in his habit and thought a Christian of the Gospels, rather than of the Epistles, and preferred to walk with Jesus in Galilee rather than argue with Judaizers and Gnostics. It would be a gross injustice to say that he was anti-theological: it would be correct to say that he was non-theological. Jesus was not to him an official Redeemer discharging certain obligation: He was his unseen Friend with whom he walked in life, by Whose fellowship he was changed, to Whom he prayed. The effort of life should be to do the Will of God, the strength of life was Peace, the reward of life was to be like Jesus. Perfect Christianity was to be as St. John was with Jesus. It was the Idyll of Religion.

Perhaps his two famous books, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and "The Ascent of Man," ought to be judged as larger Idylls. A writer often fails when he has counted himself strong, and succeeds in that which he has himself belittled. It was at one time Drummond's opinion that he had made a discovery in that fascinating debatable land between nature and religion, and that he was able to prove that the laws which govern the growth of a plant are the same in essence as those which regulate the culture of a soul. It appeared to some of us that the same laws could not and did not run through both provinces, but that on the frontier of the spiritual world other laws came into operation, and that "Natural Law" set forth with much grace and ingenuity a number of instructive analogies, and sometimes only suggestive illustrations. Had Drummond believed this was its furthest scope, he would never have published the

book, and it was an open secret that in later years he lost all interest in "Natural Law." My own idea is that he had abandoned its main contention and much of its teaching, and would have been quite willing to see it withdrawn from the public. While that book was an attempt to identify the laws of two worlds which, under one suzerain, are really each autonomous, the "Ascent of Man" was a most successful effort to prove that the spirit of Religion, which is altruism, pervades the processes of nature. It is the Poem of Evolution, and is from beginning to end a fascinating combination of scientific detail and spiritual imagination. Both books, but especially the Ascent, were severely criticised from opposite quarters, by theologians because the theology was not sound, by men of science because the science was loose, and Drummond had the misfortune of being a heretic in two provinces. But he had his reward in the gratitude of thousands neither dogmatic nor partisan, to whom he has given a new vision of the beauty of Life and the graciousness of Law.

His books will do good for years, as they have done in the past, and his tract on Charity will long be read, but the man was greater than all his writings. While he was competent in science, in religion he was a master, and if in this sphere he failed anywhere in his thinking it was in his treatment of sin. This was the defect of his qualities, for of him, more than of any man known to me, it could be affirmed he did not know sin. As Fra Angelico could paint the Holy Angels because he had seen them, but made poor work of the devils because to him they were strange creatures, so this man could make holiness so lovely that all men wished to be Christians; but his hand lost its cunning at the mention of sin, for he had never played the fool. From his youth up he had kept the commandments, and was such a man as the Master would have loved. One takes for granted that each man has his besetting sin, and we could name that of our friends, but Drummond was an exception to this rule. After a lifetime's intimacy I do not remember my friend's failing. Without pride, without envy, without selfishness, without vanity, moved only by goodwill and spiritual ambitions, responsive ever to the touch of God and every noble impulse, faithful, fearless, magnanimous, Henry Drummond was the most perfect Christian I have known or expect to see this side the grave.

JOHN WATSON.

SHOULD IMMIGRATION BE RESTRICTED?

BY SIMON GREENLEAF CROSWELL.

DURING recent years there has been a growing interest in devising some plan for checking or limiting the tide of immigration whose waves sweep in upon the United States almost daily in constantly increasing volume. The subject has been discussed in legislatures, in political meetings, from pulpits, in reform clubs, and among individuals on every hand. The reason for the interest which the subject now excites is easily found in the recent enormous increase of immigration.

Much as the subject has been discussed, however, and many as have been the arguments which have been brought forward on one side or the other, there has been a noticeable lack of the one element which can give certainty to the arguments and force to the conclusions. Inferences, deductions, conjectures, and a host of less persuasive probabilities have been brought forward and paraded in each line of battle; but of facts, such facts, I mean, as bear directly and strongly upon the problems involved, there has been little use made. The purpose of this article is to set forth clearly and prominently these facts, to investigate them, and see to what conclusions they point.

The problem divides itself at the outset into two distinct questions: First, is it for the advantage of the United States that immigration be checked or limited? Second, if so, in what way should the check or limit be applied?

It will not do to trust to the answers to these questions given by local interests or party prejudices. If these interests and prejudices were to be consulted, we should hear in answer to the first question, a loud and emphatic "yes" from the Eastern seaboard, and from the great centers of population on the east slope of the Alleghanies. In these Eastern cities, where the already

crowded mechanic and artisan and laborer view in each new arrival a possible competitor and rival, local feeling would be strongly in favor of a limitation of the immigration. On the other hand, from the central States in the Mississippi Valley, where the existing population has not risen to so high a percentage, compared with the supporting powers of the land, and where the demand for unskilled labor which the immigrants are qualified to perform is still in excess of the supply, the answer would not be so distinct and emphatic. There would be good reasons advanced by one party why immigration should be encouraged, rather than checked, while another party would assert that there were already too many immigrants and that some limit must be fixed. Going still further West, where the average percentage of population to the area of the land dwindles in some localities almost to the vanishing point, we should hear from the isolated inhabitants who are wrestling with nature on their scattered farms and ranches, a cry for laborers, as distinct and emphatic, if not uttered by so great numbers, as the opposing cry in the East.

Furthermore, it is evident that the same questions cover two distinct fields of inquiry, the first political and the second industrial. Nor can the two fields be examined simultaneously, for the reasons, if there are any, from a political point of view, why immigration should be limited, would not apply to the question viewed on its industrial side, and *vice versa*.

Taking up first the industrial question, we may assume that the entrance of the swarms of immigrants into our country represents the introduction of just so much laboring power into the country, and we may also assume as a self-evident proposition that the introduction of laboring power into an undeveloped or partially developed country is advantageous until the point is reached at which all the laborers whom the country can support have been introduced. Adam Smith says that labor is the wealth of nations. If this is true, the laborer is the direct and only primary means of acquiring wealth. The facts of the history of our country bear out this view. Beginning with the clearing of the forests, the settlement of the villages, the cultivation of farms, proceeding to the establishment of the lumber industries, the cultivation of vast wheat and corn fields, the production of cotton, the working of the coal and oil fields of Pennsylvania, the development of the

mining districts of the West, culminating in the varied and extensive manufactures of the Eastern and Central States, the laborer has been the Midas whose touch has turned all things to gold.

There is, however, a limitation to the principle that the introduction of laborers into a partially developed country is advantageous. A point is finally reached which may be called the saturation point of the country ; that is, it has as many inhabitants as it can supply with reasonably good food and clothing. This saturation point may be reached many times in the history of a country, for the ratio between the food and clothing products and the population is constantly varying. New modes of cultivation, and the use of machinery, as well as natural causes affecting the fertility of land, which are as yet obscure, render a country at one time capable of supporting a much larger number of inhabitants than at another time. Still, there is a broad and general truth that, time and place and kind of people being considered, some countries are over-populated, and some are under-populated.

We are accustomed to say that some of the countries of Europe are over-populated, and there are among us some who are beginning to say that the United States have reached the same point. This is far from being the case, and a single glance at the comparative average density of population of the principal European nations and of the United States will be sufficient to drive this idea out of any fair minded person's head.

The most thickly settled country of modern Europe is the Netherlands, which had, in the year 1890, the very large average of 359 inhabitants per square mile of territory. Great Britain came next with the almost equally large average of 311 inhabitants per square mile of territory. Germany had 234 and France 187. Taking in for purposes of comparison, though not of much force in the argument, China, we find there an average population of 295 inhabitants per square mile of territory. It is a question of some difficulty to decide in any specific case whether a country has reached the point of over-population. We may admit that Great Britain, with its average of 311 inhabitants per mile, is over-populated, though the conditions of life do not seem to be wholly intolerable, even to the lowest classes there. If Great Britain is over-populated, *a fortiori* are the Netherlands,

and we may even go so far as to admit that Germany, with its average of 234 inhabitants per square mile, is over-populated. But when we come to France, with its 187 inhabitants per square mile, we may pause and see what are the conditions of the French people. So far as it is possible to judge of a people in the lump, it would seem that the population of France is not excessive for the area. The land holdings are divided up into very small lots, but are held by a great number of people. Mackenzie, in his history of the nineteenth century, says that nearly two-thirds of the French householders are landowners, while only one British householder in every four is an owner of land. This condition results partly from the difference in the system of inheritance of land in the two countries, but would be impossible if the country were over-populated. Moreover, there are five millions of people in France whose possessions in land are under six acres each.

Taking, then, the population of France, averaging 187 per square mile, as being at least not above the normal rate of population, what do we find in comparing it with the population of the United States? We find over here vast tracts of country, amounting to nearly one-third by actual measurement, of the whole area of the United States, and including all the States west of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys (except a portion of California), having a population of less than six individuals per square mile. It would seem as if the mere statement of this fact were alone sufficient to disprove any proposition which asserts that the saturation point of population has been reached in the United States. While that immense expanse of country averages only 6 individuals to the square mile, there can be no reason for saying that this country is over-populated. Coming now to the more thickly settled portions of the United States, we find a large area spread out over various parts of the States having a population of between seven and forty-five individuals per square mile. In a very few States, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, the population of the whole State averages over forty-five and under ninety individuals per square mile, and the same average holds in parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, and isolated spots in the South. In a small territory, made up of parts of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, the population averages over ninety per square mile.

The contrast between these averages of population in various portions of the United States, the highest of which is about ninety individuals per mile (and that over very small portions of the area of the United States) and the average densities of the European countries, previously examined, shows how very far the United States still is from complete population. This appears still more clearly when the average population of the United States, taken as a whole, is considered, which is the extraordinarily low figure of twenty individuals per square mile of territory. What a striking contrast! Can the most ardent advocate of the Malthusian doctrine claim that the United States already has too many inhabitants, or is in danger of having too many in the immediate future? Do we not rather need to encourage immigration, to fling wide open the gates of our country and secure as large an addition to our working force as possible?

There is, however, a limit to immigration which should be invariably applied. The reason why the encouragement of immigration is desirable from an industrial point of view is simply that it furnishes more laborers. Necessarily, therefore, those who are unable or unwilling to work should be excluded.

When we come to the political aspect of the problem, however, a wholly different series of considerations present themselves. The question now is not how many citizens, but what sort of citizens. The theory of our government is not limited to any number of people. It provides for expansion in the number of representatives in Congress in proportion to the increase in population, and increases the number of Senators as new States are formed and added to the Union. Similarly each State government has elastic provisions which enable it to cover a population of 400,000 as well as a population of 40,000. But the one critical test in determining whether or not our immigration should be limited for political reasons is the character of the people whom we are admitting to the privilege of citizenship in the United States.

In order to investigate successfully the political effect of the immigration, it is necessary, at the outset, to divide it into its constituent nationalities, so that taking up each nationality in turn, we may see what fitness it has from its previous political training in its native country for undertaking the duties of American citizenship. The disintegration of the tide of immi-

gration into these constituent parts affords some interesting information which will be seen to have a bearing, in several directions, on the questions under consideration in this article. Taking the statistics of the year 1891 as a typical year of recent immigration, the tide of immigration amounted in round numbers to 500,000 individuals.

The largest feeder of this enormous stream came from Germany, which sent, roughly speaking, 100,000. But a noticeable point about this nationality is the great decrease in the number of immigrants it has sent us in the last fifteen years. In the year 1882 the total German immigration into the United States amounted to no less than 250,000, but in 1883 and 1884 there was a great decrease, and since then the average has remained in the neighborhood of 100,000. We shall see later that on the other hand, the immigration from the Latin and Slav nations of Europe, particularly Italy, Poland, and Austria, shows an enormous rate of increase in the same period, although, of course, the absolute amounts are much less than those of the German immigration.

The next largest feeder to our stream of immigration in the year 1891, the typical year of our examination, was Italy, which contributed 76,000 immigrants to our population. It is noteworthy to remark, in this connection, that Italy has more than doubled her annual rate of contributions to our people in the ten years under consideration, the immigration from her shores in 1882 being only 32,000.

The next largest contributor is Austria, which in 1891 furnished 71,000 new members of our community. Austria, too, has doubled her rate of contribution, sending us in 1882 only 32,000. Next come, side by side, in their offerings to our population, England and Ireland, each of which countries sends us about 50,000 new inhabitants every year, and has continued to do so for the last 15 years. Russia, exclusive of Poland, sent 47,000 in 1891, this being three times the number which she sent in 1882, a large increase. Sweden came next with 36,000 immigrants and that country shows a woeful falling-off of nearly one half in the ten years under consideration, for in the year 1882 it sent 64,000. Poland in 1891 sent us 27,000 immigrants, showing an enormous increase of nearly seven-fold over its contribution of 4,000 in 1882. Scotland and Norway and Denmark all send

about the same number, that is, about 12,000 each; Norway showing a diminution in the decade ending 1891, from 29,000 in 1882, but the other two remaining about stationary. Switzerland in 1891 sent 6,000, a diminution from 10,000 in 1882. The Netherlands sent 5,000 in 1891, a decrease from 9,000 in 1882. France sent 6,000 and Belgium 3,000, these figures being about the same during all the years covered by our investigation. I have left out of the account the only other important factor in our immigration in the ten years considered, namely China, because the door was shut in its face with considerable emphasis in 1883, and the immigration from China to the Western States, which in 1882 amounted to 40,000, fell in 1883 to 8,000, and in 1884 to 279 individuals, and may, therefore, be neglected at the present time.

Now, an examination of the political institutions in the countries from which these immigrants come would show that in almost no case, that of Russia and Poland alone excepted, are the elements of representative government wholly unknown to the common people. In most of these countries, some form of popular government has, either wholly or partially, gained a footing, with the inevitable result of accustoming people more or less to representative institutions. Yet the short time that this has been the case in many of the countries which pour half or over of the total flood of immigration into the United States, and the long centuries of despotism which preceded this partial and recent enlightenment, make it painfully evident that there can be, in the large part of our immigrants, little knowledge of the republican form of government, and little inherited aptitude for such government. It would at first seem as if the results of such immigration must be disastrous to our country.

And yet the situation is not so hopeless. There is nothing mysterious, or even very complicated, about republican institutions. A little time, a little study, a little experience with the practical workings of elections, is sufficient to convey to any person of ordinary intelligence as much familiarity with these matters as is necessary for the intelligent appreciation of their objects and purposes. Nor is the material out of which the prospective citizen is to be made wholly unfitted for its purpose. To be sure, the Latin races, the Slavs, Hungarians, Poles, and others, have no inherited aptitude, nor, if we may judge from the his-

tory of the races, any inherent capacity for self-government and free institutions, but, as I have before said, in almost every case they have had in their own country a partial training in the forms of representative government. All that is needed is to amalgamate this heterogeneous mass, to fuse its elements in the heat and glow of our national life, until, formed in the mould of everyday experience, each one shall possess the characteristic features of what we believe to be the highest type of human development which the world has seen, the American citizen.

The process of acquiring American citizenship is regulated by acts of Congress. It is a simple process. Practically all that is required is a continuous residence of five years in the States, and one year in the special State in which citizenship is applied for, and the declaration of intention to become a citizen may be made immediately upon landing. This last point will be seen later to be very important.

Citizenship in the United States, however, under the act of Congress, does not carry with it the right to vote. This right is entirely a matter of State regulation, and the Constitution or statutes of each State settle who shall have the right to vote in its elections. The underlying idea of the whole system is universal male suffrage, and the franchise is granted (after a certain residence which will be discussed later), with only certain general limitations of obvious utility, such as that the voter must be twenty-one years of age, that he must not be an idiot or insane, and generally, that he must not have been convicted of any felony or infamous crime, although in many States a pardon, or the serving of a sentence, will restore a felon to his civil rights. In a few of the States paupers are also excluded from voting. With the question of woman suffrage we have nothing to do, as its settlement, one way or the other, does not affect the subject we are discussing.

The important qualification, however, in relation to the subjects which we are discussing, is that which requires residence in the State previous to the exercise of the franchise. And on this point the States may be divided into two great classes. One class allows no one to vote who is not, under the laws of Congress, a citizen of the United States, either native or naturalized. As we have seen that five years' residence is a requisite to United States citizenship, these States, therefore, require five years' resi-

dence as a prerequisite to acquiring the right to vote. These states are California, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington. This requirement is admirably calculated to secure that preliminary training in the practical working of our institutions which must be necessary to most of the immigrants before they can intelligently exercise the rights which are conferred upon them by American citizenship, and we cannot but admire the sagacity and judiciousness of those who framed our naturalization laws in selecting this period of time for the pupilage of the intending citizen. The period is long enough even for one who is engrossed in the cares of earning a support for himself and his family, amid all the excitement and novelty of a changed residence, to acquire in the five succeeding annual elections a sufficient knowledge of republican government for all practical purposes. To delay him longer in the exercise of his political rights would be an injustice; to admit him to them sooner would be an imprudence.

There is, however, a class of States which, departing from the wisdom of the federal statutes, have marked out for themselves another line of conduct which cannot be too deeply deplored. Many of the States, whose names will be given hereafter, have considered that the declaration of the intention to become a citizen, which is a preliminary, as we have seen, to naturalization, is in itself, or combined with a very short term of residence in the State, sufficient to entitle the person to the exercise of the franchise. In Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin, one year's residence in the State, combined with the declaration required by the United States laws of the intent to become a citizen, is the time limit to qualify a voter. In Cololorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oregon, only six months' residence in the State is required. Either of these periods is much too short for the educational purposes necessary to fit the applicant for the duties of citizenship. Amid the excitement and turmoil necessarily attending a change of residence and country, immersed as he would be in starting his business, or in getting his farm under cultivation, it would be impossible for him to give

any proper attention to political matters in one year, and still less would this be possible in six months. To allow the right to vote on the expiration of so short a residence, is to invite into the polling booth a class of voters whose presence cannot fail to strengthen the hands of political bosses, to render intelligent administration of the government more difficult, and to open a wide field for corruption.

There are in a few states other qualifications required of a voter. The most important of these is the educational qualification, which exists only in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In neither of these is it very severe. In Connecticut the voter must be able to read any article in the State constitution, and any section of the statutes. In Massachusetts he must be able to read the Constitution and to write his name. Too much praise can hardly be given to these requirements. The whole edifice of our national life is founded upon education, and to this potent factor must we look for many of the improvements necessary to the proper development of our national life.

In quite a number of States a pecuniary qualification exists in the shape of the payment of some tax, generally a poll tax, within two years previous to the date of the election. This requirement does not seem to be so germane to the spirit of our institutions as the other. The great present danger of our country is the danger of becoming a plutocracy, and while there is no doubt that a widespread interest in property develops stability of institutions, yet there is also great danger of capital obtaining so firm and strong a hold upon political institutions as to crush out the life of free government and to convert the national government into a species of close corporation, in which the relative wealth of the parties alone controls. This qualification is found in Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas.

We have now examined with some thoroughness the component parts of the tide of immigration as it arrives at our shores; we have seen what nationalities go to make up the grand total, and what previous training they have had in the political institutions of their native countries to fit them for American citizenship, and what additional requirements are imposed upon them by our statutes before they can participate in voting and government in this country. What are the conclusions to which the

view of these facts brings us? They seem to me to be these: first, that the growth of immigration is a desirable thing for this country; second, that the immigrants who arrive at our shores are for the most part good material out of which to make American citizens, if they are properly trained; third, that the two conspicuous defects in these immigrants are lack of general education and lack of special training in free political institutions. Applying these conclusions to the questions which were stated at the outset of this article; first, is it for the advantage of the United States that immigration should be checked or limited? second, if so, in what way should the check or limit be applied? the answer would be that no check or limit should be applied to the immigration of *bona fide* laborers, but that a check should be placed upon the exercise of the franchise by immigrants in all States by requiring a residence of five years in this country before they can vote, and by also requiring some moderate educational test.

With these safeguards established we might look without any serious apprehension upon the increase of our population. The founders of our state moulded the outlines of its form in large and noble lines. The skeleton has grown and clothed itself with flesh with almost incredible rapidity in the hundred years of its existence. But it is still young. We should avoid any measures which would stunt or deform its growth and should allow it to develop freely and generously till the full-grown American nation stands forth pre-eminent among the nations of the earth, in size, as well as in character and organization, and man's last experiment in government is clearly seen to be an unequivocal success.

SIMON GREENLEAF CROSWELL.

RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS IN MOUNTAINEERING.

BY SIR WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY, F. R. G. S.

It is not now, nor will it ever again be, possible for many new expeditions of importance to be instituted and carried out in one year in the Alps. Twenty years ago, as the pages of the *Alpine Journal* attest, virgin peaks were being conquered by dozens, new passes crossed, and new routes up peaks already ascended effected in numbers that are the envy and despair of the climber of to-day. All the peaks of the Alps that amount to anything have now been climbed.

Most of them have been climbed by many routes, and it was only with difficulty and after much research that, in the year 1894, when I traversed the "Alps from end to end" with two Indian Gurkha sepoys, I was able to discover a little snowy mountain not far from the Tödi, no ascent of which was recorded, and which we were able to climb, as it were, for the first time, and name Piz Gurkha. I say "as it were for the first time," because veracity compels me to admit that a few hundred feet below the summit we found a piece of broken bottle, and that on the actual top the stones did not look as though they had ever been disturbed by human visitors.

Still, there are a few gleanings to be had in the Alps even now, and they are being rapidly gathered in. In the summer of 1895, for instance, the finest Alpine summer in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, two new and very difficult routes were traversed for the first time.

One of them led right up the narrow, battlemented, south ridge of the great Weisshorn, the peak which the late Professor Tyndall was so proud to have been the first to scale. Many a good climber had looked at that ridge and been content to leave it for some one else. The top bit of it was scaled some years

ago by a party which climbed up the face of the mountain to it, but no one ever went along the whole ridge till Mr. Broome did so, in August, 1895.

Most visitors to Switzerland have seen the Weisshorn; comparatively few know the Herbetet, for that is a smaller and, indeed, a minor peak amongst the beautiful mountains of Cogne, where the King of Italy has his shooting preserves and where a famous herd of bouquetin, the last in the Alps, is thus kept from extinction.

The Herbetet stands between the better-known Grivola and Grand Paradis. Mountaineers know it as the best peak for a scramble among the Graian Alps of Cogne. I was once on its summit with the lamented Mr. Mummery, the finest climber that ever lived.

It was on a glorious day and the views were superb. We sat on the top and talked of the Himalayas, which both of us afterwards visited, and where he lost his life. When the time came to descend he proposed that we should try and force our way down the south ridge, an extremely narrow rock *arête* in which were set a series of lofty and quite precipitous pinnacles. That *arête* was climbed for the first time last summer by an adventurous party, and quite recently I had the pleasure of listening, at the Alpine Club, to Mr. Oliver's account of how success was won.

I have spoken of Mr. Mummery, and to him I must now return, for he was the hero, or rather the victim of last year. He left England in the spring with two friends, Dr. Collie and Mr. Hastings, to adventure ascents among the greatest of the wondrous Himalayas. Their goal was the giant mountain, or rather group of mountains, called Nanga Parbat, which stand on the west frontier of the kingdom of Kashmir, and about which those who care to enquire can find more in my book on "Climbing in the Himalayas."

There is one remarkable peculiarity of the series of Himalayan ranges between the Vale of Kashmir and the Central Asian watershed—they are one after another cut right across by ridges. The reason for this is that the rivers were there before the ranges were formed, and as, by the crinkling of the earth's crust, the ranges were raised, the rivers cut gorges through them and maintained their flow.

Nanga Parbat is part of the true and principal Himalayan range and its summit rises to the stupendous altitude above sea-level of 26,630 feet. Close to its foot; not more than ten miles in horizontal distance from the peak, the Indus flows through a desert gorge, and here the height above sea-level of the river-bed is not much above 3,000 feet.

It is easy to conceive from these figures on how vast a scale nature's architecture is here set up. I have never been down this part of the Indus gorge, but a friend of mine, who was there, told me that the path along the side of the gorge is in places perilously narrow and carried across precipices of such appalling character that at one point a servant of his, who lost his footing, fell a mile in vertical height, and was, of course, smashed to atoms.

One side of Nanga Parbat sinks to this gorge by a series of ridges and ravines—that is the Chilas side. The other two sides of the mountain, for it is on a triangular base, are likewise defined by long valleys, one of which is filled by the great Tarshing glacier.

It was to this valley of the Tarshing glacier that Mummery and his companions bent their steps in June, 1895. They were joined there by my old travelling companion, Bruce, and two Gurkha sepoys of his regiment—not, I am glad to say, any of the boys who accompanied me either in India or the Alps. Towards the Tarshing glacier Nanga Parbat presents a mighty ice-draped wall, 15,000 feet in height and likely to be never ascended by man. Mummery passed along under this, and then round the end of the mountain, crossing by a snowy pass to one of the ravines running down to the Indus. From this they attempted to climb the mountain, but lack of provisions drove them back to the Tarshing valley.

They returned again and renewed the attempt, establishing camps and stores of provisions at successively increasing altitudes. At last they climbed one day to a height of some twenty thousand feet or more, but there illness overtook first one and then another, till they were all forced to descend.

But Mummery was not the man to yield. He determined to try the peak again from the next ravine further round. He said that he and the two Gurkhas would climb over the intervening ridge by a pass at a height, I believe, of some twenty thousand

feet, whilst the other members of the party took the baggage round by way of the Indus gorge and came up to meet him.

Taking a few days' provisions with him he bade farewell to the others and started. He and the two Gurkhas that went with him have never been seen again.

Their way led them at first across a steep mountain-side, down which avalanches of ice and rock appear often to fall. Doubtless it was here that ruin overtook them. They were probably overwhelmed by an avalanche and now lie buried in the depths of the river of ice below, which will slowly carry their bodies down, and years hence will discharge them into the Indus.

Thus ended the career of a man who was not merely remarkable as the most skillful mountaineer of his day, or of any previous day, but a man who was of remarkable character and great intellectual gifts. The mountains have claimed another victim, and they have chosen the first among the very *élite* of the craft.

There is a tradition among the natives of Chilas that a Crystal Castle stands on the topmost point of Nanga Parbat—it is a fairy castle, for all the places of eternal snow are fairies' land. They say that once in days long ago a huntsman climbed up to it and looked in, and lo! it was filled with a countless multitude of snakes. It will be a long time, I think, before anyone actually makes the ascent of Nanga Parbat and brings down a fragment of the Crystal Castle.

After Mummery's disappearance his friends spent the remainder of the season looking for traces of him and finding none. They tracked laboriously up various ravines, but autumnal snowfalls soon set in and ended the possibility of further researches. One by one they returned to England and left all that was mortal of the great mountaineer alone in the fairies' land.

As the Alps have been exhausted from an exploring point of view, and the climbing craft has been simultaneously developed and popularized, travellers have begun to pay increasing attention to the other snowy mountain ranges of the world.

The Caucasus has already received no inconsiderable amount of attention and most of its principal peaks have been climbed for the first time by members of the Alpine Club. The highest point of Ushba, the Caucasian Matterhorn, whose wonderful

form is already popularized by numerous widely-sold photographs, has never yet been reached.

Two parties went out from England last year to have a look at it but came home again without doing more. There was a third party of a more æsthetic character consisting of men who climbed indeed, and could climb well, but who had in view the enjoyment of beauty rather than mere gymnastic achievement. Amongst them was my old Himalayan companion, that admirable artist, A. D. McCormick.

But the Caucasus is now an old story. Remoter ranges are being sought with growing persistence. Observe that the world in all its main level areas is now explored. Africa begins to be a twice-told tale. Only the polar regions and the great mountain ranges are still for the most part unmapped, unpenetrated, and unknown.

To the explorer of the twentieth century will belong the world of ice, for the nineteenth century has finished the tropics and the deserts.

In the Southern hemisphere, where snowy ranges are few until you go very far south, the Alps of New Zealand form a very attractive group. The highest of them, Mount Cook, can be seen from the town of Christchurch, yet a very few years ago practically nothing was known about the range or its glaciers.

In the Southern summer of 1881–82 an Irishman, the Rev. W. S. Green, made these mountains the goal of an expedition. He climbed several of them and nearly reached the top of Mount Cook. The imagination of the New Zealanders was kindled by Mr. Green, and the young men of Christchurch and Auckland thereupon formed a New Zealand Alpine Club for themselves, and started scrambling in a bold and independent fashion.

The record of their doings is pleasant reading. They had no experienced guides to teach them; they had to teach themselves the climbers' craft with the help of books and hard-won experience. All these pioneers were young men of business, and their holidays were few. As surely as they reached within striking distance of some longed-for peak and a fine day dawned, so surely was their leave up, and they had to hurry back to their offices.

Nevertheless, as the years went by, they pushed forward the exploration of their Alps steadily and effectually. They aroused

the interest of their Government, with the result that one or two of them were appointed mountain surveyors, and a very admirable map of the glacial region has resulted from their labors.

Last year a second English expedition made the New Zealand Alps its goal. Its leader was my companion in the "Alps from End to End," Mr. E. A. Fitzgerald, and he was accompanied by the wonderful Swiss guide, Mat. Zurbriggen, whom I took to the Himalayas in 1892.

Rumor had preceded them, and the young men of New Zealand determined that the actual summit of Mount Cook should not remain untrodden for them. Accordingly, on Christmas Day, they organized a party and reached the point of the peak before Fitzgerald and Zurbriggen landed.

As Mount Cook was climbed, Mr. Fitzgerald turned his attention to other mountains and performed mighty feats, as will presently appear. When his season's work was done he heard that it was being said that they had not climbed Mount Cook, because it was too hard for them, so Zurbriggen one day walked up it, quite alone, by a new route.

It would not interest the general reader to be told a mere list of the names of the new peaks which Fitzgerald conquered. They were many and, as climbs, they were, without exception, of extreme difficulty and very dangerous; for, it must be admitted, the New Zealand Alps are amongst the most dangerous mountains to climb on the face of the earth.

To begin with, they are built of the most rotten rock conceivable. There is neither firm handhold nor foothold for yards together. The mountains crumble at a touch.

On one occasion a huge rock gave way beneath Fitzgerald's feet, and he was cast over a precipice of appalling depth, where he hung at the end of a rope, Zurbriggen only just succeeding in holding him up. To make matters worse, two of the three strands of the rope were cut through on the edge of the rock by the jerk of the fall. This was only one of a series of narrow escapes experienced by these adventurous climbers.

Other great dangers in the New Zealand mountains are caused by the extraordinary rainfall in that country. On the western slopes of the mountains the measured annual rainfall amounts to 140 inches. The weather changes with extraordinary rapidity and there are seldom two fine days in succession.

The result is that the mountains are overburdened with snow, and that the snow line descends much lower than in any corresponding latitude. Glacial phenomena are on a very large scale. The crevasses are big ; avalanches are big ; the movement of the glaciers is rapid. Everything is more unstable on the New Zealand ranges than in other countries.

Time after time Fitzgerald and Zurbriggen slept out on the hillside, only to be driven down next day by the first of a long series of almost continuous storms. They slept out on seven different occasions before they were able to ascend one important peak. When they gained its summit they received their reward, for from it they were able to overlook an unexplored portion of the range, and there they discovered the pass, since named Fitzgerald's Pass by the New Zealand Government, and about which a word must be said.

The agricultural portion of the South Island is divided from the bush-covered and gold-bearing western side, or Westland, by the snowy Alps. Westland is one of the most beautiful regions in the world, comparable for fiord scenery to Alaska, or Norway. Till now, however, a great part of it has been very difficult of access, for there was no known pass across the snowy range in a hundred miles and more of length.

The New Zealand Government greatly desired to find a pass over this barrier, and to that end sent out more than one exploring party without success. From the summit of the peak, with so much difficulty attained, Fitzgerald looked down upon the very pass that was wanted. Access to it appeared easy from both sides. On one side there was no snow, on the other but little.

A few days later the climbers set forth to traverse the pass they had seen and descend to the west coast. They had on this, as on other occasions, to carry all they required on their own backs. When the needful photographic and other instruments, the rope, and so forth, had been accommodated, there was only room for one day's provisions.

The actual crossing of the pass was accomplished in a few hours ; then came the descent down the Copeland River valley to the habitations of men by the seaboard. Every yard of the way had to be fought for when once the scrub level was reached.

For two days and a half, without food or shelter, in down-

pours of rain such as only Westland knows, the explorers struggled along. At last, when almost at the limit of their forces, they tottered into a frontiersman's camp and completed their task.

The news of this success was welcomed in Christchurch, and the government immediately caused works to be undertaken to make a mule track over the pass. Presently there will be a carriage road, for once the scrub has been cut down, there are no engineering difficulties of moment to be overcome. Thus, in the new regions of the world, the climber may open highways, along which in years to come large populations and commercial tides may flow.

Here ends my chronicle of recent mountaineering achievement. It takes no account of what has been done on the American Continent, by my fellow-members of the Appalachian Mountain Club, by American and Canadian surveyors, and others, because, alas ! I have not been able to follow their doings.

As a continent of mountains America ranks only second to Asia, and far surpasses Europe. Along its great backbone much has already been done, but from a mountaineer's point of view much more remains to be done. The rising generation of adventurous youth have their work before them ; let us hope they will do it in the spirit of Clarence King, and record their doings in as charming and memorable a form.

WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NAVAL OFFICER.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

ABOUT five and forty years ago Admiral Sir Charles Napier published a book on the state of the navy, in which, through some pages, he deplored the decadence of the junior naval officers of his day. In 1847 the greatest admiral of his time, the nephew of Earl St. Vincent, and known as "the last of Nelson's captains," Sir William Parker, thus wrote: "I feel more than ever the necessity of judicious, steady and firm officers being kept afloat, who will, on the one hand, check the absurdities and presumption of modern innovations which are undermining the discipline of the service, and, on the other hand, avoid the severity and harshness which characterized the organization of some ships in former days. The midshipmen, mates, and junior lieutenants all require a strict but courteous control, and if a stand is not made determinedly against their flippant and conceited demeanor, we may witness a navy as brave, but in its efficiency lamentably degenerated from the days of Nelson and our successful leaders during the revolutionary war."

These two great officers only followed the fashion of their time in so regarding their juniors. Most officers of forty to fifty years' standing can easily recall how universal this sort of feeling was amongst the senior ranks, and how long it continued. But now there is not probably to be found one single officer of the higher ranks who could think, much less write, so of the rising generation. The feeling of the seniors towards the juniors is unquestionably one of respect. There is a tendency clearly marked to draw comparisons between what we remember of the officers who were our fellows in the gun-rooms and ward-rooms of the sailing ships, or of the steam and sailing ships, of our past, and what is now seen in those mess-rooms of the steaming present, to

the disparagement of the former. During the last half century we have witnessed a complete revolution in the regards which the leaders of the navy throw down upon their followers.

It is often a subject of reflection and inquiry with me, how this evolution has come about. Why is it that the inner or fundamental elements of discipline stand on such a different footing now to what they did then? How much of the change is subjective in the minds of senior officers; and how much objective, or real, in the conduct and character of the juniors? I think it is possible to trace the causes, as of material surroundings acting on moral character and moral character inter-acting amongst the different ranks. The subjective thought of the seniors has not been without its effect on the character of the juniors. The conduct of the juniors has confirmed the thought of the seniors.

In any case a naval man of to-day whose experience stretches back to the navy of fifty years ago can evolve from his inner consciousness a series of mental surprises if he recalls situation after situation of his distant, but not dim past, and imagines the possibilities of re-establishing any of them to-day. The theory of discipline amongst those who were building it up and maintaining it then, was that the more the junior officer's self-esteem was destroyed, the better man he was likely to become. The "smart" officer was often, if not generally, noted for his skill in the use of contemptuous adjuration as applied to "the young gentlemen" of his midshipmen's berth. Epithets such as "qualified young ass," "qualified young fool," "qualified useless trash," flew about in those days backwards and forwards over the decks of the ship as the ball flies over the net on the tennis ground, if we assume that it is all serving, and no ball is taken. The youngster speedily learnt the practice and the language, and "passed it on" like Sheridan's Trip, so that the supply of practitioners never failed.

Of course the habit developed a great number of men who were mere verbal bullies, men who never considered for a moment the effects of what they were doing or saying, and out of whose mouths the appropriate language flowed like steam out of the spout of a boiling tea-kettle. But whether the theory was built up to fit the practice, or whether the practice grew out of the theory, it is certain, that it was cultivated as useful to the partly feathered naval fowl. I remember in my youngsters days,

having sometimes a difficulty in establishing congruity between the language of some of my seniors toward me when "on duty"; the distinct regard that I felt for them; and the certainty I had of their real regard for me. It was a revelation and a shock to my whole system, when, after years of shaken self-confidence, generated by the belief that the language as applied to me was true, the key to the enigma was supplied.

I loved my captain of those days with a love which was only imperfect in its failure to cast out fear. I had been subject to the steam of the tea kettle for perhaps two hours—at any rate until I was limp from its effects, and a subsequent summons to closer interview with my commander did not tend to put much stiffening into me. But what my dear commander wanted was to render me a formal apology as being a transgressor of orthodox limits in the language of contempt. I was not to take too great note of the official practice, designed in the first instance to make me "smart," and exceeded in the heat of debate, as it were.

Naturally, officers whose habitual official language expressed contempt for the character, intellect, and powers of their juniors could scarcely hope to have much respect for them in their hearts. But we must clearly understand that there was in those days a condition of knowledge in the senior officer which, if it did not justify the extravagance of his language, did justify a sense of personal as well as of official superiority. For the sailing navy, just when the advent of steam was about to upset it, was wholly based upon experience and authority. Seamanship, the profession of which was almost the be-all and end-all of the naval officer's pride, was an affair of precedent. There are men perhaps yet amongst us who went to sea in ships that were in nearly every detail those that bore Hawke and his captains to the victory of Quiberon Bay. Men studied the seamanship of the author of the *Shipwreck* in a new edition of the *Marine Dictionary*, commended by Collingwood. D'Arcy Lever copied him, and the friend of our naval youth, the disappointed, but not broken Lieutenant Martelli, copied him again in the accurate language of the Boatswain of that day. Falconer had told the navy of his time that :

> "He who strives the tempest to disarm
> Will never first embrail the lee yard arm."

And whether his seamanship was wrong or right (in the revolutionary epoch heralded by steam, I used to employ the condemned method alternately with the other) was a matter of serious debate even fifty years ago.

But in this state of subservience to authority, when "I have seen it done" clinched every argument and concluded every debate; when we were aghast at the proposal to abandon "reef-points" in our topsails, and to adopt the French system of "reef-lines," and "toggles and beckets," he who had been longer at sea was almost certain to have more knowledge of sea work than the later comer. The older officer was personally, as well as officially, the superior of the younger. Unless the captain was one of the favorites of fortune he was the oldest man in the ship, had been longer at sea, and was more versed in the precedents than any one else. It might be true that the doctor knew more about medicine and surgery than the captain did, but then that was none of the captain's business. Neither was the "soldiering" of the marine officer—that was a thing to be despised. So there was no one who could possibly know more of the captain's business than the captain himself. The first lieutenant might stand next in knowledge, but he only had less knowledge of the same kind of which the captain had more. The captain might direct him, but could not consult him without some sacrifice of dignity and some breach of theory.

The same conditions worked down through all ranks. The dependence of each officer was in the man above him. The man below him did not share the duty with him: he did what he was told by the man who knew better.

The general result was inevitable. From the very first the officer who had a superior in the ship came to consider he was working for that superior, and depended for his success upon the way the superior regarded his service. Personal service predominated generally. The sense of combining for a common end was greatly or wholly lost. The personal character of the captain, or perhaps of the second in command as his mouth piece, determined the character of the ship for discipline and moral efficiency, and it was scarcely possible for her junior officers to consider themselves in any way affected by, or responsible for, a state of things due to the initiation of the higher authority.

Here was the action and reaction. The work of the ship fell

on the shoulders of the second in command. All waited for his orders, were not interested in them when received, and probably obeyed them to as small an extent as was consistent with keeping out of "trouble." There were no departments in the ship. If the second in command was not everywhere at the same moment, if he did not superintend everything, everything fell to pieces. The officers junior to the second in command were really more or less of a trouble to him; they rather considered he was more or less of a trouble to them. They became hardened to the use of contemptuous terms, the younger officers to being exhibited in ridiculous and degrading public positions as a punishment for failures. They accepted the condolences of the seamen, who, nominally under their command, were sharers in their ignominy. The lieutenant, as officer of the watch, and the captain's representative in his absence, grew accustomed in his presence, when "carrying on the duty," to have his orders to the men of his watch suspended midway by the free criticisms of the more experienced captain, and the men not seldom waited a pause to make sure, before obeying the lieutenant, that the captain would not disallow the order.

The whole system which, it must be admitted, sometimes worked splendidly in the hands of exceptionally able men, was insidiously undermined by the arrival of the engineer on the scene. There is no doubt that, long after its introduction, steam propulsion was despised and hated by the ablest and best amongst our naval officers. Men went so far as to pride themselves on profound ignorance of everything relating to the steam engine. Years elapsed before the study of it became a road to promotion. Less than fifty years ago a rising young officer, who deliberately quitted a smart sailing frigate for service in a paddle-wheel steamer, did a thing which almost shocked his contemporaries. "Steamer's Lieutenant" and "Steamer's Midshipman," were well-known terms of opprobrium, for the majority governed public opinion.

But when the engineer came on board he possessed a knowledge with regard to the ship which it was at first no disgrace to the captain—rather to his honor, indeed—not to share. For the first time, the younger man, with the lesser experience of sea-life, was the superior in a knowledge which was necessary to the ship. The captain was the official, but no longer the personal superior of the engineer in his peculiar department. But the engineer

was not like the doctor, professor of a science of which the captain was not intended to know anything. The steamer's captain soon discovered that though he might not be an expert he could not place himself wholly in the hands of his engineer. For the first time the conduct of the ship became the consequence of a consultation between the captain, with a general but incomplete knowledge, and the engineer, with a special and complete knowledge. The ship was worked in departments.

Invention was stirred in many ways by the advent of steam, notably in the matter of guns and gunnery. The paddle-wheel usurped the broadside position for generations allotted to the gun. The artillery, being crowded thus to bow and stern, it became necessary to increase the power of the individual gun to make up for its loss in numbers. The heavier gun demanded altered mountings. The Elizabethan "truck gun-carriage" no longer sufficed. Improved shooting was obtained by locks, disparts, and tangent-sights. The shell, and the improved shell to burst by concussion on striking, added immensely to the force of the gun, but invaded its simplicity. The gunnery literature necessary to be supplied to the navy could no longer be contained in the half-dozen pages to which it had for generations been confined. The school of naval gunnery—the Excellent at Portsmouth—arose and grew, and the "Gunnery Lieutenant," even the "Gunnery Mate," invaded the warship as the exponent of the views and knowledge of the school.

Here it was again. Here was the younger officer, with the less experience, coming as it were between the captain and his ship with an expert and special knowledge of a very important part of her, of which he, the captain, could only have a general knowledge.

It was not possible to despise the knowledge of the gunnery lieutenant as it had been to despise that of the engineer. It was only possible to disparage it, and the owner of it. The majority, unconscious of how it was being driven, yet instinctively revolting, smiled contemptuously at Sir Thomas Hardy's fancies, and the pretensions of his successors in command of the Excellent and their scholars. Those men from the Excellent, it was held to be shown, had not the knowledge they claimed. They might be able to throw dust in the eyes of their superiors at sea; but they were empty vessels as far as real gunnery service went. It was

years, of course, before the Excellent scholars rose to the higher commands in any numbers competent to influence the current of thought. But whether or not, here was a new feature. Gunnery lieutenants and mates owed an allegiance to the Excellent which crossed their allegiance to their captains. They became and were admitted to be centres of action as the engineers were, not wholly subordinate to the captain's influence. The advent of the torpedo and the use of compressed air, with the further addition of electricity, created yet another department afloat of the same general character as that born of the complexities of gun nery, and introduced yet another officer, perceiving a divided duty.

The great difference between the older special departments on board a man-of-war, namely those of the surgeon, the marine officer, and, perhaps, the purser, and the new ones, those of the engineer, the gunner, and the torpedo officer, was, that of the former the captain was officially held to know nothing; and of the latter he might be supposed to know a great deal. The change could only develop him in one way. His will was bounded by want of knowledge, and he had to consult his subordinates before he exercised it. The fact altered his tone in a hundred ways; and the alterations reacted upon his subordinates, not only as regarded himself, but as amongst themselves. The junior officer had his department and was practically supreme within it. The mere fact that these departments existed by law led, as it were, to the creation of other departments by custom. It began to be instinctively felt that it was the correct working of each department in harmony with all others that made the ship and gave her a good name. As the captain grew, of necessity, more and more a constitutional monarch, casting off continually his despotic habiliments, so did he grow to recognize responsibilities amongst his officers which were not known to him directly, even where no real department bounded his knowledge. It was inevitable that there should arise within him a sense of respect for so many of his subordinates who were specially informed where he was but generally informed. In sympathy with this, it was natural to allow that other officers not ostensibly experts in any particular branch of naval knowledge, might possibly be so, and there was a certain hesitation in attributing to them an inefficiency which had not been proved.

Then, again, contact with so many men who owed the double allegiance to him, and to the heads of their own departments, convinced the captain that his subordinates had aims of duty apart from himself indeed, but equally with himself. In the face of that conviction, the feeling of a personal moral superiority could not well exist side by side with a complete admission that superiority in knowledge could no longer be claimed, however much judgment might be matured by experience. Subjectively, therefore, the senior officer's view of the junior was attacked, and the junior, whether better or worse in reality, gained the credit of being better.

But it was impossible that the junior officer could avoid responding to the improved estimate of himself exhibited in the superior's tone. If he had formerly felt a responsibility which scarcely extended beyond the will of his superior, it became impossible to doubt that that superior perceived a something beyond his will which affected himself and his junior alike. The idea of personal service was weakened on both sides. It was less demanded on one side, and less rendered on the other. The superior officer grew continually in his own eyes and those of his juniors more of an agent and less of a principal. The junior went on to discover how much an agent he himself was. The whole theory of discipline as resulting in a well-ordered ship was gradually overturned and reversed. The old theory had been that everywhere—except, of course, in the case of the admirals, captains, and their seconds in command, on the latter of whom the chief burden of carrying out the theory fell—there was sure to be failure and collapse if the compelling and sustaining power of the senior was to be for a moment withdrawn. Such a theory is clearly set forth in the words of Sir William Parker already quoted. Comparing things major with things minor, it was the theory applied to creation before the time of Darwin. There was a creation groaning and travailing which only a sustaining hand could hold together and prevent from collapsing. It was a theory the practice of which grew by what it fed on. Originally subjective in the mind of the superior—and Sir William Parker's intense admiration for all ranks of officers in his own flagship is proof of it—it distinctly became objective in the conduct of the inferior ranks.

The opposite theory, which now governs the relations afloat,

is the Darwinian theory of creation. The ship is bursting with the energy of life. There is a struggle for efficiency in all ranks and departments. Everything is initially stable, and all that is wanted to maintain order that is natural is the reign of law.

We have, indeed, in our warships to-day a cordiality of co-operation generally pervading all ranks which is new to the navy, unless Sir Charles Napier and Sir William Parker were right, and there was in their time a real decadence, and the tone which has been recovered is that of the *temporis acti*. But this may well be doubted. There is enough on record of those days to make us believe that the tone of a ship, or a fleet, was that personally impressed on it by the commander, and that the equilibrium so maintained was not stable. It is much more likely that the higher level of *moral* upon which the naval officer of to-day stands is a new creation which could not have existed when the warship was driven by the winds, and was, internally, a simple and unchanging production.

But if the mechanical environment of fifty years ago was mainly responsible for the naval officer it produced, and if the changed environment must be charged with altering a private firm to a limited liability company, it must also be charged with greatly changing the individual character. It has done so, not merely by gradually raising the standard of an outwardly impressed education—much of that, as of softness of manners, has come into the navy from outside, and would perhaps have come into it had the marine steam engine never been invented—but by distinctly modifying the instincts, it has been like a great roller pressing out individualities and levelling all into one smooth plane. Remarkable personalities are comparatively rare in the navy of our time. There is no place for the superb eccentricities which almost inevitably distinguished equally the great and the little man who trod the man-of-war's decks in the days of yore. In society there may be a certain air about the naval officer which marks him in the eyes of those who know. But such an air is a subtle surrounding, impossible to describe in detail, so that even on the stage the naval officer is a very fine fellow merely, without any foibles for the dramatist to take hold of. How impossible is it now to imagine the admiral in command of the Mediterranean fleet (say) leading his division

into action while munching an apple, and alternating bites and puns, which was Collingwood's individuality at the battle of Trafalgar? Or who will conceive that the captain of the "Royal Sovereign" pacing the bridge of the "Majestic" beside the admiral within full but distant view of the enemy, and hearing him speak of his determination to fight at all hazards, should give him a hearty slap on the back and exclaim, "That's right, Lord Walter, and a d——n good licking we'll give them!"—which was Captain Hallowell's individuality at the battle of St. Vincent. Or who shall believe that the greatest man of the navy to-day could sit himself down to write a solemn dispatch to the Admiralty, ascribing the bad state of health in his fleet to fresh beef and vegetables and too great relaxation, and abstention from salt provisions!—which was the individuality of the great St. Vincent. Or, to drop at once to the small things—is there now a living midshipman who has had to awake the lieutenant in charge of the watch at sea, and get him to sit up in order to award a proper punishment to the look-out-man caught in the same breach of the articles of war? That was an individuality within my own experience.

It would be very easy to infer from all this that the machine-made naval officer of to-day might fail where the hand-made officer of yesterday so wonderfully succeeded. It is easy to suppose, on comparing the freedom and frankness of intercourse between senior and junior, which obtains to-day, with that extreme deference on one side and demand for it on the other which was the characteristic fifty years ago, that real discipline has suffered. It appears to me to be all the other way. In the past the junior obeyed the senior chiefly because he was afraid of him. Now he obeys because loyalty to a great cause demands it. I am sure that the latter will prove the more stable principle if it ever comes to be severely tested.

It may be more plausibly argued that this kind of constitutional practice without a real choice may hinder decision at those momentous cross-roads which war alone offers without sign posts, and where the wrong choice leads to destruction. The inference would be wholly wrong. The steam officer of to-day has a constant experience of such mental and nervous strains in the management of his machines as were comparatively rare in the life of the sailing officer. If there is less choice in decision, there is

not the twentieth part of the time allowed for acting on it that was allowed fifty or one hundred years ago. Rush, hurry, and speed, with a splendid co-ordination and order in the midst of it, is the character of the life of the modern naval officer. Action with the enemy may be a change in degree, but in kind it is no change. And the machine-made officer will prove at least as unerring as the machines which control him and have modified his personality.

P. H. Colomb.

EXERCISE AND LONGEVITY.

BY PROFESSOR D. A. SARGENT, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

LIFE as commonly regarded is opposed to death, and the desire to prolong life is therefore a natural and a commendable one. It is interesting to inquire how much the present fondness for physical exercises and athletic sports is contributory to this end.

In order that we may understand what exercise does for the body it will be necessary to know something of its structure and functions. According to modern physiology, our material body is composed of innumerable atoms and cells which have been built up into various tissues, bones, muscles, organs, etc. Many of these cells correspond to the lowest forms of animal life and as such have their period of birth, activity, and death just as other living organisms do. In his simplest state a man may be regarded as a community of organisms capable of doing a certain amount of physiological work. The nature of the work consists in the maintenance of (1.) animal heat, termed calorific work, the maintenance of (2.) nervous or vital power, termed internal work, and the maintenance of (3.) mechanical energy as muscular power, termed external work.

Representing the standard of measurement by the force required to raise one pound one foot high, the amount of force expended daily by a man weighing 150 pounds in the performance of these different kinds of work has been calculated to be about 3,400 foot tons, *i. e.*, the amount of force necessary to raise 3,400 tons one foot from the ground. This expenditure is divided as follows :

Calorific work	2,840	foot tons.
Internal "	260	" "
External "	300	" "
	3,400	" "

In order to meet this expenditure of force and maintain a footing in the world a man must not only consume a certain amount of food, but he must see that this food is impartially distributed throughout his entire organism, and that every function gets its just share of the body's nutriment.

We have seen that only 300 foot tons of force or energy, or about 11 per cent. of the total amount available, can be expended in muscular work and still leave enough for the performance of vital functions. A consideration of the nature, amount, and method of physical exercise necessary to maintain health and secure longevity is, therefore, of vital importance.

Regarding man as a community of atoms and cells, we find, singularly enough, that he flourishes as an individual in proportion to the death of these cells. This local death is going on at every moment and in every part of the living body. Individual cells are incessantly dying and being cast off, to be replaced by others, which are as constantly coming into separate existence. This process of decay and death is greatly influenced by the activity of the bodily functions, which are all stimulated by muscular exercise.

But exercise is not only the chief agent in the destruction of the tissues ; it is also the chief agent in their renovation and repair. Through its influence on respiration and circulation new material or liquid food is hurried forward in the blood, and the waste substance resulting from the oxidation is borne away more rapidly by the same agency. Thus it may be easily shown that judicious exercise not only improves the condition of all the muscles brought into action, but through its stimulating effects upon the vital organs the health and tone of every other part of the system is improved.

If, on the other hand, the exercise is not judicious, that is, if it does not give sufficient employment to all the different muscles and organs, or if it is too partial, one-sided or excessive or if it is taken under unfavorable atmospheric conditions or constrained attitudes or positions, the results which follow will not be satisfactory, but will surely tend to disease and death.

The physical effects of following too exclusively the different occupations of life furnish illustrations to the point. The sedentary life of the student, teacher, artist, clerk, lawyer, etc., gives ample opportunity for the development of the brain, but

unless some time is given to physical exercise, the brain will be nourished at the expense of the other organs. Sluggishness of the liver, constipation, and digestive troubles will soon follow, and unless relief is afforded, a diseased condition will become established.

The evil effects of using excessively small groups of muscles is illustrated in the cramps and paralyses of penmen or writers, pianists, engravers, violinists, seamstresses, and telegraph-operators. Public singers, speakers, actors, clergymen, and auctioneers are frequently sufferers from a strained and swollen condition of the vocal cords and larynx, familiarly known as "clergymen's sore throat," and musicians who play on wind instruments are subject to distension of the air cells of the lungs in consequence of the strain brought to bear upon them by the powerful use of the expiratory muscles. Porters, draymen, heavy ironworkers, and a certain class of athletes often illustrate the effects of an excessive use of the muscular system. Where the body's nutriment is expended in this direction the impairment of heart or lung tissue is likely to follow.

The results of working in a strained position of the body is shown in the lives of printers, compositors, and pressmen, shoemakers, cabinet-makers and tailors. Dyspepsia, diarrhœa, catarrh, pneumonia, and consumption are frequent among printers; while catarrh, rheumatism, and sciatica afflict the lives of the coopers. Ruptures and swollen veins in the lower extremities are common among carpenters and consumption cuts off a large portion of the cabinet-makers. Shoemakers and tailors are made flat-chested and round-shouldered by their occupations, and the muscles of the legs frequently become flaccid and withered from disuse. Constipation, sciatica, and muscular pains in the back and a predisposition to consumption are the prevailing tendencies in these two occupations.

While fresh air is an excellent thing, continuous exposure to the extremes of temperature or exposure to alternations of cold and heat, and to wind, rain, and snow renders one liable to bronchial catarrh, pneumonia, and rheumatism. Boatmen, fishermen, farm-laborers, hack, omnibus, and cart drivers are frequently afflicted with pulmonary affections and rheumatism. Bakers and cooks, blacksmiths and engineers and stokers who are exposed to extremes of heat are similarly affected.

The bad effect of inhaling impure air in the form of irritating, poisonous, or offensive vapors and gases, or of irritating and poisonous dusts of animal, vegetable, or mineral origin, may be illustrated by the prevailing disorders among the laborers in a great variety of occupations which abound at the present day. Catarrhs, bronchial affections, skin eruptions, digestive troubles, and consumption are the diseases that most afflict the workers in metals and various mineral and vegetable compounds.

These are only a few of the occupations that tend to impair health and shorten life. In many instances this unfavorable tendency is due to the poor sanitary conditions under which the work is carried on. In other cases inherited weaknesses may render some persons susceptible to disease. But, in the main, the division of labor which calls into prolonged activity only a few of the faculties at a time is largely responsible for the tendency to physical degeneracy. Where once a man's employment was sufficiently varied to give him all the activity necessary to keep him in health, he now has to give what health he has to his employment and trust to other means to keep up his physical condition.

If the individual is especially ambitious to succeed and devotes himself assiduously to his chosen work without taking time for recreation, he may win the reputation of being the most skilful mechanic, the wealthiest merchant, or the ablest lawyer in the community; but unless he is extraordinarily endowed with physical resources he will probably pay for his distinction by a disordered liver, enfeebled digestion, or weak lungs. In other words, the tendency of our civilization is to build up the trade, industry, profession, or institution at the expense of the individual.

In this respect the institution or community in the social organism resembles the individual in the human organism, and as the human organism flourishes in proportion to the activity, destruction, and renovation of its individual atoms, so the institution and the community flourish in proportion to the activity, death, and replacement of human individuals.

Where life is the most rapid and intense, civilization is most advanced, but death is the most imminent. This is familiarly illustrated in the life of our large cities, which have become like so many great furnaces where human individuals are consumed

in order to keep the machinery of our complex social organism in motion.

To many of my readers this may seem to be a rather uncheerful view of life, and it may well be asked, Is this destruction of the individual necessary? This depends upon our idea of progress and civilization. If it is deemed necessary to crowd the normal work of an age into a century in order to realize the greatest prosperity, this rapid progress can only be attained by the sacrifice of individual strength, health, and completeness.

A certain portion of our community recognize this fact and are making strenuous efforts to change the standard and realize higher ideals of human progress.

Although the division of labor narrows individual life, and in many cases restricts individual development to a few muscles and faculties, it shortens the hours of labor and presents opportunities for improvement in other directions. In communities where efforts are made to improve the physique of the individual and better the sanitary conditions of his surroundings, life has been made longer and happier. This is especially true in countries that have given attention to public health and personal hygiene.

The average life of the individual in England, for instance, has been raised from 28 to 34 years of age within the past century, in spite of the rapid growth of large cities with their inevitable crowd-poisoning and intense struggles for existence.

The establishment of working boys' clubs, church and Y. M. C. A. gymnasiums, athletic associations, and physical recreation societies has done a great deal to improve the physical condition of the masses; while the golf, tennis, rackets, horseback riding, bicycling, rowing, and the track and field sports are contributing much to the physical condition of the well-to-do classes.

The grand aim in all sports and athletic exercises should be to make them supplement as far as possible the deficiencies in one's life-work or occupation.

Where the heart or lungs are weak from inactivity or breathing poisoned air, every effort should be made to improve the condition of these organs by appropriate exercises, such as gentle running, rowing, etc. Where the muscles are soft and flabby from disuse, they should be strengthened by the use of dumb bells, Indian clubs, or chest weights, and so on through the wide range of developing and recreative exercises, which are admirably

calculated to strengthen and improve the weak points in one's organism.

Many of the athletic sports, if pursued for sport or as a recreation, are valuable remedial helps, and aid toward physical improvement. Unfortunately, the spirit of emulation in athletics, which in some communities has grown into intense rivalry, is likely to lead to excesses in training and practice for contests, which, unless checked and brought down to a rational basis, may do more harm than good. Many young men seem to think that because the practice of athletics is favorable to health the more they can get of this practice the better. This is an erroneous impression, for it is as possible to overwork in athletics as it is in business, and a great many young people do themselves injury by their excessive zeal in the practice of competitive exercise.

In this line of physical activity, as in any other, there is a limit to human capability, and it is possible to develop the muscular and nervous systems to the detriment of the heart and lungs or of the digestive system. But the conditions under which athletics are usually practised are so favorable to the maintenance of health and vigor that few persons who were sound at the time of commencing their athletic efforts have injured themselves by the practice of these vigorous exercises. It is true that a certain number of young men who were distinguished for their supremacy in certain athletic events have died young. But the number of young men who are now practising athletic exercises in this country and appearing in public contests is very large, as many as six or seven hundred entries being recorded in some of the great city meetings.

Where the yearly mortality in most of our towns and cities is about 20 to every 1,000 inhabitants, it is quite natural that the name of some young man who had practised athletics in this athletic age should be among that fatal number. It would be unwise to infer that his death was caused by athletics unless his condition was known previous to the time of his entering athletic contests, and the life he had led during his so-called athletic career. I regret to add that a great many of the physical breakdowns which are attributed to athletics have their origin in irregular, and in some cases dissolute, habits of living. Every man who rises to eminence in his trade or profession must

undergo necessarily more than the ordinary mental and physical strains of life. Notwithstanding this fact, some of the foremost men of the world have exceeded the allotted period of three score years and ten. Perhaps their lengthened lives were the important factor that contributed to their eminence.

Some of these men have been noted for their great athletic vigor as well as their intellectual achievements. Such men were Brougham, Lyndhurst, Peel, Campbell, Graham, and Palmerston, of England. Sir Walter Scott and Professor Wilson and Robert Burns, of Scotland, were also distinguished for their athletic abilities. So were Gladstone and Bismarck of the present day.

To come nearer home for illustrations of prominent men of old age who practised systematic physical exercises, reference may be made to the poet Bryant, who used his dumb bells daily up to the time of his death, though he lived to be 84.

The historian Parkman was a good boxer while in college, and kept up some form of physical exercise throughout his life. He died aged sixty years.

The leading essayist in America to-day, who is now verging on his seventy-fourth year, has always been fond of gymnastics and athletic sports, and took his daily swim in summer time until a few years ago.

The president of one of our foremost universities, and a distinguished scientist and patron of education, who are both past sixty, were prominent oarsmen in college, and now have recourse to yachting and horseback riding to keep them in good working condition.

An eminent naturalist, and one of the hardest-working men whom it is my pleasure to know, was a good all-round athlete in his younger days, though originally not of a strong constitution. Only a year or two since, while making a geological survey off the coast of Florida, he was capsized and remained in the water swimming and clinging to the boat for several hours. Although now approaching sixty years of age, he is in regular attendance at the college gymnasium, and takes his exercise energetically and systematically.

The effect of practising violent forms of competitive exercise for a considerable period of one's life is commonly supposed to be injurious. No less an authority than Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson says in his "Diseases of Modern Life" that "there is

not in England a trained professional athlete of the age of thirty-five, who has been ten years at his calling, who is not disabled."

We cannot help thinking that his statement is an exaggeration. While it may be true that men beyond thirty-five years of age very rarely attain championships in any athletic contests, men who have attained great distinction as athletes frequently live and enjoy good health up to sixty, seventy, eighty, and even ninety years of age.

Henry Clasper, the English oarsman, rowed in 110 different races, most of them over four miles in length, and won several after he was forty-seven. William Belden, the Nestor of cricket, lived to be ninety-six. John Bowyer, another famous cricketer, lived to be over ninety. James Taylor, another excellent oarsman of England, rowed in 112 different races. Jem Ward, the English pugilist, died at ninety-five, and Jem Mace, at one time the English champion, is still living and teaching sparring, although he is seventy-six.

Blondin, the French gymnast who crossed Niagara on the tight rope in 1855, '59, and '60, died but lately at seventy-two years of age. Many of the distinguished circus performers in England lived to be well along in old age, including the great Astley, who died at seventy-two ; Pablo Fanque, at seventy-five ; Madam Saqui, at eighty, and Saunders, at ninety-two.

In our own country many of the old circus performers are still living. Perhaps one of the most distinguished is Eaton Stone, the once famous bare-back rider. He is now living in New Jersey, aged eighty-one. Many professional athletes and instructors in physical exercises can be recalled who have certainly been subjected at times during their lives to great physical strain. Among this number may be mentioned Wm. Wood, of New York city, who is now living and in active business at the age of seventy-eight ; Professor Andrews, of Brooklyn, who is still teaching gymnastics at sixty-one ; and George Goldie, of Princeton College, who is also engaged actively in teaching and performing heavy gymnastics at the age of fifty-six. There are several prominent Scotch athletes in America who are now over seventy years of age.

Among amateur athletes who have passed middle life may be mentioned William B. Curtis, of New York. Mr. Curtis has probably engaged in a wider range of athletic exercises and kept

in practice a longer term of years than any other man in America. For this reason he is frequently referred to by the younger generation as the "father of athletics." Notwithstanding his violent physical efforts in the past he is able at the age of sixty to accomplish a large amount of intellectual work and still enjoy vigorous exercise in walking, swimming, and skating.

In one or two cases I have known of men actually acquiring an increase of physical vigor and physical measurements after the age of sixty by the practice of systematic exercises. Mr. Smith Robertson, of Eau Claire, Wis., a man five feet eight inches in height and weighing 140 pounds, began systematic exercise with 10-pound dumb bells and a horizontal bar when sixty-nine years of age. He worked with this apparatus for about ten minutes a day, and walked from four to six miles a day regularly for a period of three years. At the end of this time he found that his weight had increased from 140 to 160 pounds, his chest measurement had increased from 36 to 40 inches, and all the other muscles of the body proportionateiy. At the present time he weighs 165 pounds and is 83 years of age, yet he writes me that he can walk or run almost as easily, and with apparently the same elasticity, as 50 or 60 years ago.

Upon reviewing the lives of these prominent athletes and gymnasts, many of whom I have known personally, the facts that come most prominently to my mind are the wide range of exercises in which they have engaged and the sensible way in which they have taken care of themselves, even under unfavorable conditions.

From these observations I think we may conclude that violent physical efforts are not incompatible with the attainment of a fairly long life, provided the individual has a sound constitution to start with, strengthens his whole system by the practice of a variety of exercises, and gives careful attention to his habits of living. Nevertheless, as very few persons are endowed with the constitutions out of which athletes are made, it would be a safe rule for most persons to refrain from indulgence in violent physical efforts if they value their health and desire longevity.

The body as a whole is no stronger than its weakest part, and when a person is subjected to a severe strain it is the weak spot that is likely to give way, and lay the foundation for disease. Instead of working under high pressure for a short time, much

more can be accomplished, and with less risk to health, by working under a low pressure for a longer time.

In my opinion the chief requisites are that the working conditions be as favorable as possible, and that the efforts be sufficiently varied to bring all of the bodily functions into action: oft-repeated efforts of mind and body with frequent intervals of rest.

> "By ceaseless action all that is subsists.
> Constant rotation of the unwearied wheel
> That Nature rides upon, maintains her wealth,
> Her beauty, her fertility. She dreads
> An instant's pause, and lives but while she moves."

According to our premises, there is no other way in which the individual parts of the organism can be properly nourished and sustained except by activity, and upon the health and tone of the individual units depend the health, strength, and endurance of the body as a whole.

D. A. SARGENT.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I.—THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE progress of the United States in the last fifty years so far surpasses that of any other nation in ancient or modern times, whether viewed in regard to population, or to industry and wealth, that the subject is one of extraordinary interest, not only to Americans, but to European spectators. In order more closely to study the subject we may consider the Union as composed of five great communities,* viz., New England, the Middle, the Southern, the Prairie, and the Pacific States. All have advanced, although not equally nor in the same direction, and all give promise of steady development in the future.

Beginning with the New England States, we have to consider the smallest of the communities in question, since the collective area of the six States hardly exceeds that of Florida. It is, however, in some respects the most interesting; its historical associations include Plymouth Rock and Bunker's Hill; its academic and literary glories shed a light over the whole Union, and its cities and towns have been the cradle of manufacturing industry in the New World.

Population.—The population of New England has not quite doubled in the last half century, while that of the Union has more than trebled; but this is not surprising, since the room for expansion is less, the density of population being 75 persons to

* New England comprises Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts. The Middle States are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. The Southern include the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Prairie States include Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and two Dakotas; and the Pacific States, California, Oregon, Nevada, Colorado, Washington, Montana, Utah, New Mexico, Idaho, Arizona, and Wyoming.

the square mile, while it is only 23 for the whole Union. Progress since 1850 is shown thus:

	1850.	1890.	1897 (Est.).
Maine	585,000	661,000	670,000
New Hampshire	320,000	376,000	405,000
Vermont	315,000	332,000	335,000
Rhode Island	150,000	346,000	410,000
Connecticut	370 000	746,000	790,000
Massachusetts	995,000	2,239,000	2,590,000
Total	2,735,000	4,700,000	5,200,000

We have the strongest evidence of the assimilating character of American institutions in the fact that New England is typical of the American people, although half the population is composed of immigrants and their children, the census of 1890 showing:

Foreign settlers	1,142,000
Their children	1,069,000
Americans	2,489,000
Total	4,700,000

No less than 70 per cent. of foreign settlers (793,000) consisted of Canadians and Irish, two races that appear to coalesce with Americans more readily than any others. Meantime the character of the New England people has undergone a remarkable change since 1850, the increase of manufactures having been attended with a decline of agriculture, and hence urban population (that is of all towns over 10,000 population) has more than doubled since 1870 while rural has stood still, viz.:

	Urban.		Rural.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
Maine	74,000	113,000	553,000	548,000
New Hampshire	46,000	93 000	272,000	283,000
Vermont	14,000	27,000	317,000	305,000
Rhode Island	104,000	247,000	113,000	99,000
Connecticut	147,000	352,000	390,000	394,000
Massachusetts	690,000	1,444,000	767,000	795,000
Total	1,075,000	2,276,000	2,412,000	2,424,000

The rapid growth of towns has coincided with a great influx of immigrants from Europe, and thus it has come to pass that the American population has declined from 66 per cent. of the total in 1870 to 53 per cent. in 1890. In other words, the census re-

turns show that in 20 years the number of Americans had increased very little, viz. :

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Foreign settlers	649,000	1,142,000	76
Their children	496,000	1,069,000	115
Americans	2,342,000	2,489,000	6
Total	3,487,000	4,700,000	35

If we seek to ascertain the cause why the American population does not increase in New England as it does in other parts of the Union, we are almost forced to conclude that Jonathan prefers agriculture to manufactures, and that in the last 25 years some thousands of New Englanders have gone West, and given over their old farms to Canadians, whose number has increased so much that in 1890 they formed 8 per cent. of the whole population.

Agriculture.—This branch of industry has considerably lost ground in New England since 1850, owing to the opening up of the Western States, the cultivated area having declined, and the production of food diminished as follows :

	1850.	1893.	Diminution.
Grain, tons	525,000	470,000	55,000
Potatoes	480,000	460,000	20,000
Meat	108,000	81,000	27,000

So limited is now the production of breadstuffs that the total grain crop of New England would hardly suffice to feed the population of Connecticut; and as to meat the quantity produced yearly is less than what is consumed in four months. In fact, agriculture is an industry of secondary importance, the cultivated area not exceeding one-fourth of New England, and a large number of the rural population, especially in Maine, preferring to occupy themselve in felling timber. If it were not for the Western States the people of New England would find themselves, as regards food-supply, in the same position as the inhabitants of Great Britain, who mainly depend on foreign countries for grain and meat. Comparing the official returns of 1890 with those of 1850 we find that in New England the size of farms has diminished, viz.:

	No. of Farms.	Acres.	Average, acres.
1850	167,700	11,150,000	67
1890	190,100	10,740,000	56

This is apparently due to an increase of dairy-farms, for we observe that although horned cattle declined by 60,000 head, the number of milch-cows rose from 608,000 to 821,000, an increase of 35 per cent. Nevertheless, the number is still insufficient to supply the population with milk and butter, as there should be at least one milch-cow for every five inhabitants, say 1,040,000. If we sum up the value of all farm products in the six New England States, we find approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Values.
Grain	470,000	$9,900,000
Potatoes	460,000	11,300,000
Meat and tallow	96,000	15,000,000
Hay	4,100,000	58,100,000
Dairy products	.....	32,300,000
Sundries	.....	25,400,000
Total		$152,000,000

The gross result gives an average of $800 to each farm, equal to $14 per acre, the average for the whole Union being $850 per farm and only $11 per acre, from which it appears that the smaller the farm the greater product per acre, the average size of American farms being 78 acres, that is 40 per cent. more than in New England. Coincident with the diminution of New England farms there has been a remarkable rise in the value of land, the census of 1890 showing an increase of 150 million dollars in farming capital since 1850. The following table gives the total value of farms and live-stock in each State, as well as the average of land per acre :

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per acre.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Maine	67	122	27	33
New Hampshire	66	80	24	38
Vermont	79	102	24	30
Rhode Island	19	25	47	81
Connecticut	82	108	41	69
Massachusetts	122	148	51	77
Total	435	585	34	46

The increase of dairy farming has, therefore, greatly enhanced the value of land, to the benefit of the farmers, each farm now representing a capital value of $3,070, against $2,510 in 1850.

Manufactures.—This is by far the most important of all New England industries, and shows a rapid increase in each decennial period, the value of output having quintupled since 1850, viz. :

	Millions dollars.	
	Product.	Wages.
1850	283	77
1890	1,499	415

The magnitude of this industry is such that, relatively to population, no European country rivals New England in manufactures, as the following table* shows:

	Millions dollars.	Population.	Dollars per inhabitant.
New England	1,499	4,700,000	319
Great Britain	4,022	35,100,000	115
France	2,860	38,500,000	74
Germany	3,310	52,200,000	63
Belgium	566	6,400,000	88

The ratio that corresponds to New England is three times that of Great Britain, four times that of France, five times that of Germany. The relative progress, moreover, has been much greater in New England than in Great Britain, viz.:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New England	283	1,499	104	319
Great Britain	2,285	4,022	111	115

British manufactures have done little more than keep pace with population, while those of New England show a ratio per inhabitant three times as great as in 1850. Massachusetts stands for 60 per cent. of the total, and Connecticut comes second, but with reference to population Rhode Island shows a higher ratio of manufactures per inhabitant than either of the preceding States, viz.:

	Millions dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
Massachusetts	888	396
Connecticut	248	333
Rhode Island	143	412
Other three States	220	160
New England	1,499	319

Textiles constitute one-fourth of the total, cottons and woollens being almost equal, and other fibers insignificant. Boot-making is also carried on, to a degree that eclipses all European nations. These two industries compare with the same in Europe thus:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	Textiles.	Boots.	Textiles.	Boots.
New England	360	167	76	36
Great Britain	883	144	25	4
France	552	110	14	3
Germany	518	158	10	3

*For amount of manufactures in European countries, see *Industries and Wealth of Nations*, 1896 (Longmans & Co., London and New York).

When we observe that New England turns out more boots and shoes than Great Britain, France, or Germany it is easy to understand the marvellous development of manufactures in this part of the New World. Nor is it less satisfactory to see that the wages of operatives have risen in higher ratio than the output. The number of hands employed was 313,000 in 1850, and 885,000 in 1890; the ratios of product and of wages were, therefore, as follows:

	Dollars per operative.		
	1850.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Product	903	1,694	87
Wages	246	469	91

Wages averaged in 1890 per week exactly $9, the average throughout the United States having been $9.30; these rates are much higher than those in Europe, and as the cost of food is less, the New England operative is in a much better position than factory hands in Great Britain, France, or Germany.

Railways.—Massachusetts laid down the first railway in the New World, and in 1896 New England possessed 7,660 miles in traffic, the construction and equipment of which cost 433 million dollars. Compared with area New England has not so many miles of railway as Great Britain or France, but much more as compared with population: thus, 100,000 inhabitants have in Great Britain 52, in Germany 54, in France 56, and in New England 150 miles of railway. Nevertheless this ratio is less than for the whole Union, which has 250 miles of line for every 100,000 souls.

Banking.—It was ascertained in 1890 that National Banks transacted 70 per cent., other banks 30 per cent., of the total discounts. On this basis the discounts of the several States in 1894 would be as follows (as we have only returns for the National Banks in that year), and the subjoined table also shows the amount of savings banks' deposits in 1894:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	Discounts.	Deposits, S. B.	Discounts.	Deposits, S. B.
Maine	30	53	46	81
New Hampshire	16	71	41	186
Vermont	18	28	54	84
Rhode Island	51	69	146	198
Connecticut	65	134	87	176
Massachusetts	374	400	166	178
New England	554	755	111	151

Banking is here more fully developed than in other parts of the Union, as we see in the following table (1894):

States.	Discounts, millions dollars.	Population.	Dollars per head.
New England	554	5,000,000	111
Middle	1,050	15,000,000	70
South	220	20,000,000	11
West*	1,026	29,000,000	35
Union	2,850	69,000,000	41

New England stands for one-fifth of the banking-power of the Union, although her population is only one-fourteenth; that that is to say, each New Englander represents in banking matters as much as three ordinary American citizens. The savings banks returns afford an eloquent proof of the industrious and thrifty habits of the people, New England counting 2,082,000 depositors, equal to 42 per cent. of the population, as compared with 22 per cent. in Great Britain. The amount of deposits compares with the same in European countries thus:

	Millions dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
New England	755	151
Great Britain	648	18
Prussia	850	27
France	754	19

At least two-thirds of the depositors evidently belong to the working classes, since the number of the former is equal to 63 per cent. of the adult population, male and female. Hence we may conclude that the toiling millions are much better off in New England than in Europe.

Wealth.—The components of wealth, according to the census of 1890, in the several States were as follows:

	Millions dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	
Maine	122	182	70	138	489	740
New Hampshire	80	141	59	59	325	860
Vermont	102	66	49	71	266	800
Rhode Island	25	388	13	81	504	1,460
Connecticut	108	535	55	150	835	1,120
Massachusetts	148	2,079	114	483	2,804	1,235
New England	585	3,391	360	982	5,223	1,112

It appears that individual wealth is almost twice as much in Rhode Island or Massachusetts as in Maine, which is what might be expected, since urban population preponderates in the two States first mentioned, while rural forms 80 per cent. in Maine.

*The West here comprises the 12 Prairie and 11 Pacific States.

Agricultural capital is only 11 per cent. of the total wealth of New England, and this is even a lower ratio than in Great Britain, where it stands for 15 per cent. The accumulation of wealth in New England in forty years was slower than in the Middle and Western States, the census returns showing the averages that fell to each inhabitant in 1850 and 1890 as follows :

	1850, dollars per head.	1890, dollars per head.	Annual increase, dollars per head.
New England.....	413	1,112	28 30
Middle States.....	340	1,266	38.50
South.....	314	539	14.50
West*.....	208	1,262	49.10

Meantime the accumulation in New England has been much greater than in European countries, namely $22 in Great Britain, and $18 in France, per inhabitant yearly, from 1850 till 1890. If we compare New England with the two richest countries in Europe we find as follows :

	Dollars per inhabitant.		
	New England.	Great Britain.	France.
Real property.....	635	523	590
Personal.....	477	1,003	620
Total.....	1,112	1,526	1,210

The amount of property in New England covered by insurance in 1890 reached 3,217 millions of dollars, equal to $685 per inhabitant, which is a much higher ratio than in European countries.

Mortgages existing in 1890 amounted to 520 million dollars, or 17 per cent. of the value of real estate ; they were equal to 21 per cent. on farms, 15 per cent on house property. Farms were more heavily encumbered in Massachusetts than elsewhere, mortgages representing 33 per cent. of their value. The interest paid on the sum total of mortgages, urban and rural, was equal to a yearly tax of $6.20 per inhabitant. The following table compares mortgages with total wealth in each State :

	Dollars per inhabitant.		
	Wealth.	Mortgage.	Ratio of mortgage.
Maine.....	740	49	6.6
New Hampshire.....	860	51	6.0
Vermont.....	800	85	10.6
Rhode Island.....	1,460	107	7.3
Connecticut.....	1,120	107	9.5
Massachusetts.....	1,235	144	11.6
New England.....	1,112	110	9.9

*The West here comprises the 12 Prairie and 11 Pacific States.

According to the census of 1890 the mortgages in the whole Union amounted to 6,020 millions, equal to $95 per inhabitant, and to 9¼ per cent. of the total wealth of the nation; from which it appears that New England is somewhat more heavily mortgaged than the Union at large.

Finances.—The aggregate of State and local taxes in 1890 was 52½ million dollars, that is a little over 11 dollars per inhabitant, the United States revenue in the same year being equal to 7½ dollars per head. Comparing the total burden of taxation with the same in European countries we find:

	Taxation, dollars, per inhabitant.		
	National.	Local.	Total.
New England	7.50	11.20	18.70
United Kingdom	12.70	5.50	18.20
France	15.20	5.60	20.80
Germany	10.60	4.50	15.10

One cause why local taxation is heavy in New England is the very liberal expenditure for education, which is rightly considered a matter of paramount importance.

Education.—New England has always been so renowned for intellectual preëminence that Boston is aptly termed the Athens of the New World. Apart from the academic lustre of Harvard and Yale universities, there is an atmosphere of science and letters, especially in Massachusetts, characteristic of a highly cultivated people. Whoever visits the homes of the work-people at Lowell and other cities will find on their shelves the masterpieces of English literature. New England spends 14 million dollars yearly in public instruction, say 3 dollars per inhabitant, as compared with $1.30 in Great Britain and 80 cents in France. The result is that 94 per cent. of all persons over 10 years of age can read and write; the ratio would be even higher but for the number of illiterate persons from Europe, as the census of 1890 shows:

	Pop. over 10 years.	Illiterates.	Do. per cent.
Americans	2,775,000	47,100	1.7
Foreigners	1,085,000	196,400	18.1
Total	3,860,000	243,500	6.3

Thus we see that more than 98 per cent. of Americans of New England can read and write, the average for Americans in the Union generally being 94 per cent. And here I include among

Americans the colored population, which comprises the great bulk of illiterates of native birth.

Completing the survey of New England we find that she has little to envy in other communities, and much to be proud of, as well as to thank Heaven for. It is true that she has not the boundless prairies of the West, nor Sierras teeming with precious metals, but she seems to possess in the racial character of her people and in the nature of her climate, no less than in her geographical situation, unquestionable advantages for the development of industry and the enjoyment of the blessings thereon attendant.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

THE DINGLEY TARIFF BILL.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER, MEMBER OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION OF 1882.

THE framing of a tariff law, with all the delicate questions of public revenue which are interwoven with it, constitutes the most difficult and the most complicated problem that statesmanship has to deal with. Every statesman since the war who has been called upon to grapple with this question has either wrecked his party or himself, or both, before he was through with the job. The Hon. William D. Kelley, who was responsible for the Tariff Commission law of 1883, was not personally defeated, but his party suffered defeat at the next election. Morrison's two abortive tariff bills resulted in his defeat and retirement from Congress. The efforts of Roger Q. Mills in this direction, aided and abetted by President Cleveland, brought Democratic defeat in 1888, elected a Republican President, and returned the Republican party to power. Then came the famous McKinley tariff of 1890, in some respects a more judicious measure than the law of 1883, followed by the overwhelming defeat of the party enacting it at the following congressional election, and the temporary retirement from public life of its author. The effect of this legislation seems to have been carried forward into the Presidential election of 1892, and in spite of the prosperous condition of the country, the enemies of protection prevailed, and the party of free trade found itself in full possession of the government. With the advent of the Democratic party, Mr. Wilson came to the front, and the passage of the so-called Wilson-Gorman tariff act as usual sounded the death-knell of the new and rising statesman whose name became identified with the measure. History repeated itself. The law came into force in the early fall of 1894, and the following

November Mr. Wilson and all the other prominent advocates of the measure were swept out on a tidal wave higher and more disastrous to the party than the one that swept out the author and advocates of the McKinley law four years previous.

If these historic facts count for anything, they clearly indicate that tariff legislation is "extra hazardous" and that statesmen who undertake such dangerous economic work must be prepared for the rebound. They furthermore suggest that the minds of the people have become so completely perplexed by the exaggerated claims of the rival advocates of the two fiscal theories that it requires but a small pressure of adverse business conditions to swing the political pendulum from one extreme to the other. The protectionist points to the facts and vehemently declares that the prosperity of the country depends absolutely upon his policy. The free trader unfolds his theories, and with equal vehemence contends we can have no permanent prosperity until trade is free and all custom-houses abolished. And while the two sides are loudly proclaiming, the country is suffering from a more serious complaint than whether the duty on tooth brushes shall be 25 or 30 per cent., namely, an utter lack of business stability. These tariff hearings and threatened changes and actual changes of methods of collecting duties, of classification, and of rates of duty are simply playing havoc with business generally. Such never-ending changes must stop, and some sort of certainty be inaugurated before we can hope for permanent prosperity.

In 1882, as a member and secretary of the Tariff Commission, the writer first realized the magnitude and ramifications of the tariff laws. In some way or another, they affect the lives of millions of human beings. The interests involved in any changes of these laws are our entire foreign commerce—that is all our business with foreign countries. At home the tariff schedules cover manufacturing, mining, and fishing interests involving the actual employment of six or seven millions of people. Indirectly these laws affect nearly all our railways. Whether an article is made at home, and the material from which it is manufactured assembled at one point by our railways, or landed in a finished condition at some port, is a vital question to those engaged in transportation. The tariff likewise affects the agriculturist, directly by reason of a duty on his products, and indirectly because anything that brings prosperity to the nation improves the condition

of the farmer. The folly of subjecting these stupendous interests, involving the whole business of a nation of over seventy millions of people, to such periodical changes upward and downward is self-evident. The wonder is the people do not rise in their might and make it a penal offence, after the passage of the Dingley bill, for any person, statesman or otherwise, to talk protection or free trade for the period of ten years. "Let the tariff rest" should be the watchword when the bill made imperative to increase the revenue has become a law.

The tariff of 1897 may be said to have met with the customary opposition accorded such measures. Its schedules have been dissected with the usual vigor. While, on the one hand, it has been greeted by a chorus of complaints from importing interests, which will suffer both by increased duties and by changes from *ad valorem* to specific rates of duty, and from the representatives of foreign governments naturally adverse to higher duties, on the other hand, we have a much louder chorus of praise from the native producer. The fundamental difference between the Dingley bill and the Wilson-Gorman bill of 1894 is that there was no particular reason for the passage of the latter; whereas an absolute necessity exists for the speedy passage of the former. The effect on the country of the discussion of the Wilson bill should have warned the party in power that their proposed experiment was likely to prove a dangerous and costly one to the nation. Long before the bill passed, the "object lesson" had been noted, and the people wanted it reversed. It was a clear case of the patient's recovery from an imaginary illness on the arrival of the doctor. With the power in their hands, however, Mr. Wilson and his doctrinaire colleagues were determined to put the knife in, no matter where it cut nor how much blood it drew. It was an exemplification of their pet science in the destruction of the great productive interests of the country that these apostles of bankruptcy were after. The scars of that operation will not be effaced until this generation are in their graves.

The whole theory of the Wilson tariff from its inception was wrong. This is not said in a partisan spirit, but from a business point of view. First, it was laid out without proper consideration. The framers started with the idea of low duties, a big free list, and an income tax to make up the deficiency. Secretary Carlisle, an experienced tariff expert, called a halt to this,

and demonstrated that the proposed measure would result in an annual deficiency of probably $100,000,000. His astute mind also foresaw and he warned these gentlemen that the income tax with the $4,000 limitation clause in it would never stand. Then the patching began. Sugar was taken from the free list and put on the dutiable list; the same with iron ore and coal. Wool and lumber and cotton ties and some other things got left in the shuffle. The whole bill, as it finally passed, was scientifically, statistically, and politically a misfit. Nor could it have been otherwise. You cannot patch a tariff. It must be built up true to some lines and in accordance with some principles. You must know what revenue is needed. You must decide the relative proportion which your free list is to bear to the dutiable. You must ever have in view the necessity of levying duties so that they may be collected with certainty. You must bear in mind that a tariff in which the duties are specific is a constantly stiffening tariff, and yields increasing revenue, whereas the tendency of an *ad valorem* tariff is the reverse. I think the present tariff has demonstrated that the administration of the law, that is, the collection of the duties, is as important as the rate of duties. A tariff, to be fully protective, should protect American importers as much as American manufacturers and American wage-earners.

The present tariff law finds no defenders because, besides being inadequate from a revenue point of view and insufficient to protect the American producer, it has struck a deadly blow at our great importing interests. The American importer is threatened with annihilation because the present tariff law has repealed so many of the safeguards which experience has shown are necessary in the collection of duties. The recent hearings before the Ways and Means Committee show that the lawmakers of 1894 did things which in many respects were even worse than the reduction of rates of duty. By ill-considered and unaccountable changes of classification, and the use of obscure definitions and terms, as well as by the wholesale discarding of specific and compound rates of duty and the substitution of *ad valorem* rates, they not only produced a legislative hodge-podge, but deprived the government of at least a sixth of the revenue which it was estimated the law would secure, robbed domestic industries of a large share of the protection which the law ostensibly gave to

them, and seriously injured and crippled the business of honest importers. Under this law the revenue has gradually declined until to-day the country is brought face to face with an annual deficiency of over $65,000,000.

Necessity, not the desire for an experiment, confronted the Republican party when President McKinley called the special session of Congress to provide revenue for the government. The primary motive of the Dingley bill is to furnish the government revenue, and, as far as possible, to restore protection to industries which were ruthlessly stricken down by the present law. The hue and cry raised against the bill in certain quarters cannot be regarded as evidence against it. In 1883, the same attacks, clothed in precisely the same language, published in the same newspapers and emanating from the same sources, greeted the proposed bill of the Tariff Commission. Seven years later, when the McKinley bill was under consideration, the same critics were pointing to the Commission's report and its proposed law as wise and conservative, and the McKinley law was held up as the embodiment of retroaction and economic iniquity. Four years later, after a taste of the present tariff law, the populace flocked by hundreds of thousands to hear McKinley on the tariff question, demanding the re-enaction of the law of 1890, or something even more radical, and the election of the author to the highest office in the gift of the people. Whatever may be said of the Presidential campaign of 1896, it is certain that the Ohio State campaign of 1893, the Congressional campaign of 1894, and the several important State campaigns of 1895, were fought out with William McKinley and the tariff policy he represented as the vital issue, and won by large majorities on the protection issue and that issue alone. The Dingley bill needs no apologist. It comes in answer to the demand of a majority of the people of the United States, as expressed in four decisive campaigns, State, congressional, and national—that is, the campaigns of 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1896. It comes, moreover, in answer to the demands of the people that the national revenue shall be sufficient at all times to pay the expenses of the government as we go, and that American labor shall be protected against the labor of workmen receiving a lower rate of wages and living under different environments to the laborers of the United States. So long, therefore, as the Dingley law shall keep reasonably within

the bounds of these general requirements, it must be regarded not in the light of an economic experiment, but as the fulfilment of promises made by a great party to the people during a presidential campaign. A presidential campaign, be it remembered, preceded by three other more or less important contests, all of which were won by large majorities on the tariff question.

Having established its right of way, the next step is to decide whether or not the bill meets the requirements as above indicated. There is a difference of opinion on this point. It is contended that the bill is too highly protective. The same claim, with even greater vigor, was set up against the McKinley bill. And yet, from the non-dutiable point of view, the McKinley law was the greatest free trade measure this country has ever known. Under it the free list was increased from about one-third of our total imports in 1890 to six-tenths in 1894. In oth er words, for every hundred dollars of imports, sixty dollars' worth came in free under the McKinley law. Much of the criticism of the McKinley law has turned out unjust criticism, and some of the more fair-minded of its critics have admitted the truth of this assertion. Looking back to 1867 and 1868, when less than five per cent. came in duty free, we must realize that radical changes had been brought about—changes, too, that were surely in the interest of that broader trade and commerce which our free trade brethren delight to dilate upon. The wonder is that the free traders themselves have not made McKinley their patron saint, for the *per capita* duty collected the last year of the McKinley bill was lower than in any year since 1862, namely, $1.89 ; and, of course, has gone up to $2.20 under the present law. Under this same McKinley law the average *ad valorem* rate of duty on dutiable and free articles also reached the lowest point since the war, namely, 20.25 per cent. in 1894. It was a trifle lower, 20.23 per cent. in 1895, but in 1896 it increased slightly—20.67 per cent. So the McKinley law, by reason of its extended free list, gave us 60 per cent. of our imports free ; it gave us the lowest *per capita* duty collected since the war and practically the lowest average *ad valorem* rates on all imported merchandise. The assailants of the Dingley bill would do well to recall these facts before their assaults reach the same degree of malignity which they did in 1890 when the McKinley bill was the object of abuse. Their great expectations of disaster and terrible prophecies of foreign

retaliation were wrong then, and may they not be wrong now? Their own panacea for the imaginary troubles which beset us—the Wilson-Gorman law—has proved a lamentable failure. Have we any assurance now that a similar measure, or a continuation of it, will relieve the real troubles that have fallen fast and thick upon the country since the party of free trade took the helm in 1893. We cannot trust either to luck or to the sale of bonds for revenue to pay current expenses when the way is open to us to raise by the taxation of foreign imports sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the national government.

The Dingley bill will undoubtedly raise sufficient revenue. It has been framed from the bottom up with the revenue idea fully in mind. In the four years ending the 30th of June next, we have run behind in our revenue over $200,000,000—or at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum. The coming fiscal year shows signs of increased deficiency. The revenue from imports is estimated at only $140,000,000 as against $203,000,000 for the year ended June 30, 1893. The problem which confronted Mr. Dingley and which now confronts the Senate Finance Committee is to so frame the tariff as to make up about $65,000,000, or to be on the safe side, say $75,000,000. Mr. Dingley secures the needed revenue in a variety of ways. First, he has changed the *ad valorem* rate of duty, wherever possible, to specific rates, thus insuring a more honest administration of our customs laws. In this way it has been variously estimated he will secure from $20,000,000 to $25,000,000 per annum now lost by the government by reason of undervaluation and frauds. In making these changes, the author of the bill has brought down upon himself the violent opposition of thousands of dishonest importers who gain no advantage over their more honest competitors under a law in which specific rates predominate. In this category we find the most vicious opponents of the bill. Next Mr. Dingley has gone to the sugar schedule, and by a just revision of the rates and a return to specific duties, he proposes to secure an additional $20,000,000. Under the present law there has been a decrease of about $20,000,000 in duties obtained from the wool and woollen schedule, and this it is proposed to recover by a practical return to the schedule of the McKinley law.

A strong fight has been put up against the proposed changes in the wool and woollen schedules, but it would seem to be

the only practical way out of the dilemma, and after a careful study of the situation the Senate Committee will come to substantially the same conclusion. If these three changes yield the amount of additional revenue anticipated, the problem is practically solved, for we have here $65,000,000. They may not; so, to make sure, Mr. Dingley has raised the rates in the spirits and tobacco schedules, put lumber back on the dutiable list, from whence it should never have been taken, and tightened up several other schedules, both with a view of increasing the revenue and of encouraging home industry. In two important schedules, those of iron aud steel, and of manufactures of cotton, the present law has not been materially changed. Throughout this bill, there has been no attempt to throttle industry by "taxing raw material" as some claim. Wool, lumber, and some other articles have been returned to the dutiable list, but all these industries were in a deplorable condition during the period the so-called "raw material" has been on the free list. Moreover, the progress of our manufacturing industries has undoubtedly been greatest during the period of a high protective tariff. If facts, history, and experience are of any value in solving a question like this, they are all on the side of a high protective tariff. The free trader has been pointing, with some degree of pride, to the increase of the exportation of manufactured articles during recent years. This increase is more apparent than real, and is obtained by including copper ingots, exports of oil, and like articles which are not affected one way or the other by the tariff. They do not and indeed can not point to any increase in the exportation of woollen goods or any other manufactured article which may be directly traced to a reduced duty—or the so-called freeing of the raw material. Nor does such argument cut any figure when applied to our export trade, because a rebate of 99 per cent. is allowed on the raw material or on any other imported material entering into exports of manufactures. On the contrary, free wool has injured rather than benefited our woollen manufacturers, and the whole argument in favor of free "raw material" has been effectually exploded by the practical miscarriage of the plan inaugurated by those who once so strongly advocated it. And this, in fact, is the last leg the free trader has to stand upon. The results of the folly of 1894 cling so persistent-

ly to our once active centres of industrial energy that the boldest free trader hesitates to push his theories, and instead clings tenaciously to the old error that "free raw materials" will soon give us the markets of the world, while it will inflict no loss on those who produce them in our own country. The answer to this argument may be found in the complete failure of the doctrine to achieve results since it has been put into operation.

The Dingley bill, which, with some modifications looking toward a greater degree of liberality in certain unimportant schedules, will become the tariff law of 1897. It meets the requirements of a reasonable tariff. What is a reasonable tariff? President McKinley has defined it by giving Lincoln's answer to the man who asked how long a man's legs should be. President Lincoln said long enough to reach from his body to the ground. So our tariff should be high enough to make up for the difference in wages paid here and abroad. It should be sufficient to protect American industry and American labor. It should, moreover, be just and equitable to all branches of industry. Irritating duties, unimportant from a revenue point of view, such as duties levied on scientific apparatus, and books for schools and colleges and libraries, and for all educational purposes, and on paintings, may with safety be avoided. There should be no discrimination. On that rock, I have shown the Wilson-Gorman tariff has gone to pieces. And, lastly, it must be framed from the foundation with a view to revenue necessities, and not founded on a theory which, as in the original Wilson bill, brought its framer face to face with a condition involving a two hundred million dollar deficit. It would seem that in the framing of the bill Mr. Dingley and his colleagues have followed along these lines, though perhaps not as closely as practicable. If the final results justify this conclusion, we may yet hope for a settlement of the tariff question, to be followed by a period of stability and business prosperity.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

RUSSIA'S PLANS AND PURPOSES.

BY W. F. MASON M'CARTY.

THE great empire of the Czar, European and Asiatic, little known to the outside world, and concerning which the people of the United States have but the faintest outlines of information, is a land of surpassing interest.

With an area of nearly eight and a half millions of square miles, or one-sixth of the land area of the world, and a population of 125 millions, it is, taken as a whole, less settled than our Western States were forty years ago. It is a country rich in soil, in mineral wealth, in forests, and so vast that no nation in history compares with it in natural resources; while, at the same time, because of the recent multiplication of appliances for developing a wilderness country, no past changes from wilderness conditions to civilization afford a standard for measuring the progress likely to be made in this colossal empire. The development of our own country west of the Alleghanies, during the past fifty years, gives a nearer indication as to Russian possibilities than anything in history. But even this falls short. Science and the arts, steam and the railroad, electricity, chemistry, metallurgy, have all made wonderful advances. As her development of Siberia and Central Asia proceeds, Russia will have such vast hordes of Asiatic labor and skill to draw on, and she has for a foundation so much larger a country than ours, that even our growth does not offer a parallel to the opening up of the new country of the Old World.

There is, too, much in the difference in governments to be taken into consideration. Our laws, and particularly our homestead and land grant laws, our protective tariff operating in a new country to ensure high prices for all the products of labor, with all of our people working, each with his might, to make a fortune, produced wonderful results. The forces that Russia can

bring to bear on her undeveloped territory are entirely different. Man for man, she cannot hope to parallel our results with the populations she must work with. But she has some compensating advantages. She has an unlimited command of very cheap and very efficient labor. Nor will she lack, once her development is under way, help from the countries of Europe who contributed so largely to our population in the days when our heavy foundation work was being done. The Russian government can control, systematize, and concentrate this labor upon truer lines, not letting it scatter out and dilute its strength over too vast an area. Above all, Russia, or the Russian government, is a working machine, very different from any other in the world. There are no elections to disturb it, no congresses or parliaments, no administrations or ministries to be formed and reformed at frequent intervals, or called to account by public opinion or a public press. The government works upon plans not fixed or limited to two or four or seven years, but it works on to do its part day by day, having all the future to draw on.

The real government of Russia is the Council of State. It has no beginning, no end. Czars come and go. But the Council of State remains and works on. A member dies, or is displaced, but his place is filled. The plan is not changed. The policy is worked out just the same. The chart the Council of State works by has for its foundation the will of Peter the Great, modified by the changes of time and circumstances. The Czar is the visible autocrat, the Council of State the real one. The Czar is the head of the State and of the Greek Church, those two powers which are in fact the government of Russia. The Council of State and the Greek Church work by rule. The development of Russia, or of Russian plans, domestic or foreign, is never hurried. It moves fast or slow, according to its power and the advantages or obstructions of the time. But Russian development always progresses. During the past decade Russia has made more progress than ever before in a like period, more, indeed, than any other nation has ever made in a decade.

Ten years ago Russia had a secret treaty with Germany—a sort of half-way treaty not known to Germany's associates in the Dreibund. She had also good relations with France because Russia had blocked Germany's contemplated attack on France in 1875. But the real ruling power was Great Britain. Holding

the Dreibund up to keep Russia and France isolated, with Russia and France keeping Germany, Austria, and Italy anxious in turn, England proceeded with her Egyptian policy, held up Turkey as a cork in the neck of the Black Sea bottle, and went on with her Indian and China trade and her African expansion. To-day, Russia really controls Turkey, has a good understanding with Germany and Austria, has upset Italy in Abyssinia, has made the Dreibund a rope of sand, has France for an offensive and defensive ally, and has England isolated. To-day, ostentatiously demanding peace between Greece and Turkey, she is trying to force England to take the Grecian side in order, first, that she may take possession of Turkey to Egyptianize it after the English manner, though ostensibly coming in as Turkey's protector. And she is manœuvering so that, while she and her Continental associates are demanding peace, England may make war by taking sides with Greece. Russia is ready for war and desires it, because she desires Turkey and Constantinople. But she desires and is trying to so manage that England may bring on the war. The whole Grecian hubbub is a fight for position. England may go in. She is stronger now than she will be later, and her fleets might make havoc with European navies. But on land she could do nothing. The closing of the mints in India has impoverished Great Britain's Asiatic Empire, and famine and plague have been added to poverty. Russia is pushing her advantage while it holds.

We hear in America much about Nihilism in Russia. And the general idea concerning the power and character of Nihilism is erroneous. We had in America, after our civil war, an organization remarkably similar to Nihilism in Russia, and singularly sprung from a like cause, the Ku Klux Klan. The Ku Klux was an organization of men who had lost their slaves, and were fighting the former slave because he had the elective franchise, and under unscrupulous leadership was abusing it.

Nihilism is the Ku Klux of Russia. It sprang from the liberation of the serfs. Nobles who were impoverished by the great change in labor, and by losing control of labor, started the Nihilistic organization and formed its innumerable circles. This force was joined by all the anarchistic forces of Europe, so far as co-operation was possible. Nihilism thought itself strong enough to seize the government of Russia through killing the Czar. It

did manage to kill one Czar. But it never was strong enough to do anything but fight a losing fight against the government. The government always had better men, and abler men, and more of them, to fight Nihilism than Nihilism ever had to fight the government. Nihilism is now, and for many years has been, recruited from the ne'er-do-well sons of Russian families, who cultivate the grievances of a former generation, and from students and young men easily led into excitement and lawbreaking. But the power of the organization is fast dying out as the causes which started it pass into the background. The Russian government was never so strong in the affections of the Russian people as to-day. In case of war not one-half of one per cent. of the population could be mustered against the government.

With the possibility of a general war in Europe, the plans and purposes of Russia are of absorbing interest. Greece would not have gone so far as she has without a purpose of going still further, nor would she have taken a position from which retreat would be difficult, if not impossible, without an understanding with Russia or such knowledge of the situation as would assure her immunity from the intervention of others in the quarrel. Blind as the Grecian movement looks, it has not been blindly made. While all the Powers, apparently in concert, are demanding peace, those who are behind the scenes know that there is no real concert, that the war for which all the great Powers have so long been preparing is close at hand, and that the gathering storm may break almost immediately.

Peter the Great, more than any ruler of his day, indeed, more than any ruler of any day, realized that the world was changing over to a time when the developments of peace would throw out the combinations of war. He was a mechanic as well as a king, because he saw that the day of work, of production, was to supersede the day of robbery and destruction. The bottom idea of all the views he entertained, of all he left to guide Russia, was the development of Russia into a great commercial and industrial nation. That idea has governed all the workings of the Council of State.

The tradition which makes Constantinople the future capital of Russia grew out of the idea of making that city the great commercial city of the world. To recover it from the Moslem has been the sentimental part. To make it the great mart of the

world has been the real objective point of the Russian government since the time of Peter the Great, though this has been kept in the background. But plans were laid out, with this in view, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, and have been steadily adhered to from that day. For a quarter of a century past, efforts have been concentrated to so shaping events that a situation such as exists to-day would grow up. Russia is ready in all ways to carry out her plans, and if the present situation precipitated by Greece results in a general war, as it must if war begins between Greece and Turkey, it will be found that Russia alone is working to a general plan and has forces and means to carry it out.

Contrary to general opinion, the Russian Council of State is the most highly organized, trained, and systematic governmental machine in the world. It is strong in scientific knowledge, and has at command the most expert help in all the arts that science has of late years developed. Russia's financial organization and power, wholly unknown to the outside world, is perhaps stronger even than her military organization. Since the Franco-Prussian war Russia has been preparing to secure her base of commerce—Constantinople. A summary of her great works of recent years will show that they all point to the Capital of the Turk.

The Trans-Siberian Railroad, while ostensibly built, as our first Pacific road was built, to fasten to the Empire her Pacific Coast, has underlying its construction a commercial plan infinitely more important: to open up new country and connect it with the overpopulated countries of Eastern Asia, China, Japan, Corea, from whom can be got both trade and population to develop Siberia, and, further along, to create a new overland traffic between the immense populations of Eastern Asia and Western Europe, that shall replace the present route *via* Suez or the Cape. The trans-Caucasian development had the same purpose in view, with Central Asia and Northern India as the countries to draw from.

Constantinople is the key of the whole plan. No site in the Eastern Hemisphere has such advantages, military and commercial, as the city of the Bosphorus. Held by a power as strong as Russia, the combined fleets and armies of Europe could not take it. The Balkans guard it by land, the straits by water. Commercially it is the gateway of the three continents. It is the western terminal of Russia's great trans-continental line, and to it

come naturally the branch lines from Central Asia *via* the Caspian and Black Seas.

Russia has appreciated fully her advantages. She has known that when the time came for her to open her pack and display her wares she could out-trade England, and bring to her support the countries of Continental Europe, because she had something to give to each. Her plan involves for all the nations of Europe, Africa, or Asia touching upon the Mediterranean a share in the wealth to come from restoring to that inland sea the wealth and glory of trade it had in ancient times, more complex and greater in magnitude in the degree in which international trade has developed and the arts have grown in power and variety of production.

For the great nation of Northern Europe, which lies on her western border—Germany—Russia has something to offer too great and valuable to be refused. What this is can best be appreciated by a home illustration. Our people are familiar with the wealth that has accrued to our New England and Eastern States through the development of the Western States and territories in the past fifty years. Yet the field of development that Russia offers is infinitely larger—large enough to employ the capital, the mines, furnaces and factories of Germany and of France to their fullest extent. The world Russia has to open up affords greater scope than even the Western Hemisphere offered when found. Our Western World was developed from Europe alone. Into the great Russian wilderness will pour the surplus labor, skill, capital, organization of Europe and Asia combined. Even the United States will largely participate in the way of supplying machinery.

Russia is on the threshhold of opening up this new world. It is hers. It is fast in her control. No one can take it from her. Once the Russian hand is shown, can Europe, covered with a blight of hard times and low prices, afford to stand in the way of enjoying the benefits of the new field because Russia desires and needs, as a commercial base, a city on the Bosphorus now held by the Turk and wholly useless to Europe? Is Germany, seeking the world for markets, going to pass by the new and great one Russia can offer? Is France, with her front on the Mediterranean and her interests on the African side, going to oppose the revival of wealth and trade in that inland sea? Is Austria, even, going to

oppose it? What has she to gain? What has Italy to gain by opposing it? Nothing. By helping it? Everything.

While Russia has kept up and cultivated good relations with her European neighbors, she has by no means failed to take advantage of what has occurred in the Far East. The Japanese-Chinese war offered her an opportunity to secure advantages for herself and to check the dominant British interests, which she has in no way neglected. Her relations with Japan are good. Corea she looks to as the future site of cotton manufacturing, with advantages superior to any that England has. In China Russia has secured almost everything she needs, and she has an invitation to ask for anything further she may require.

All that is now needed for the accomplishment of Russia's great plans is her commercial base—Constantinople. The trans-Siberian railway will soon be open. The lines toward Northern India can be pushed. Demand can be created for enormous supplies of manufactures from Germany and France. Greece has started the game; Russia coming to Turkey to protect it, can Egyptianize Asia Minor after the English plan in Egypt. She will not have begun the war, but will have taken advantage of it. Behind the Grecian hand may be Russia's, though the Russian voice is for peace. There may be another point in Greece's lead. The country to which Russia has least to offer is Austria. All that has permitted Turkey in Europe to stand has been the question of a division of her territory and a possible reorganization of the Balkan States that have from time to time broken off from Turkey. Russia would be glad to have Greece get her share —old Grecian States—by advance claims. Better for Russia that as much as possible of the territory south of the Balkans should go to Greece rather than to Austria. Nor can Austria alone enforce any other result. Germany will not help her. The Dreibund has long been a rope of sand.

While Russia has done the loudest and most emphatic talking against the move that Greece has made, yet it may be to cover a design that falls so wholly to Russia's hand. Once the war comes new lines can be formed. Greece can hold her own, meantime; and with the war opened the apparent concert of the Powers will end. Russia will find the Grecian war torch as good as another, so it lights Russia's way to Constantinople.

W. F. Mason McCarty.

CHEAP TRANSPORTATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY J. A. LATCHA, M. AM. SOC. C. E.

CHEAP transportation for the commerce of the world is one of the most important problems of the age. That nation which reduces to the lowest figure the cost of transferring the immense tonnage of modern commerce from point to point, whether for inland delivery or for foreign shipment, all other things being equal, will dominate the commercial world. The history of the United States for the past thirty years demonstrates the correctness of this statement. Our marvellous growth in population and wealth primarily was dependent upon the creation of our great railroad system. Should that system suddenly be removed from the face of the earth, calamity to the entire world would be so prompt and complete as to appall us in its contemplation. If these facts are conceded, it must be clear that a revival of profitable business in the United States, with accompanying prosperity, can alone be assured by improvements upon that railroad system which will enable us to transport our traffic at constantly diminishing cost. This ought to be self-evident, yet some of our most eminent engineers and able business men assert that the industrial and commercial prosperity of the United States absolutely demands the construction of ship canals in various portions of our country. The writer, many years ago, became convinced that the era of canals for general traffic purposes has long since passed. In arriving at that conclusion it was had in mind that, as usual in matters of importance, exceptions prove the rule. That the Suez Canal is a great and, to-day, a prosperous public thoroughfare none can deny. It must be remembered, however, that from the dawn of history the stream of commerce has trav-

ersed the territory wherein lies the Suez Canal. A pregnant question, however, is what would be the effect upon the use and value of that canal should Russia wrest India and other Asiatic dependencies of Great Britain from that Empire? The commerce of the Orient in that case certainly would not traverse that canal, but would be diverted largely by Russia through Siberia to Europe. Another exception is the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. As all know, that famous artificial waterway is practically less than a dozen miles long and connects about 500 miles of open waterway on Lake Superior with 1,000 miles of lake navigation to the St. Lawrence River. When, however, it is proposed to construct 350 miles of continuous ship canal through New York State, a vastly different proposition is before capitalists and commercial men.

It is not intended, however, at this time to consider in detail the ship canal problem. The needlessness of that, it is believed, will be made apparent by discussing the transportation question from another standpoint. It will be advisable, however, to note that the latest attempts at creating great ship canals for commercial purposes have been notorious failures, financially and commercially. The Manchester Canal and the Baltic Canal in Germany demonstrate this fact. The German government has established a scale of tolls for the use of the Baltic Canal for commercial purposes, varying from fifteen cents to twenty-five cents per ton, the average toll being about twenty cents. As the Baltic Canal is but sixty-one miles long, the average charge on that waterway for tolls alone is $3\frac{27}{100}$ mills per ton per mile. It is desired that this fact shall be kept clearly in mind by the reader. It must be evident, should a ship canal be built connecting New York City with Buffalo, it would cost enormously, and whether that canal be free or be operated on the basis of a toll, the interest charge on cost of that waterway must ultimately be paid by the people. Under the most favorable circumstances a ship canal through New York State cannot cost less than $500,000,000, involving an interest charge of at least $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 annually, exclusive of all charges to be met by the people in opening and maintaining a deep water channel through Lake and River St. Clair, and also the enormous expenditures necessary to deepen and maintain channels and dockage at all the lake harbors.

While the tonnage traversing our great lakes is enormous, and there is no wish to underestimate its importance to our nation, none familiar with the facts will for a moment deny that to-day the commerce carried on our great railroad system vastly surpasses the water traffic in volume and value. None will deny that our waterways started in the race for development greatly in the lead, and if they have fallen behind in the struggle it must be due to the fact that transportation by rail is the method which does, and will increasingly meet modern necessities.

The writer believes transportation by railroad is the essential and only way for the people of the United States to meet the modern commercial competition of the nations of the world; he believes that traffic can be carried from Chicago to New York Harbor by railroad at less cost during twelve months of the year than it can be by the largest, most effective, and cheapest ship canal that ever can be built; he believes the commercial salvation of the people of the United States depends more largely upon the perfection of such a railroad thoroughfare than upon any other public measure; he believes such a thoroughfare can be created by the united efforts of the Trunk Line railroads, or if they will not act, that other measures can assure the construction of such a railroad. An attempt will be made to demonstrate the soundness of these views.

It is well known the competition of India, of Australia, of Argentina, and, especially of Russia, which, within the past three years, has been building railroads at a tremendous pace to deliver its wheat at seaports, is destroying our grain export business, which for a generation secured the gold with which to pay our trade balances. The loss of this business, in addition to the shrinkage of cereal values, has bankrupted many of our greatest railroads within the past six years, with resultant destruction, not only of more than $500,000,000 of railroad values, but with even greater depreciation of private property dependent for its value on the prosperity of our great transportation system.

If we are to change the present commercial conditions in the United States, we must act immediately. We must perfect facilities enabling us to undersell all other agricultural nations in the markets of Europe. We can do this quickly and relatively for a trifling expense, by the improvement of our old east and

west railroads, thus enabling them to carry at a profit wheat, corn, and meats at such low cost that exports of grain and other agricultural products can be made at New York Harbor, thus controlling the food markets of the world and insuring the return imports of general merchandise from Europe to New York and thence to the far West. If we cannot do this and promptly, we will in a few years have further financial collapse regardless of what may be our currency or our tariff.

The prime requisites for accomplishing improvement in our industrial, commercial, and financial condition are, first, that traffic, and especially grain, must be carried by the shortest and most economical route possible from Chicago and St. Louis to New York City and thence to manufacturing Europe; second, that traffic must traverse the heart of the great manufacturing regions of Ohio and Pennsylvania, insuring the bread stuffs for our laborers in the iron and coal fields at the lowest cost possible, and must be carried upon the best and cheapest thoroughfare for the distribution East and West of the products of the coal and iron regions; third, the railroad of to-day must be built with continuously low grade and light curvature; fourth, coal for motive power must be secured at proper and suitable intervals along the line of such railroad. The importance of the fourth condition is not generally appreciated. This will be made clear later.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, main line, is operated at a total cost of about $3\frac{85}{100}$ mills per ton per mile*; the Philadelphia and Erie Division of the railroad is operated at a cost of about $3\frac{30}{100}$. It is especially desired it be noted that this cost is practically the same as the charge for tolls alone (viz., $3\frac{27}{100}$ mills) on the great German Canal. The main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad has a grade of 83 feet per mile crossing the mountains westward, and a grade of $52\frac{8}{10}$ feet per mile eastbound. That railroad also has ten-degree curvature on its main line. It has fuel on or near its main line from Pittsburg to Altoona, but from Altoona to New York it must haul its fuel long distances for its motive power. The Philadelphia & Erie Railroad has light grades from Sunbury to near Driftwood; thence for 168 miles to Erie it continuously crosses heavy divides involving a succession

* The figures throughout this article represent cost per ton per mile, unless otherwise indicated.

of grades varying from $52\frac{8}{10}$ to 70 feet per mile both east and west. From Emporium to Erie, coal for motive power is secured very near to or along the track. To this latter fact largely is due the economy of operation on that division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Upon the completion of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway about fourteen years ago, it was found it was operated at a cost per ton per mile less than any other railroad in the world except the Pennsylvania Railroad. It was quite evident these results were largely due to the straight line and low grades secured on that railroad. That the importance of these physical characteristics may be appreciated, a description of the alignment and gradients will be given. From Buffalo to Dunkirk, a distance of about 42 miles, the gradients are $52\frac{8}{10}$ feet per mile both east and west. From Dunkirk to Fort Wayne, a distance of about 329 miles, the gradients are 21 feet per mile eastbound and 31 feet westbound. These grades are maintained through the cities of Erie, Cleveland, and Fort Wayne. The gradients on the splendid property of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway west of Fort Wayne, a distance of about 150 miles, were 35 feet eastbound and 45 feet westbound when the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway was built, hence the same gradients were adopted on the new railway west of Fort Wayne. The maximum curvature adopted on the N. Y. C. & St. L. Ry. was five degrees. The curvature from Buffalo to Chicago is five per cent. and from Dunkirk to Chicago it is only four per cent. There are several tangents over sixty miles long and several thirty miles in length.

The fuel for motive power on the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway is hauled from mines to point of consumption an average distance of about 200 miles. With these physical characteristies this road was operated for ten years for an average cost of about 4.15 mills, and to day is operated for about 4.10 mills. It is possible, for the sum of $400,000 to cut down the gradients on that railway from Chicago to Fort Wayne to 21 feet per mile eastbound and to 31 feet westbound, which would largely reduce cost of operation on that portion of that railway.

It is well known that while the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway has complete organization of station facilities and service from Bellevue to Buffalo, yet it is restricted rigorously in

securing local freight and passenger business over two-thirds of its distance that it may not interfere with the local earning capacity of the Lake Shore Railway, which controls the former road. The necessity of giving these details will be apparent later.

Shortly after the completion of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway, the Lake Shore Railway management learned of the advantages accruing from the continuously low grades of the former road, and began the systematic reduction of grades on the older road. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended on the Lake Shore Railway cutting down grades from Chicago to Berea to $17\frac{5}{10}$ feet per mile eastbound, and 35 feet per mile westbound. From Berea to Cleveland the grades east are light, but are $52\frac{8}{10}$ feet per mile westbound. From Cleveland to Collingwood the grades are 35 feet per mile east and light between these points westbound, Within the past year (1896), the grades have been cut down from Collingwood to Buffalo from 35 feet to $17\frac{5}{10}$ feet per mile east, but remain at 35 feet per mile westbound.

Pay tonnage on our Trunk Lines is generally at the rate of three tons east to two tons west. The gradients, therefore, on the Lake Shore Railway are not, as yet, well balanced. The motive power which can haul loaded and empty cars west over 35-foot grades could haul the same number of loaded cars east over a 25-foot grade. To balance the $17\frac{5}{10}$ foot grades east, the westbound maximum should not exceed 25 feet per mile, instead of 35 feet, as on the Lake Shore Railway. These facts are noted because the Lake Shore Railway is the best-operated railroad in the world, perhaps, excepting alone the Pennsylvania Railroad.

It will be very difficult, if not impossible, ever to reduce the gradients for several miles east and west of Cleveland. The resulting excessive cost of operation through Cleveland on that admirably managed railway must always prove a serious detriment to that property.

The fuel for motive power on the Lake Shore Railway is procured from the same sources as by the N. Y. C. & St. L. Railway. With the physical characteristics just described, the Lake Shore Railway was operated for ten years at an average cost of $4\frac{30}{100}$ mills and is to-day operated for about $4\frac{10}{100}$ mills.

The importance of the careful analysis of the physical characteristics of the model Lake Shore Railway must be

apparent when methods for improving the operation of our railways are discussed.

The New York Central Railroad has relatively very light grades except through Albany, yet its fuel is necessarily hauled an average distance of about 250 miles, resulting in its cost of operation being about $5\frac{05}{100}$ mills. The Erie Railroad has light grades over much of its line, but it is seriously handicapped by the excessively heavy grades on its main line from Marion to Hornellsville, and also is compelled to haul its fuel great distances. These serious disadvantages cause the cost of operation on the Erie Railroad to be excessive, and many of the defects mentioned never can be remedied. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad labors under even more serious disadvantages than any of the Trunk Lines, with resultant financial disasters to that great property.

The maximum grade from Chicago to Cleveland, to Akron, or to Massillon on any of the Trunk Lines need not exceed 20 feet east and 30 feet west. These grades could be secured for relatively trifling expenditures and would enable those railroads to transport low-priced commodities like grain at a cost much less than at present. To insure the best thoroughfare possible for cheap transportation by railroad from Chicago to New York City, a railroad should be perfected either from Cleveland, Akron, or Massillon to Tamanend via Wampum, Butler, Punxsutawney, Philipsburg, Lock Haven, Williamsport, and Rupert. That route should be perfected by the joint action of the Trunk Line Railroads and should be operated for the joint account of all those great companies. They should be vested by national legislation with just and equitable powers and rights to perfect and operate such a public thoroughfare, embracing among other essential reforms the legalizing of pooling of railroad traffic under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission or other State agency. Such action is absolutely essential for the commercial and industrial welfare of the United States, owing to the bitter commercial competition of the nations of the world against America.

If such a railroad were perfected as suggested, its physical characteristics would be as follows: From Chicago to Massillon, 360 miles, the maximum grades would be 20 feet east and 30 feet west; from Massillon the grades would be 30 feet east and 40

feet west for 118 miles to Butler; from Butler to Milesburg, a distance of about 122 miles, the maximum grade east would be 45 feet and $52\frac{8}{10}$ feet west, thus crossing the mountains with grades much less both east and west than those on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad; the maximum grade east would be 35 feet and 45 feet west from Milesburg to Tamanend, a distance of about 120 miles. From Tamanend to New York the grades east would not exceed 35 feet and 45 feet west *via* either the Lehigh Valley Railroad or by the Central Railroad of New Jersey. Good connections also could be made to New York *via* the Lackawanna, the Reading and the Pennsylvania railroads.

Bituminous coal for fuel could be secured on the proposed railroad at Massillon, at Butler, at Punxsutawney, at Philipsburg, and near Snow Shoe, as well as at several intermediate points. That railroad would pass through the heart of the anthracite coal regions of Eastern Pennsylvania, insuring fuel for motive power on much more advantageous terms than does any existing Trunk Line railroad. A railroad could be perfected through the territory described, and of the characteristics named, which would not exceed 850 miles in length between Chicago and New York city, and which could be operated at a cost less per ton per mile than can any existing railroad in the world. A few details will demonstrate the correctness of this statement.

As has been stated, the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway is operated at a cost of $4\frac{10}{100}$ mills. Should a railroad be perfected from Chicago to Massillon with 20 feet grades east and 30 feet grades west, instead of 35 feet east and 45 feet west, as now exist on the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway west of Fort Wayne for 152 miles, and should that railroad be free to make every effort to secure all freight, both local and through, it possibly could, it certainly conld be operated at a cost not exceeding $3\frac{50}{100}$ mills between Chicago and a point 100 miles west of Massillon, to which point coal for motive power could be hauled economically from the latter city. If the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad can be operated over grades existing on that line for $3\frac{30}{100}$ mills, the proposed railroad, with coal on its line at convenient points from Massillon to the Lehigh River, and with grades only 20 feet east from a point 100 miles west of Massillon and with grades only 30 feet east of Massillon to Butler

and with maximum grade of only 45 feet east across the mountains to Milesburg, and with maximum grade of only 35 feet east from Milesburg to New York city, must be operated for $2\frac{50}{100}$ mills, and the total average cost of operation would not exceed $2\frac{75}{100}$ mills.

For the purpose of demonstrating the soundness of these conclusions, it will be assumed that an entirely new railroad is built from Chicago to New York, a distance of 850 miles. All freight cars on a railroad as proposed should have a maximum capacity of 60,000 pounds. They should be equipped with safety couplers, air-brakes, etc. But while the cars should have a capacity of 60,000 pounds, the average pay load will be estimated at the extremely low figure of 15 tons per car. To insure the most systematic and economical results, the proposed railroad should be operated in three divisions of 120 miles each from Chicago to Massillon, a total distance of 360 miles. Over these divisions sixty loaded cars could be hauled with one engine and crew, the grades being 20 feet eastbound and 30 feet west. From Massillon to Butler, a distance of 118 miles, forty-five loaded cars could be hauled east by the standard engine over 30-feet grades. From Butler to Milesburg, 122 miles, two standard engines could haul sixty loaded cars with one train crew, the maximum grades being 45 feet east and $52\frac{8}{10}$ feet west. From Milesburg to New York, a distance of 250 miles, the line should be operated in two divisions, and a standard engine and one crew could haul forty loaded cars east over 35-feet grades. The average trainload, therefore, eastbound would be fifty-two loaded cars of fifteen tons pay load each, or a total load of 780 tons.

With the low grades arranged in divisions as described and with fuel over two-thirds the distance, the motive power department, with full trains moving continuously from Chicago to New York, unquestionably could be operated for not to exceed 12 cents per train mile. But the cost for motive power will be taken at the average cost of 14 cents per train mile. The motive power expenses on each through train, on the 850 miles, for engineers, firemen, oil, waste, repairs, etc., at 14 cents per train mile, and including the extra engine on the summit division, would be the sum of $136. The railroad as described would be operated in seven divisions. Through express freight trains moving continuously night and day would average at least 20 miles per hour.

Each train would cost on each division for trainmen and for train supplies not to exceed $15, or a total for the seven divisions, the sum of $105 for the through run. With an average of 52 cars on each train the cost for repairs, renewals, and interest on cars, etc., would not exceed $75 for each through train. The cost for maintenance of way and structures for each train of 52 cars would not exceed $105. The cost for expenses of terminal and intermediate yards, etc., for each through train would not exceed $100. The general expenses of all kinds, including train dispatching, would not exceed $75 per train. The total average cost, therefore, for each through train of 52 cars loaded with grain from Chicago to New York would be as follows :

Motive Power Department		$136
Conducting transportation	Trainmen and train expenses..... $105	
	Maintenance of cars and interest 75	
	Yard and terminal expenses..... 100	
		$280
Maintenance of way and structures		105
General expense, including dispatching		75
Total expenses for one through train of 52 cars		$596

This estimate is based, not on any local business, but exclusively on through tonnage. The expenses for local business would be covered by higher rates as explained later.

The average charge for carrying wheat on existing railroads from Chicago to New York City, for several years, has been about twelve cents per bushel. If a single-track railroad with ample passing tracks were completed through the territory named and upon the basis outlined, it could carry agricultural products from Chicago to New York Harbor at a cost not exceeding one and one-quarter mills, and at that charge, which would be practically three cents per bushel, we could undersell all other agricultural nations on earth. That a railroad as described could carry traffic on the basis named will be made clear by a few details deduced from the facts just stated. If a train, averaging 52 cars, each carrying fifteen tons of wheat, were hauled from Chicago to New York, and if the charge on that grain were one and one-quarter mills, the charge per car for the 850 miles would be $15.94 and for the average train load of 52 cars the total charge would be $828.88. The total cost of transportation for one through train of 52 cars would be $596, and the net earnings on each through train loaded with grain would be $232.88, or 28 per cent.

The merchandise tonnage, westbound, would average about two to three tons of food products eastbound. The train west, therefore, would average about thirty-four cars loaded with eighteen empty. If the rate west on low-priced tonnage were fixed at the charge of two and a half mills, that traffic would pay satisfactorily. The earnings on each loaded car at two and a half mills would be about $30. On the thirty-four loaded cars the gross earnings would be $1,020. The cost for transporting the fifty-two cars west, including the eighteen empty cars, would be somewhat less than the cost eastbound. The difference, however, will not be noted in the estimate, but the same cost for transportation, viz., $596, will be adopted for the west haul. The gross earnings on thirty-four loaded cars west, as stated, would be $1,020; operating expenses, $596; net, $424, or about 43 per cent. High-class goods, such as silks, wines, etc., should bear a charge, on through trains, of from six to eight mills. Local business should bear a charge of from three to four mills, and all classes of tonnage should be carried at an average charge of $2\frac{75}{100}$ mills, as heretofore stated. Such results would be assured on a short, low-grade railroad, with fuel distributed on its line, as herein described. It is in this direction we must seek such economy on our commerce as will enable us to survive as a nation against the competition of the world.

It is worse than useless to talk to-day of ship canals as factors in the struggle before us. The cost for carrying wheat from Chicago to New York *via* the Lakes, transferring from vessels to canal at Buffalo, thence by canal and Hudson River to New York, including interest, insurance, etc., varies from five to six cents per bushel. This cost, however, it is essential to note, does not include expenditures of the United States government, nor of the State of New York, for construction, repairs, and operation of canals and public works necessary for keeping open channels and harbors, and it is this latter fact which renders it needless to hope for any practical decrease in cost of transportation by ship canals. A few details will make this clear.

The most enthusiastic ship canal advocate cannot claim that wheat and corn can be carried from Chicago to New York by canal at an actual cost of less than two and a half cents per bushel, including insurance, etc. If a ship canal be built through New York State with a depth of twenty-five feet of water, all harbors

and channels on the Great Lakes must be provided with the same depth of water. The interest charge on the enormous expenditures necessary to open and maintain such a waterway and harbors would aggregate, in addition to actual cost of transportation, not less than two and a half cents per bushel on grain, and a *pro rata* charge on all other tonnage traversing that route. The actual cost, therefore, on each bushel of grain, including transportation and interest on governmental expenditures, would be five cents and that cost must be met by the nation whether directly by a toll or indirectly by the interest paid by the government, and the waterway would be open only nine months annually.

By joint action, existing Trunk Line railroads can perfect such a railroad thoroughfare as herein described at the trifling cost of $7,000,000. If they will not do this an entirely new single-track railroad can be perfected from New York to Chicago for $25,000,000, and that railroad can be completed in eighteen months. A ship canal cannot be built through New York State in less than five years and at a cost of $500,000,000. In less than five years Russia can and will fatally cripple us commercially, for it must be apparent to those who observe the activity of that great power that our future commercial opponent is that Tartar Empire. We receive no profits whatever from Russia. The growth of that empire is directly in lines antagonistic to the United States. From the profits made from the products of our virgin soil, during the last twenty-five years, we accumulated capital which made resumption of specie payments possible, and enabled us to create our vast manufacturing plants. Russia is following the same policy that made us rich and powerful. British capital is crowding into Russia and Siberia, as it did for three decades past into the United States. The Cossack Giant is struggling for strength and growth, and will strangle us commercially if we do not awaken from our lethargy and face the danger threatening us.

We must make no mistake as to the actual industrial and financial situation in the United States. The decided shrinkage of values in this country began ten years ago, and has been precipitate during the past five years. The hard times and universal discontent caused the voters four years ago to rush to the Democratic party for relief. The result of that election was construed to mean that the people demanded Free Trade, when

actually what was demanded was better times. These did not ensue, and the pendulum swept with more terrific force to the Republican party, and we construed that to mean a demand for Protection. It is of vital importance we read the signs of the times aright.

We had a balance of trade in our favor at the close of 1896 greater than ever before in our history. Yet business prostration notoriously never has been more complete than during the year past, and is now almost as serious as at any previous time. Prices of all grain and farm products, except wheat, never have been less. A mercantile house with a million dollars capital at the opening of the year may do ten millions of business and at the close of the year its invoices may show a capital of $900,000. That is precisely the situation of the United States. Our vast business with the world during 1896 was conducted at a loss. Had it not been for the misfortunes of all the wheat-producing nations of the earth, other than the United States, we would have financial wrecks from one end of the land to the other. Even as it is, bankruptcies are and have been appalling, and all financial and commercial interests are in most serious straits.

If wheat in Liverpool shall average the price governing during the two years prior to 1896, a permanent reduction of eight or nine cents per bushel on cost of transporting that cereal by railroad from Chicago to New York City would control the grain markets of Europe. At the average prices named, India, with the millions of British money spent on irrigating works for developing the wheat fields of that country and expended in building State railroads for transporting grain, cannot compete for the wheat market of Europe, except at a loss, in three-quarters of its grain-producing territory. Argentina lost money in 1895 on all wheat exported, except from areas having access to ocean navigation. Australia was in worse condition than Argentina. All know the people of the United States for several years have not made any profits on cereals, and should the price of wheat, which is now phenomenally high, owing to the crop failures throughout the world, suddenly crash to the price of a year ago, as it unquestionably will with good crops in all wheat-raising countries, the agrarian movement against railroads in the United States will startle the financial world. The so-called Granger War of a dozen

years ago covered only the trans-Mississippi regions. The storm centre of the coming war will be Michigan, radiating thence to all the Middle Western States, with the Populists and Iconoclasts of the far West the most savage destroyers of accumulated wealth. The shrinkage of values in America to the level of those of Europe is as inevitable and resistless as the movements of the tides. But with wise and timely action we can, in a great measure, meet and render harmless that shrinkage.

If we carry wheat at three cents per bushel from Chicago to New York, we can place 100,000,000 bushels in Europe in excess of what we do to-day. That grain would bring more than $50,000,000 in gold to us annually. We could command the markets of Europe for meats, representing corn, oats, and forage consumed. These would bring us at least $50,000,000 additional gold. Other agricultural products, such as cotton, etc., would earn us at least $50,000,000 anuually. If we make such reforms in cost of railroad transportation, as suggested, we can increase our exports of machinery and steel products to South America and other countries beyond belief, enabling us to take a commanding position as a commercial people among the empires of the world.

Instead of a ship canal from New York City to Buffalo, or any other like expedient, it must be manifest that our safety as a nation lies in improving our railroad system and especially must we have a low grade railroad from the far West to the Atlantic seaboard. Such a railroad would serve the great Northwest as no ship canal could. With such a thoroughfare in operation, steamers and barges could carry grain and other tonnage from Duluth to Cleveland, where modern appliances should be erected to transfer the traffic to elevators and warehouses. Railroads now in operation, or a new one, could make connection from Cleveland, with the low-grade railroad to New York City. Then would cheap transportion in connection with the Great Lakes be possible and at a nominal cost for construction.

The lowest cost of carrying grain from Duluth to Buffalo is about $1\frac{40}{100}$ cents per bushel. The average cost at Buffalo, with antiquated facilities for elevating, storing, and trimming grain transferred to canal-boats, is $1\frac{15}{100}$ cents per bushel. Modern appliances at Cleveland would insure the transfer of grain from vessels to cars for less than one cent per bushel, but that cost will be adopted for the purpose of comparison. The grain rate

from Duluth to Cleveland can be made $1\frac{30}{100}$ cents per bushel against $1\frac{40}{100}$ cents to Buffalo. Grain can be hauled from Cleveland to New York for two cents per bushel on the railroad described, as against three cents from Chicago to New York. The total cost per bushel for transportation, transferring, etc., from Duluth via Cleveland to New York would be $4\frac{30}{100}$ cents. No ship canal can carry traffic between these points for that sum. Indeed, it would be much more, including actual cost of transportation and *pro rata* of government expenditures, for opening and maintaining a waterway as herein explained. The route proposed *via* Cleveland would place Duluth and the Great Northwest directly in communication with the iron, coal, and coke business of Ohio and Pennsylvania, which would be of infinitely more value to that territory than would be any advantages accruing from the creation of any ship canal devised by the genius of man.

As the managers of our great railroad system had practical illustration of the tremendous results accruing from the perfection of such a low-grade railroad as herein described, they would make every effort systematically to reduce the grades on their main lines, thus reducing the cost of operation, with far-reaching and advantageous results to the commerce of the nation.

Two illustrations will be given of what could be done in this direction.

The great Southern Railway system reaches almost every portion of the South from Washington and Norfolk. That system has in all over 4,500 miles of railroad. Its main line from Washington to Birmingham is 800 miles long. That corporation represents over $150,000,000 cash value of railroad property. The main line of that railroad is the aggregation of several railroads built at an early day, without regard to systematic adjustment of gradients or alignment. With the comparatively insignificant sum of $4,000,000 the 800 miles of main line could be so improved by cutting down grades at various points that heavy trains could be hauled continuously over its entire length, insuring a reduction of at least twenty-five per cent. in operating expenses. There is not another great railroad system in this country where so small an outlay would result in such enormous savings in cost of operation, with accompanying prosperity alike to the entire cotton regions and to the Southern Railway Company.

The Central Pacific Railway is the key to the development of the vast Central West and of the Pacific slope. That railroad crosses the Sierra Nevada Mountains, theoretically with a 116-foot grade against the eastbound tonnage from California, but the grade actually for several miles is 125 feet per mile. East of the Sierras that railroad is physically in condition to be operated at remarkably low cost except for a short distance near the eastern terminus. That railroad represents an investment, National and private, including principal and interest, of over $100,000,000. With an expenditure of only $8,000,000 that railroad could cross the great Sierra barrier to commerce with a maximum grade of only 75 feet per mile, and also could greatly reduce the grades immediately west of Ogden. That expenditure of $8,000,000 would radically reduce the cost of operation for trainmen, for motive power and for permanent way on that railroad. Other vitally important changes in administering that potent agency for serving the people should be instituted, which, in addition to the cutting down of the grades, would reduce the cost of operating the Central Pacific Railway fully thirty-three per cent. This statement is not lightly made. A year or more has been spent by the writer in California and in other far Western States studying this important problem, and it is certain these results can be assured on that railroad. The effects such improvements on the Central Pacific Railway would have on transcontinental commerce must be obvious to all. Not only California, Nevada, Utah, and other Western States would be rehabilitated financially, industrially, and commercially by action in the direction named, but, what does not appear to be understood and appreciated, not a section of the United States from Maine to the Gulf would fail to feel the tingle of reviving circulation through the arteries of trade.

It will require no argument to convince capitalists who had money invested in the great railroad system west of Chicago and St. Louis that had they, five years ago, perfected a railroad thoroughfare from Chicago to New York City, upon which grain could have been carried for three cents a bushel and other agricultural products at a *pro rata* cost, the $500,000,000 of capital wiped out by reorganizations of bankrupt roads could have been saved from destruction. The Trunk Line Railroads, by united action, could have done that five years ago for an ex-

penditure of $7,000,000. They can to-day, for that sum, prevent the further shrinkage, within five or six years, not only of railroad but of all values, which will amount to more than $1,000,000,000 unless immediate action be taken in the direction suggested. Shall we have the foresight to see what is impending, or must we learn by lapse of time that values are shrinking throughout the world and the destruction of accrued wealth sweeping over the earth can only be averted in America by improved appliances for carrying commerce?

From what is herein presented for consideration, the conclusion must be irresistible that the phenomenal growth of the United States in population and wealth has been made possible solely by the creation of our great railroad system, and especially is this true of the empire west of the Mississippi River. Without that railroad system our 70,000,000 of people would not exist. Without that system in healthful and vigorous activity we will cease to be a prosperous, powerful, and contented people.

The nations of the world—Christian and Pagan—are ceaseless in effort to secure supremacy in commerce, wealth, and power. It is time we devote our energies to enlightened effort to develop and strengthen the railroad arteries of our country. Thus can we best defend our common interests against the commercial aggressions of Europe and of Asia.

J. A. LATCHA.

THE MODERN GREEK AS A FIGHTING MAN.

BY PROF. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

No motive appeals more strongly to the modern Greek than the desire to be worthy of those he believes to be his ancestors. He is morally convinced that he is lineally descended from the men who made the Greece of old the mother land of art, eloquence, letters, civics, philosophic thought, and human liberty. With intellectual conviction on the subject he refuses to deal. For him to engage in argument about it would be a form of treason; for an alien it would be little less than insult. His conviction has passed into the realms of faith. He no longer walks by sight nor gropes by the tallow-dips of history or ethnology.

All the traditions of a glorious past are moulded into the fabric of his little state. He believes that the re-establishment of Greece as a nation is due to the fact that Old Greece vindicated for itself a right to exist. The *raison d'être* of the new state is found in fulfilling the virtues of the old. His impatient disgust at the "Erasmian pronunciation," and his insistence that ancient Greek should be pronounced like modern is based not on practical or philological, but on political considerations. The new life and its language, as well as the new state, is a reimbodiment of the old.

The bravery of the heroes of Marathon is appealed to as a military ideal, the dignity of the old orators is made a perpetual rebuke to the politicians, Corinna and Sappho are utilized to decoy the university student into love for co-education, and the Marathon runner must win to show that the Greeks of to-day can do the old things in the old way. All these are to them more than mere nobilities of the historic page; they constitute a valid, real, and vividly present *noblesse oblige*.

It is not easy to overestimate the influence which their devotion

to everything linking them to their greater past may exercise over them. Among all these ties their Church is the institution most immediately and demonstrably involved. All through the dark centuries when there was no Greece, the Church maintained its existence as the sole witness, as the sole institutional embodiment of Greek nationality. It was the Church that raised the standard of revolt against Turkey, and it was around her that the elements of the new nationality were gathered and united. Hence the Church is of one substance with the State. Disloyalty to her is treason to the State. Religiosity does not abound, but patriotism does, and hence the Greek is stubbornly loyal to the Church, though her teachings are practically of slight importance to him. I once heard a prominent Greek declaiming against Christianity and its doctrines, an alien cult which had come in to displace the beautiful religion of his forefathers; but in the next breath he declared he would give his life for the Greek Church. "That is another thing; that is our nationality."

All the results, therefore, which could be expected to flow from the consciousness of sonship and inheritance, so far as the Greek's own belief is concerned, are abundantly present. Is he really in flesh and blood an heir? There can be no doubt that the present population of Greece represents a mixture of blood. In some of the mountain districts and in some of the towns pure Greek blood undoubtedly still exists, but extensive incursions of Slavs, particularly in the eighth century, established a considerable Slavic population in the central plains of the Peloponnesus, and the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries brought in large bodies of Albanians. These latter have not yet been entirely assimilated in language or type. The Greek blood, Greek usages, and the Greek habit of mind, like the Greek tongue, have, however, entirely predominated. There has been an ample refreshing of the blood, but the resultant remains substantially Greek. Late comers, as the Albanians were, they still came early enough to share, and nobly share, the revolution with the rest, and prejudice of race is lost in common participation in the work of founding the state. The Greeks of to-day are in every sense far more completely Greek than the Americans of the United States are English.

In raising a query concerning the probable fighting qualities

of the modern Greeks, every one must have in mind the reputed prowess of their ancient namesakes. Can they match that? Can they approach it? After what has been said, it is reasonable to expect that they will be ambitious to try. Indeed, if one estimated correctly the military qualities of the old Greeks, and carefully considered all the facts of their quite variegated military record, he would not probably go far astray in using his conclusions as a basis of calculation for what the modern Greeks are likely to do, especially if he did not correct too much for difference of time and conditions. The ancient Greeks were by no means all fond of war or good fighting men. The Spartans were rugged fighters, and susceptible of superior discipline. The stolid, realistic Bœotians, "the Dutchmen of Greece," fitted well into Epaminondas' solid phalanxes. The Arcadians and Achæans were famous professionals, and from the fourth century (B. C.) on furnished the largest contingent to the mercenary bands which constituted the best troops of various states, including Persia. But the Athenians among others greatly preferred to have their fighting done for them. After the fifth century one never hears of an Athenian army made up exclusively of Athenians. In the middle of the next century we hear Demosthenes modestly pleading for the employment in a certain expedition of citizen soldiery in the proportion of one to four. And even these were to go in order to "watch the officers." War was getting to be beneath the dignity of these city-bred men of culture, or else it was too disturbing an intrusion upon the larger interests of commercial life. Urban life and mercantile interests played havoc with the old romantics of war-making. It was willingly left to the unsophisticated mountaineers and country-folk, who still retained a *penchant* for the traditional sport.

War was always among the Greeks themselves essentially a form of sport. It was what is called a rough game, and involved some element of personal danger, but after all only enough to make it interesting. It generally involved an agreeable summer excursion into an adjoining country, with the attendant delights of picnicking and roughing it, and the thrilling chance of winning or losing. One army never sought to exterminate another, and rarely was a defeated army pursued for any considerable distance. A battle was a game which by well-established rules was

recognized as won when the opponent sought the privilege of burying his dead.

The average man among the modern Greeks is a veritable child in his fondness for sport, for adventure, for everything which involves hazard and chance. For solid monotonous plodding work he has little sense. The carrying out in orderly, mechanical fashion of a systematically devised plan which shall have its regularly assigned stints of labor, and shall bring with machine-like exactness its slow but certain results, affords him little delight. He has marvellously little mechanical sense or taste, and does not wish to be a machine himself or part of a machine. Among the peoples of Europe he has least in common with the German.

If he engages in a mercantile pursuit, he persists in making it a game. If he is a shopkeeper he cannot tolerate the one-price system. That is entirely too monotonous and prosaic a method of procedure, quite unworthy the interest of a man who has the sport instinct of a gentleman. Any ordinary person can conduct a business which consists merely in reporting the price written on a tag, and making change. The consummation of every trade involves a duel of wits, a certain amount of conversation, and a decided element of uncertainty as to the issue. All this is lost if the price is "marked in plain figures." There is no fun in it. It is the difference between going in a rowboat and a sail-boat.

If you take time enough, and argue well, you may often induce a Greek to sell for really less than he ought to, but he will bear no grudge against you for it. As his good cheer will show the next time you visit his shop, he admires you all the more, for he is convinced you play the game well. If you paid his price, he would quietly despise you.

As long as war presents some reasonable element of sport, a chance of winning, fair opportunity for exercise of the wits, features of surprise and of shifting interest, the Greek will stay by and be an admirable soldier, but any application of the one-price system—the mechanical routine of drill, the monotonous life of the camp, the mechanism of march and retreat—will set his war-fervor sorely to the test. He wants movement, *élan*, a chance for the exercise of his wits, an opportunity for a throw of dice.

Let the Turkish army undertake to enter Thessaly through the devious passes, then the best talents of the Greek soldier will show themselves. Scattered over the craggy mountain sides, where each man can play his own game, they will prove like the Klephthic soldiery of the Revolution, famous guerillas, and peers of the "embattled farmers."

Aversion to mechanical discipline shows itself in the drill of the Greek troops, as would be naturally expected from all that we know of them outside the army. As a people they always create the impression of disorderliness. Men who walk together on the street do not keep step. A Greek funeral procession presents to our eyes a most disorderly and individualistic appearance. The people who compose it go on foot, and each one seems to be strolling along on his own account. On arriving at the grave there is likely to be no fixed order of procedure. If there is, people do not conform to it. Everyone does what seems to him good. Absence of previous plan and of sense for order are apparent on every hand. If there occur a halt in the proceedings, through any uncertainty or lack of preparation, a debate may ensue. Three out of four of the bearers will prove to be orators. There is no one person in authority. Five or six different ones are giving orders or making suggestions at the same time. The same popular trait shows itself wherever masses of people are assembled. Any single man is a potential marshal and master of ceremonies and may develop into such without warning. All this represents a deep-seated national characteristic and one that renders the application of strict military discipline in the form known to the armies of the north extremely difficult.

Herein lies the chief ground for apprehension regarding the fitness of the Greek to meet the demands of modern methods of warfare. A German battalion is a firmly compacted machine in which the individual has lost the sense of autonomy. Panic cannot resolve it into its constituent elements, because steady discipline and persistent drill have made machine action a second nature. In the moment of emergency a Greek battalion is liable to become *ex uno plures*.

The discipline of the army has, in recent years, steadily improved. It is coming to be a regular institution. Up to 1892 it was steadily increased. In 1877 the regular army numbered

12,500; in 1892, 28,000. After that, owing to the financial difficulties, it declined to about 22,000. The discipline and *morale* of the officers, as well as the public order, has been in the last years greatly benefited by the establishment of the military police system, which places all the police bureaus of the country in the hands of officers of the regular army.

The impulsiveness and excitability of the Greeks finds a fortunate balance-wheel in the coolness and caution which characterize the King and his family. They have often been severely criticised by their people as indifferent, sluggish, as lacking in enthusiasm and ambition, and even in interest for the country and its well-being. They are Northmen. These warm-blooded, emotional men of the South cannot understand the stoical manner in which the Northman is wont to enwrap his firmest resolution and deepest feeling. The King is a man of keen sagacity, and calmly practical. He has been wise enough, recognizing the temper of his people and their inherited envy of obtrusive greatness, to keep himself much in the background, and to allow others to carry out his ideas. But the King governs, and it is good fortune for the country just now that he does. The Crown Prince particularly, by his quietness and even diffidence of demeanor, his conservatism of judgment, his firmness and orderliness in execution, stands in marked contrast to those he is now called upon to command.

It was an old saying of the other Greeks that the Athenian rowed well when coming into the harbor,—'Αττικὸς εἰς λιμένα—a suggestion of "playing to the galleries," as well as of aversion to drudgery, and it is likely that the modern Greek will on occasion show himself in this regard soundly Attic. The brilliant stroke which the "irregulars" of the National League have just made in crossing the frontier, seizing Baltino and menacing the line of connection between the Turkish positions in Janina and Elassona, is thoroughly characteristic. It may prove a permanent success. The Turk has to deal certainly with an opponent far more alert and quick-witted than himself.

The Greek is no doubt lacking in adaptation to the finer tactical discipline, is impulsive, unduly excitable, distinguished by dash rather than good staying powers, and somewhat given to bluster and vanity, but no one who has read the story of the Greek revolution can deny him the right to be called a fighter,

and a brisk, brave, savage fighter. For seven years (1821–28) in the feebleness of disorganization and poverty he maintained a persistent and finally successful struggle against his Turkish oppressor, then immeasurably stronger than to-day, provided with a relatively strong navy, and entrenched in the original possession of the land.

When he faces the Turk, he faces his natural, his hereditary, foe. It is the old warfare of the Greek against the barbarian. It is an antipathy grounded in antitheses of character, of usages, of history, and of religion. The blood of the massacres of Chios and Constantinople, three centuries of bitterest slavery, call for revenge. But more is involved than memories of wrongs, traditional hatred, or present antipathy. The wholesale massacres of the Armenians have been a fearful warning. This people, thanks to the Powers who held the murderer's clothes, is now well advanced toward extermination. The turn comes next to the Greeks, four millions of whom, twice the population of Greece proper, live on Turkish soil. It is the policy of the Turk hereafter to "be in the unity." He has found the recipe; it is to kill the dissenters. The uprising of the Greeks is not in the interest of territorial extensions. This little race, a remnant left among the nations, sore pressed, menaced with extermination, has risen to assert that last supreme right of men and of peoples —the right to exist.

What the issue of the war, if it comes, will be, no one can foresee, but that the Greek soldier will prove himself worthy of his name, I am assured. The cause is one to call out all his native alertness, craft, and bravery. The equipment and resources of his army may be meagre, judged by the standards of northern armies, but he is used to meagre things. "Greece and poverty," as an ancient writer said, "grew up together." The average Greek can subsist a month upon what an Englishman would require for a week. Privation, exposure, marching, and climbing he can bear far better than the ordinary European soldier. But, best of all, his heart is in his cause, and patriotism such as these Greeks have we know little about.

The Turk proved himself in the Turko-Russian war a stubborn fighter. His ignorance includes ignorance of danger, and his fatalism makes him a stolid wall in defence. The Turkish army has had the advantage of drill and organization under Ger-

man officers, and in numbers and equipment is as a war-machine far superior undoubtedly to the Greek. On the sea the Greeks are relatively better equipped. They have three nearly new armored ships of about 5,000 tons each, and two others of about 2,000 tons, besides some twenty unarmored vessels, and forty excellent torpedo-boats.

In the result of the war much will depend upon the action of the Greek populations in Epirus and Macedonia. Should they rise in revolt, when war is declared, the Turks will find themselves in the midst of the enemy, menaced at front and rear. Peculiarly serious would be their position in Epirus, which, except for the sea route around the Peloponnesus, has no connection with the rest of Turkey except through the passes of the Pindus, and that route is already threatened by the "irregulars."

Should the Turks undertake to invade Greece they will find the mountains hard to pass, and even once in Thessaly, they will find Greece, as some one has expressed it, "a land built in water-tight compartments." Admission to every plain will have to be purchased at a mountain pass, and purchased at a high price.

BENJ. IDE WHEELER.

SECRET SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

BY W. S. HARWOOD.

THE membership of the secret fraternal orders of the United States in the month of December, 1896, was, in round numbers, 5,400,000. Taking the adult male population of the nation at the present time to be nineteen millions, and allowing that some men belong to more than one order, it will be seen that, broadly speaking, every fifth, or possibly every eighth, man you meet is identified with some fraternal organization, for the preservation of whose secrets he has given a solemn oath, a pledge more binding in its nature than perhaps any other known among men. In this vast number have not been included the many thousands who are members of the various labor organizations, though they, to a greater or lesser extent, are knit together by secret threads; nor about 500,000 members of the secret military orders, as the G. A. R.; nor has any account been taken of the many other thousands who are identified with the fraternities of the colleges.

Perhaps even more significant than the fact that there are so many millions of oath-bound men in the United States is the further fact that auxiliary to and a part of these orders are military branches, having at the present time about two hundred and fifty thousand members in the prime of life, who are trained in military tactics and who know the sword and musket manual as well as does the cleverest "regular," many of them thoroughly informed as to the history, the present needs, and the possibilities of military life.

Some of these organizations are of quite recent date. Indeed, since the closing of the War of the Rebellion there has been a remarkable increase in their number in this country. And in the last two decades, especially, there has been a strong growth. The beneficiary nature of some of the orders, combined with the

secret work and the fraternal element, has no doubt attracted many men to seek entrance.

It is far beyond reasonable computation to attempt to indicate the amount of money given by these fraternal orders in a single year in aid of their members. Many of the benefactions do not come into consideration in the making up of reports, and many are the result of purely fraternal generosity. Some idea, perhaps, may be gleaned from the formally announced amount which is given every year in benefits of one kind and another—money paid for caring for the sick, burying the dead, supporting the widows and orphans of deceased members, and in sums paid out to the widows of deceased members in the form of insurance.

These amounts range in size from ten to twenty thousands of dollars per annum, to seven million five hundred thousand for a single organization. Many of the organizations pay out over a million dollars per year in this way While it is difficult to arrive at positive figures as to the amount which has been paid out by the fraternal orders in the United States since their establishment, yet, allowing for the amount pai out in the year 1896 and not included in the annual reports of the grand secretaries of the various bodies, the enormous total of $475,000,000 has been given by these organizations in beneficences. It should be stated, also, that this is exclusive of the three larger orders, the Masonic, the Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias. As nearly as can be computed these three orders have paid out in the same line one hundred and seventy-six millions more, making all told the vast sum of nearly six hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

A tabular statement follows, but it should be clearly understood that the amount of money recorded as paid out in benevolences by the various orders does not include the private monetary gifts of the members. Did it include these private beneficences the sum must be immensely augmented. It is impossible to ascertain the amount which is given in this personal manner, for the significant reason that it is all given for the aid of those who would scorn such aid were the fact made public that they were to be made the recipients of it. In the period between the years 1892–93, and the close of the year 1896, many men holding responsible positions were compelled to relinquish these positions because of the prevailing hard times, and during this period thousands, indeed, tens of thousands, of dollars have

been given by fellow-craftsmen to such of these unfortunates as were members of secret orders. It was not money given in charity, it was not a premium on mendicancy; it was not alms: it was the visible token of the greatheartedness which is one of the vital elements in fraternal life.

Take, for instance, one body, the Masonic, which may be considered typical of all. In connection with each lodge there is a relief committee whose duties are done with delicacy, whose acts are performed in tender and sympathetic secrecy. These committees ascertain the needs of those members who are facing hard fortune, aid them with money, with clothing, with provisions; or, if possible, secure positions for future bread-winning. No record is kept in any form for the public eye of these private beneficences. Indeed, in some cases, not even the names of the members of the committee itself are known to the other members of the lodge to which they belong.

So in all these orders there are like acts. The sum which the members of the fraternal orders give to such of their members as are in need would amount to several millions of dollars per year, were only one dollar *per capita* given; it is undoubtedly largely in excess of such an amount. There are large and well-equipped homes for orphans of deceased members, too, and for aged and indigent members, for which many thousands of dollars are expended annually.

The figures hereinafter given were secured by the writer in the month of December, 1896. In some instances the general secretaries of the organizations—from whom, in the main, the *data* were secured—estimated the membership and the revenue for several months past, dating from the annual meeting of the orders held in the summer or spring of 1896. The close contact of these officers with the subordinate lodges, the frequency of reports from the lodges and the intimate relationship between the general secretaries and the subordinate lodges give the general officers unusual avenues of information and make the figures practically complete to the month of January, 1897. It should be stated that, as there is no general grand lodge of the Masonic order, and as no reports are made from the lodges to any superior body, the amount of money contributed in public beneficences by this order has been in some measure estimated from the best general information obtainable.

Here is the table itself :

Name of order.	Membership.	Amount paid in beneficences.
Masonic	750,000	$90,000,000
Odd Fellows	810,000	74,600,000
Knights of Pythias	475,000	10,362,000
Ancient Order United Workmen	361,301	71,729,180
Royal Arcanum	189,161	38,206 422
Modern Woodmen of America	204,332	7,299,985
Knights and Ladies of Honor	85,000	12,000,000
United American Mechanics	56,000	3,000,000
Catholic Knights of America	26,000	7,007,133
Order United Friends	15,000	4,931,700
Benevolent Protective Order Elks	32,500	500,000
Equitable Aid Union	16,610	7,742,748
United Order Pilgrim Fathers	22,000	2,321,030
National Provident Union	6,300	1,293,450
Improved Order Red Men	165,000	14,200,000
Ancient Order Foresters	36,825	80,000,000
Royal Templars	16,800	4 573,025
Tribe of Ben Hur	11,294	49,250
Catholic Benevolent Union	45,250	7,031,481
Knights of the Maccabees	244,704	7,233,930
American Legion of Honor	52,100	33,672,676
Order Scottish Clans	4,000	575,000
National Union	47,791	7,539,948
Knights of the Golden Eagle	60,000	1,811,186
Ancient Order of Hibernians	98,000	*681,928
Order B'rith Abraham	11,785	1,121,500
Improved Order Heptasophs	31,118	2,114,000
B'nai B'rith, Improved	2,700	132,550
B'nai B'rith, Independent	34,925	43,175,000
Catholic Mutual Benefit Association	41,800	6,600,000
Order Chosen Friends	29,413	11,617,000
Ancient Order Druids	16,500	3,806,697
Foresters of America	140,575	4,795,291
Independent Order Foresters	110,000	4,070,000
Order Golden Chain	11,550	2,228,221
Royal Society Good Fellows	13,164	3,124,154
Home Circle	8,140	1,650,000
Independent Order Free Sons Israel	14,300	4,860,900
Irish Catholic Benevolent Union	16 500	2,750.000
Knights of Honor	118,287	62,009,200
Knights of Malta	17.600	.....
Fraternal Mystic Circle	11,423	952.091
Knights of St. John and Malta	5,350	237,420
New England Order Protection	23,186	1,336,000
Independent Order Rechabites	3,520	.....
Woodmen of the World	76,962	1,370,107
United Order of Odd Fellows (colored)	130,350	†238,783
United American Mechanics, Junior Order	187,000	2,725,485
Order Sons of St. George	34,108	.....
Masonic (colored)	224,000	.....
Sons of Temperance	25,474	.....
Independent Order Good Templars	281,600	.....
	5,454,329	$649,082,471

* For last two years only. † For one year only.

Of course the table does not include anything of the expenditures of the orders for room rent, for uniforms, for banquets, for regalia, for lodge-room furnishings. There are about seventy thousand lodges in the United States, and, allowing them an average of fifty dollars per month for lodge-room rent—a low estimate, as many of the orders have expensive suites of rooms in great city buildings costing thousands of dollars in rental per annum—allowing but fifty dollars per month as the average throughout the towns and cities of the country, it will be seen that there is spent annually the sum of forty-two millions of dollars for the bare rental of lodge-rooms. The furnishings and decorations of some of the lodges are rare and costly. Many splendid buildings have been erected for lodge uses primarily, and much money is invested by the orders in property of various kinds.

But while these secret orders are a vast power for good in giving aid and comfort to their members, in caring for the sick and ministering to the distressed in mind, body, and estate; while they give vast sums in beneficence and afford wide opportunity for developing the social side of their members, yet they are not an unmixed blessing to the race. The newspaper paragraphers have a sound basis in fact for their threadbare joke about the man who cannot find his latch-key hole when he reaches home after the lodge banquet.

This is not the place to discuss the temperance question or to dwell upon the evils of inebriety, but one should note in a consideration of the vast influence of these fraternal organizations the inimical possibilities of conviviality.

Yet another danger must be considered in estimating the influence of secret societies. One does not trifle with truth in saying that no human gauge can measure the sorrow that comes to some families through the too close attention of husband and father to the lodge-room. There is a strange and powerful attraction for some men in the mysticism of the ritual. There is a peculiar fascination in the unreality of the initiation, an allurement about fine "team" work, a charm of deep potency in the unrestricted, out-of-the-world atmosphere which surrounds the scenes where men are knit together by the closest ties, bound by the most solemn obligations to maintain secrecy as to the events which transpire within their walls.

In the business life of the land instances are not wanting where men have become so infatuated with their secret society work that they have sacrificed position and even financial standing that they might satisfy their craving for greater knowledge of the secret workings of many of the leading organizations. In the commonplace vernacular of the lodge devotees, these were "jiners"—men found in every community who are more eager to be initiated into some new order than to be strengthened in business standing. I think it will not be denied by any fair-minded and conservative member of these organizations that a very large number, throughout the whole United States, suffer in pocket, and not infrequently in business position, in gratifying their desire to belong to, and take all the degrees in, all the secret societies that appeal to their love for novelty and mystery.

There are many elevating and ennobling elements in these fraternities, but the broad, rich acres of man's selfishness are nowhere more carefully fertilized, tended, tilled, and reaped than in the lodge-room. It would all but revolutionize a large section of American Society if the wives and growing-up daughters of the households of the men who belong to these organizations should insist on their right to spend for their own adornment or their own personal pleasure dollar for dollar spent by husband or brother for dues and initiations, for regalia and uniforms and swords, for plumes and banners and banquets. In the great majority of cases the amount of money paid out for the actual expenses of the lodge, as the dues of the order, is not great; it is in the field of personal gratification that the vast unaccounted-for sum is expended. It is probable that, for mere personal gratification, aside from any real or imaginary benefits, the members of the various secret organizations in the United States will spend annually in banquets, railroad and travelling expenses, costly gifts to retiring officers, testimonials, elaborate uniforms, and rare swords not less than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and this is allowing but fifty dollars a year as an average for the delightful, but probably wholly unnecessary, expenses connected with the fraternities. It is quite likely the sum is considerably more than this.

But the importance of these fraternal organizations and their tremendous power for good must not be overlooked if we would arrive at a just appreciation of their significance. So numerous,

so powerful, have these orders become, that these closing years of the century might well be called the Golden Age of fraternity. So strong has their hold become upon so many millions of people that the occasions have not been infrequent where other ministers than the priests of the Church of Rome have inveighed against the lodge, and sought to show its pernicious activity in tearing down what the church would build up, or, to put it more mildly, they have protested against the usurping influence of the lodge, its tendency to induce men to accept it as their church, and to make its standards and forms and laws their guide of right conduct.

While the secret society has its peculiar dangers it has great elements of good. Its influence in making thoughtless men reverential, in increasing respect for government by law; its influence in maintaining and promoting allegiance to country, these are important elements of its service. While men with evil tendencies and deformed moral natures are known to be members of fraternal orders, and while, when so known, they are not always as promptly removed as might be wished, yet I think it is but fair to say that cases are exceedingly rare in reputable organizations where men of known badness are admitted. Indeed, one of the greatest powers of the secret fraternal orders of the present day is found in the element of selection. No other organization in the immediate hands of man, and unidentified with religion, so universally sets so high a standard of sobriety, integrity, and honesty; none other, when a seeker for admission appears, so sharply scrutinizes his past, so searchingly investigates his present. The prime essential in all secret organizations of this character is that the initiate shall be a manly man; after that a companionable man.

Nor should it be lost sight of that there is a demand upon these millions of oath-bound men in our land, whom we meet at every turn in the street, who touch elbows with us in business and in society, many of whom are leaders in the laity life of the church, and who are increasingly numerous in the ministerial ranks of the churches, it should not be forgotten that there is a most imperative demand upon the consciences of these men—the acknowledgment of a Supreme Being as ruler over all. To this should be added a rarely lacking, positive, unequivocal, and constant reverence for the Scriptures. Not that any test of re-

ligious belief is exacted, but I think it will be fair both to those who are inside and those who are outside of these organizations to say that the Bible, taken as the most sacred book of the Christian nations, is a work to which peculiar reverence is always given in fraternal organizations. No other organization of men in the world, with the single exception of the church, so universally, so consistently, and so insistently demands that recognition of divine authority which is at once the test and the evidence of the highest type of life.

It may be urged that the hidden power of the fraternal orders is used at times to influence the course of elections; that men who are members of these organizations band themselves too closely together even outside of their society; that they seek to aid a brother before one not bound by the same oath. While we may make some allowance for weaknesses in this regard upon the part of some, I do not think it follows that, because a man is a member of one of these organizations, he stands ready to stultify himself when he enters the polling booth or when he comes into social or commercial contact with those who are not members of his organization.

It is perhaps quite within bounds to say that these orders are increasing in membership in the United States at the rate of between two hundred and fifty and three hundred thousand members annually. Possibly the vast increase during the last twenty-five years may have been an abnormal one, but the indications all point to a constant augmentation of this enormous secret power. Perhaps in no other country in the world could these orders thrive so constantly and at the same time be so free from any suggestion of national censure. If all their secrets were paraded before the eyes of the world, we should find none directed against the best interests of our country.

W. S. HARWOOD.

A CONSTITUTIONAL MISFIT.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

AMONG the things which strike a foreign observer of American politics as being among the probable causes of the present troubles, financial and legislative, is the absence of a Parliamentary leadership of party, such as they have in England. The place of the Parliamentary leader of party is here taken, in great measure, by the Boss.

Anglophobia reached its acme and assumed its most grotesque form when a ponderous book was written to prove that American institutions were in their origin not British but Dutch, and had been imported from Holland in the "Mayflower." Of this paradox no proof from institutional peculiarities or political nomenclature was adduced. The only argument was that a nation so barbarous as the England of Burleigh, Walsingham, Sydney, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Hooker could not possibly have been in possession of civilized institutions. A stranger hypothesis it would surely not have been easy to invent than this, that a company of pious peasants in religious exile, with their thoughts absorbed by their spiritual concerns, should have studied the institutions of an alien country, from the social influences of which they seem to have shrunk, with a view of substituting them for their own. That these people clung to their British allegiance the "Mayflower" manifesto shows. Besides, the "Mayflower" Colony had little to do with the political organization of New England; it was absorbed politically in the Massachusetts Colony which came direct from England under the leadership of an English gentleman.

Over one of the cases of the name of a Greek god there is an anomalous accent which formerly puzzled philologists. At last the same accent was found over the same case of the Sanscrit

name of the corresponding Hindoo divinity. Here was a small but conclusive proof of the connection between the two mythologies. In the American House of Representatives the Chairman, who does not speak, is called the Speaker. So is the Chairman of the English House of Commons, whose original duty it was to speak for the Commons to the Crown.

The Revolutionary fathers would naturally not care to say much about England. But they followed the lines of the British Constitution, substituting, as Republican principles required, for the hereditary King, an elective President, for the hereditary House of Lords an elective, though a comparatively conservative, Senate. They did not see—Blackstone and the constitutional jurists of England did not tell them, the British themselves, even the British politicians were but half aware—that the Constitution had undergone a radical though tacit and informal change; that power instead of being divided among King, Lords, and Commons, had centered in the Commons; that the Crown had been stripped of prerogative and retained nothing but influence; that the House of Lords was no longer a collateral branch of the Legislature, though the Lords still exercised great power through their broad acres, their pocket boroughs, and their control over the county elections. That such was the case, however, had been practically decided when Sir Robert Walpole, the trusted minister and favorite of the Crown, had been compelled to resign office on ceasing to command a majority in the Commons. Thenceforth the government of the country was the political party which was dominant in the House of Commons. The recognized leader of that party chose the Cabinet, and at the same time led the House of Commons either in person or, if he happened himself to be in the House of Lords, through his lieutenant, thus keeping the legislature in harmony with the executive. He and his Cabinet initiated and controlled legislation, managed the finances, regulated the expenditure and determined the taxation, conducted the foreign policy, appointed the judiciary, disposed of all the patronage and answered for the whole administration personally on the floor of the House to the sovereign assembly of representatives of the people. Hamilton, perhaps, had an inkling of the real state of the case when he recognized in patronage—corruption as he called it—a necessary instrument of gov-

ernment. But Washington and all the rest looked upon party not as the regular government, but as a passing disease. In excluding from Congress the heads of the departments of State, they were probably paying a tribute to the purism which had prompted the British Place Bills as well as swayed by the theories of Montesquieu, greater as a prose writer than as a political philosopher, respecting the separation of the executive from the legislative power. "Cabinet" is a term of party government. Washington would not have called the heads of departments a cabinet or recognized them as bearing that character.

Party, however, instead of proving a transient disease, as Washington hoped, had come to stay. It is now the real government of the United States as well as of other countries under the representative system. The British Constitution, as it really was, fitted party government, which had been developed under it. The British Constitution, as it was supposed to be, and in the version in which it was reproduced by the American Constitution-builders, is for party government a misfit.

In England each party has its recognized leaders, who, when it is in power, form the Cabinet; when it is out of power are still its leaders, conserve its principles, regulate its action, and, as the chiefs of Her Majesty's Opposition, with return to office always in view, are hardly less under a sense of responsibility to Parliament and the country than Her Majesty's Ministers. But party in the United States has no such leadership. The President, even if he is a man qualified to lead, not a mere availability, is lifted as the head of the nation out of constitutional connection with his party, the action of which he can control, if at all, only by back-stairs influence. Men of distinction of course there are in both parties, but they are not recognized or responsible leaders; they do not authoritatively shape and control the policy; there are no headquarters like the Carlton and Reform clubs, where the party chiefs are to be found, and are consulted at any crisis by their following. Somebody, however, there must be to keep the organization on foot and to operate the party machine. The Boss becomes a melancholy necessity. There is little sense in reviling him; unspeakable he may be, but he is also indispensable. The Independents—Mugwumps, as the scoffers call them—are eloquent in their denunciation of the Boss. But suppose, instead of being a flying squadron of critics, they were a party

struggling for power and place, how do they think their game could be carried on? That capacity for leadership is not wanting, the marshalling of forces in the different States for such a struggle as the last Presidential election satisfactorily shows. But the status of a permanent and Parliamentary leader is wanting, and the party system of government, questionable enough at best, suffers manifestly in its working by the defect.

In the Legislature no one in particular has legislation in charge; there is no one to initiate it with authority and control its course. The consequence, apparently, is much legislative confusion. Just now we see the railroad arrangements of the country in danger of being thrown out of gear and all railroad property imperilled by a legislative slip, into which it would be hardly possible that a parliamentary leader in England, with the government draftsman at his side, should have been betrayed. The Speaker, it is true, in the House of Representatives acts as a makeshift by nominating the legislative committees; but, to say nothing of the consequences to the impartiality of the Chair, this is an indifferent substitute for a responsible Minister in charge of a bill, framing it, moving it in the name of the government, conducting it through its legislative stages, and defending it against criticism on the floor of the House. Nor is the Speaker or any one else empowered to answer questions and give information in the name of the government, as the Cabinet Ministers in their several departments are in England. The use of the Speaker as a party leader betrays the misfit, against which it is a struggle for adjustment.

It is in the Department of Finance, however, that the defect is most apparent and serious. In England the Chancellor of the Exchequer, representing the government, states the needs of the public service for the coming year, frames the estimates and regulates the appropriations. He only can originate a tax. At Washington expenditure and the tariff are thrown to the crowd. Thus, after thirty-two years of peace, active industry, and productive development, with cheap establishments, a very small army, and almost no navy, in a nation unrivalled for its general faculty of administration, we behold a financial scene of deficit and almost of disaster; while in an old country heavily burdened, we see financial prosperity, surplus, and reduction of debt.

For part of this no doubt the currency mania, or raid, has to

answer; though in England the currency mania itself would probably have been met at the outset with resolute resistance on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and forced to a decisive issue, in which it would most likely have met its doom. For part also, as the Free Traders think, Protectionism has to answer, not only because by limiting imports it diminishes revenue, but because, unless it is much belied, it has prompted a lavish expenditure for the purpose of baling out the surplus and averting the reduction of duties. The Pension Arrears Act under which the country is now paying in pensions for wars, the last of which ended thirty-two years ago, a sum exceeding the cost of the largest standing army in Europe, one hears ascribed not so much to the pressure of the Grand Army or the desire of capturing the soldiers' vote, as to the desire of getting rid of the surplus. It cannot be supposed that the framers of the Act foresaw the fabulous expenditure into which they were plunging the country; but they seem to have legislated blindly where a Parliamentary Finance Minister would have been constrained by his personal responsibility to proceed on a careful calculation.

Some Americans are so sensible of all this that they propose to adopt party government according to the true British model, bringing the heads of the departments, now miscalled Cabinet Ministers, into Congress. But how is this to be done? You would have to recast the whole Constitution and to bring into Congress not the heads of departments only, but the President, who corresponds to the head of the Cabinet in England. The Constitution of the United States is practically unchangeable. Sixty years passed without any amendment. Not only is the process one of extreme difficulty, but there is a lack of any authority strong enough to initiate organic change. In the case of the anti-slavery amendments passed at the close of the Civil War, the initiative was taken by a political earthquake. Constitutions, like every other work of man, wear out, and, as Bacon says, what men do not alter for the better, Time, the great innovator, alters for the worse. But you might almost as well invoke an Avatar of Vishnu as call for an organic amendment of the American Constitution. The article which gives Nevada an equal representation in the Senate with New York is practically immutable.

Besides, we have now to ask the momentous question whether party government after any model, British or American, is the right mark at which to aim, and whether it is destined to be the polity of the future. Men born and bred under the system have learnt to believe that party is an ordinance of nature immemorial and everlasting. The fact is that as a mode of government it dates from the struggle between the Hanoverian constitutionalists and the adherents of Stuart prerogative in the Parliament of England, which again was the Parliamentary continuation of a civil war. A new ground for party was subsequently found in the division of opinion produced in England and other countries by the French Revolution, and by the general struggle between receding monarchy or aristocracy and advancing democracy which ensued. But in ordinary times political opinion is not bisected any more than opinion on other subjects. Party then ceases to have any rational foundation, or to afford any moral justification for the submission of conscience to its yoke. It becomes mere faction, subversive of civil duty, and must be sustained by unreasoning devotion to a shibboleth, or, as it generally is, by corruption of some kind. In legislation and government it allows passion, the most violent and tyrannical, to usurp the place of judgment. In England it has led to reckless extension of the franchise, the two parties bidding against each other in a sort of Dutch auction for the popular vote, and has even, by its influence in regard to the question of Irish Home Rule, brought the United Kingdom to the very brink of disruption. But parties are now being everywhere broken up by the effacement of rational lines of division, by the increase of intelligence and of independence of thought or eccentricity, which multiplies political sects and makes them impatient of party discipline, as well as by the diminution of those means of corruption by which Walpole and Newcastle held their following together. In America the party organizations, owing partly to the influence of a vast patronage, have hitherto been very strong, but they appear now to be giving way. Till last year there had been only eccentric secessions, such as those of the Prohibitionists, the Populists and the Silverites, or revolts against misguidance, such as the revolt of the Liberal Republicans. But at Chicago one of the great organizations was captured by a section at variance with the other section on fundamental principles; for nothing

could be more opposed to the Jeffersonian belief in individual liberty than the German Socialism of Mr. Altgeld. Democratic reunion seems hopeless; and how without a Democratic party, or a second party of some kind nearly equal to the Republican party in strength, can the political balance be preserved and the system, which postulates the continued existence of two great parties dividing the nation between them, be carried on?

A most dangerous result of sectionalism is the power given to self-seeking or fanatical sections, which, when the regular parties are nearly matched in strength, can, by playing on the balance between them, "hold up" the Legislature till their own evil will is done. A gang of political banditti may in this way turn a legislature into its engine. This is a malady newly developed in representative government; it is manifestly spreading, and no antidote to it at present appears.

The political world generally seems, in fact, to have come to a curious pass. In order to make government by the people, in other words representative government, practicable, there must be an organization of some sort to marshal and direct the popular vote; since the disconnected atoms have in themselves no power of combination, of interchange of sentiment, or of collective choice. The only organization at present known or discernible is party; and party, always equivocal, always half condemned by public morality and by its own fruits, is now apparently in a state of final disintegration. What is to come next? Representative government may be the ideal, but is it capable of being worked? That is the momentous question to which the next generation may be called upon to give a decisive answer.

To revert to the special case of the United States. We are in the habit of thinking that popular government in America has stood the test of a hundred years and has come well out of the trial. The first member of the proposition at all events requires qualification. During the Washingtonian era the government was not "by the people"; it was that of a social and political aristocracy, as Jefferson was always complaining. Then Jefferson himself was king. There followed war which always throws power into the hands of government. Presently Jackson was king. Then came the rule of the Democratic party, doubtfully so named, since it was the reverse of democratic and not so much a party as a great economical and social interest, while politically

it was an oligarchy of planters, carrying with it a strong commercial connection in the North and the populace of the Northern cities, which it enlisted by the attraction of the spoils. Its powerful representatives in the Senate held their seats not by popular arts, but by social position, on condition of their fidelity to slavery; they were able to devote themselves to politics; after their kind they were statesmen. They, at all events, governed the country. There were few keener observers than Robert Lowe, who after his return from a visit to America, describing to the present writer what he had seen, and speaking of the Democratic party, deplored its connection with slavery, its violence, and its complicity with corruption at the North, but ended by saying: "However, the Democratic party has governed the country, and I do not see what else there is that could."

The Southern statesmen passed away, and when Lincoln's war dictatorship had come to an end, universal suffrage had a fair trial. The House of Representatives is now composed of men owing their seats to popularity in their several districts, which it must be the first object of each of them to retain. Their tenure is far too short for training in statesmanship, nor can they ever be free to render undivided service to the country at large, local election with its electioneering necessities being ever before their eyes. During a part even of their short term they are practically sitting under the projected shadow of the incoming House, which, if the pendulum of party has swung, practically annuls their legislative power. It is not likely that under such conditions the men will be of the most statesmanlike class. Probably few of them have room in their minds for anything beyond the party game or time to read anything except the newspapers, even the political history of their own country. The position of a Senator is better; but party in its heat has, by the admission of unqualified territories as States for the sake of their Senatorial votes, introduced such elements that the popular House, at least with a strong Speaker, is now the more statesmanlike of the two, while the Senate, instead of restraining excesses, needs itself to be restrained. Mr. Hoar's authority is great, but it cannot cancel recorded facts.

Of the results to statesmanship and to the conduct of legislation and finance since the system of universal suffrage has really prevailed, it rather beseems an American than a foreigner to

speak. But no observer can hesitate to say that since the subsidence of the tidal wave of patriotism which flowed at the time of the Civil War there has been a growing prevalence of local over national feeling and interests. "We are becoming instead of a nation a collection of potato plots and cabbage grounds," was the wail of a patriot whose meaning, at all events, it was not difficult to understand. The people have chosen to impose upon themselves strict localism in elections, so that the ablest and best citizen, if he happens to live where his party is in the minority, is excluded from the councils of the nation. Slavery, though narrower than national, was broader than parochial interest.

In Great Britain the Cabinet, which guides and controls Parliament, is national. Its members, if they are in the House of Commons, are practically sure of seats without limitation of residence. By its influence over the action of Parliament the ascendency of national interest in legislation, fiscal as well as general, is preserved. In America the President, it is true, is national, especially if he is not a candidate for re-election; and the exercise of his veto has been most wholesome. But his influence is chiefly negative; he can do little to impress his loyalty to national objects upon Congress. National sentiment will hardly regain its ascendency till some new national aspiration is evolved.

With such conservative and recuperative forces as were shown in the late struggle, anything like despondency would be out of place; but it seems less likely that the nation will be saved by the legislature than that the legislature will be saved by the nation.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROGRESSIVE INHERITANCE TAXES.

As might have been expected, Comptroller Roberts' modest proposal to make the New York inheritance tax progressive has been attacked in many quarters as dangerous and revolutionary. In reality, it is not revolutionary at all, but a thoroughly sensible proposition, justified both by the theory of justice in taxation as worked out by the best economists, and by the actual experience of several countries. The particular schedule of rates proposed by Mr. Roberts, with its abrupt increase from 5 to 10 and from 10 to 15 per cent., is fairly open to criticism, and has been improved upon in the bill which recently passed the Assembly by unaminous vote. The principle which the Assembly so emphatically indorsed is thoroughly sound.

The theory of progressive taxation has been systematized by Professor Seligman*, who shows that there are several ways of justifying progression, only one of which is at all open to the charge of socialism. The socialists have indeed proposed progressive taxation as a means of securing greater equality of wealth; and in this they have the support of that eminent socialist of the chair, Professor Wagner. But other writers, among whom may be mentioned the late General Walker, have regarded progressive taxation as merely a compensation for those acts and omissions of the State which produce or accentuate inequalities of wealth. This is closely related to the theory that taxation should be progressive because the benefits of government accrue more largely to the rich than to the poor; and it leads naturally to the less general proposition that some taxes at least should be progressive to counterbalance the effect of others which are really in inverse ratio to wealth. Finally, there is the convincing argument upon which economists of the present day chiefly rely, which may be expressed in terms of the Austrian theory of value, or in John Stuart Mill's maxim of "equal sacrifice," or may be put in the simple proposition that ability to pay taxes increases more rapidly than wealth or income. This statement is true both from the standpoint of equal sacrifice, and as a result of the simple rule that the more a man has the more he can get. If we suppose three families with incomes of $50,000, $5,000 and $500 respectively, it is evident that a uniform tax of five per cent. would deprive the first of none but superfluous luxuries, while it might really interfere with the happiness of the second family, and would certainly rob the third of some of the common necessaries of life. It is plain that the sacrifice will be very unequal unless the tax is progressive.

* "Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice," 184; "The Theory of Progressive Taxation," *Political Science Quarterly*, 8:220.

The arguments for progressive taxation in general apply with full force—some of them indeed with added force—in the case of inheritance taxes. Whether progressive taxation is regarded as a compensation for inequalities caused by previous legislation, or simply as the kind of taxation most conformable to the abilities of the tax-payers, it is fully applicable to inheritance taxes; and even if it is regarded as a means of affecting the distribution of wealth, it may be applied to them without any concession to socialism. For a progressive inheritance tax leaves the right of individual possession absolutely untouched; it places no limitation upon wealth, but only upon the inheritance of wealth; in its most severe form it is no step toward equality of fortune, but only toward the individualistic ideal, equality of opportunity. Mr. Andrew Carnegie is no socialist, yet he has more than once declared himself in favor of progressive inheritance taxes far heavier than any which actually exist.* He would have them as heavy as fifty per cent. in the case of large estates, for the purpose of limiting inheritance; though he would be the last to sanction any limitation of wealth.

The inheritance tax in one form or another has come to stay, and new states are being added every year to the list of those which have adopted it. Five years ago it was found in only nine states of the Union: Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New York, West Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Tennessee and New Jersey. During the first half of 1893 Ohio, Maine, California and Michigan were added to the list; though the Michigan law was afterward annulled because of an unusual provision in the state constitution which was not complied with. In 1894 Louisiana revived her former tax on foreign heirs, Minnesota adopted a constitutional amendment permitting a progressive inheritance tax which has not yet been given effect by the legislature, and Ohio added to her collateral inheritance tax a progressive tax on direct successions. In 1895 progressive inheritance taxes were adopted in Illinois and Missouri, and an old proportional tax was revived in Virginia; and last year Iowa adopted in part the inheritance tax recommendation of her revenue commission. It will be strange if the legislative sessions of the present year close without one or more new converts to the same principle. All the important countries of Europe employ this method of taxation; and in the most democratic countries of the world outside the United States—Great Britain and her colonies and Switzerland—progressive rates help to make it an important source of revenue. The new English "death duties" claim as much as eighteen per cent. of large estates which pass to distant relatives or by will to strangers in blood. Yet this measure of progressive taxation Lord Playfair commends in the interest of true conservatism.† In this country the inheritance taxes are much lighter, never exceeding five or six per cent.; and even the New York bill, in which the tax on direct successions rises to ten per cent., a little higher than the corresponding English rate, applies only to personal property, so that the tax proposed is really lighter than in England.

In Ohio the progressive tax on direct successions was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court for two reasons: because the $20,000 exemption was not to be deducted from the amount of taxable estates, and because of the progressive feature. In the first objection the court pointed out a real defect, for there is no equity in taxing an estate of $20,100 two hundred dollars more than one of $20,000; but the same criticism would

* North American Review, 148:659.
† North American Review, 160:285.

apply to many of the state property taxes. As for the second point, the court could find no clause requiring all taxation to be proportional, but by far-fetched construction which to the lay mind appears almost incredible, declared the progressive principle to be in conflict with this section in the bill of rights: "All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit."

In Illinois, where the progressive rates apply not to direct heirs, as in Ohio, but only to collateral and testamentary successions, their constitutionality has been questioned on the strength of the Ohio decision, but the case has not yet been decided by the court of last resort. The decision will be awaited with interest both by the friends and the enemies of progressive taxation, for it may have an important bearing upon the future extension of the principle. It is inconceivable that the Ohio decision alone should be regarded as conclusive by the courts of other States; but if it should be confirmed by a similar decision in Illinois, based perhaps on somewhat sounder reasoning, it would be difficult for progressive taxation to make any headway against two such adverse decisions. The case now pending in Illinois is therefore of importance to the whole country. Fortunately the other objection to the Ohio law has been obviated in Illinois by permitting a certain sum to be deducted from all taxable estates. And the Illinois court can hardly fail to see that the legislature which has power to abolish the right of inheritance altogether must have power to limit the right a little through the agency of taxation; and that progressive taxation is not only economically permissible, but is demanded by equity and the genius of democratic institutions.

MAX WEST.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS AND THE INTERESTS OF BALLOT REFORM.

ALL good citizens must know that times of peace afford opportunity for the display of patriotism quite as valuable to the country, if not so spectacular, as times of war. If "war is hell," then, indeed, that widespread devotion to the welfare of country which preserves domestic tranquillity and honorable peace with foreign nations is far more valuable than that same devotion made effective in bringing destructive war to favorable issue from a national standpoint. To all thoughtful people it must be apparent that the manifestation of patriotism is declining among us. There is a universal self-seeking so urgent that small room is left for thoughts of responsibility to country or posterity. Time was when men sacrificed self for country. Now they sacrifice country for self. Our people are still ready to sacrifice self on the altar of patriotism should a sufficiently urgent occasion be manifested. Such an occasion always exists in the necessity for maintaining our political purity. This can only be accomplished by selecting good and capable men for office from the primary election to the choice for President, and by rendering fraud and corruption impossible. This will be difficult to accomplish, however, so long as there exists among us a large class of venial, indifferent voters, who have never had the real meaning and dignity of voting clearly and forcibly impressed upon them.

Everybody understands that the supreme requirement of republics is a citizenship whose great majority shall be possessed of high moral character and intelligent ideals and these always in evidence at the polls. That a

dangerously large portion of our voters can be purchased, and a much larger number of them are careless of their civic duties, is conceded by all parties. This evil seems to be rapidly growing, and should be checked, or our government and civil institutions will be ruined, and the hands upon the dial-plate of civilization will, as a necessity, be turned backward. Ours is certainly the highest style of government known to civilization for an ideal people.

I am inclined to believe it can be proven to be the worst form of government for a people not prepared for it. Should we sink below a certain level, then the pit into which we shall fall may be bottomless. Our hope must lie in the moral character and patriotic earnestness of the voter. Our fears and cares for the future of our country would be at an end if the worse half of our voters were as good as the better half. Given voters who earnestly, intelligently and conscientiously seek to do right and, though mistakes might occur, our problems of civil government would be solved. Voters can not be made such by legal nor mechanical devices. The work must be back of all these efforts. It must be formative rather than reformative or prohibitive. To reach and build conscientious citizen rulers is the great and only task worthy of national effort in this direction. In a Republic the voter is a sovereign, and the perpetuity and prosperity of our government demand that this sovereign shall be not only good, but that he shall feel his responsibilities and diligently execute them in righteousness. So far all are agreed, but there seems to be universal perplexity as to the means for compassing this result. Let us look at two facts as a preparation for a suggestion to this end.

First: It must be admitted that we are guilty of gross negligence at a critical point concerning this voter sovereign. We do not crown him. He comes to his vast responsibilities without the slightest public notice, or a hint of a suggestion that the country has any interest in the way he shall discharge his functions. Our culpability, it is true, is modified by the want of a valid precedent upon the part of any nation, and rendered more excusable by the fact that our sovereign is so numerous and widespread, and so constantly and ubiquitously coming to his majority as to almost forbid the thought of a public demonstration over each individual. Nevertheless it is worthy of thought, and "where there is a will there is a way."

Second: There must be universal regret because the Fourth of July has degenerated into a day of desecration, instead of an occasion for the celebration of the greatest event in our history, and one of the greatest in all history, whose significance is by no means duly apprehended by the present generation. Such patriotic sentiments as seek expression are voiced upon Washington and Lincoln's birthdays or on Decoration day. As to Washington's Birthday, it is the wrong time of the year, being available only for indoors and for the few. The other dates are severely suggestive of sectionalism, and concentrate thought upon a historical event which can only admit of incidental reference to the immense ideas clustering about the birth of the Republic, For practical and widespread dissemination of the fundamentals of our government, which, when properly understood, cannot fail to produce an enthusiasm of patriotism, no day is so available as the Fourth of July. The season is ideal for outdoor assemblages, and commemorates at once the climax of human history, for those who incline to retrospection, and the inauguration of the new order of things for those who care to look forward.

Now, putting these two ideas together, viz., our failure to crown our sovereign, and the real merits of the Fourth of July, we are ready for the suggestion, which is, that on the Fourth of July, each year, the young men in any given area—say a county—who have reached their majority between that Fourth and its predecessor, should be invited to a grand banquet, given in honor of their obtaining the right to vote, by public spirited citizens, or at public expense. When assembled together and in the presence of their friends and the general public, they should receive, with a suitable address and from the hands of the most honored and venerable resident of the locality, some distinguishing badge or sash to mark them for that day; be assigned to seats of honor in the assemblage of the people; receive addresses from the most distinguished persons that could be secured, upon those great questions suggested by the inspiring presence of a body of young men so conditioned, and the immortal ideas clustering about the Fourth of July; be assigned to seats of honor at the public dinner, after which post-prandial exercises could, in lighter vein, still emphasize their dignity and the sublime signification of the whole occasion. Any other features, such as athletic sports and fireworks, could be introduced, but always as incidents to the solemnities of the coronation.

Indeed, the outline here suggested could be changed and elaborated to suit any community or condition.

There can be no doubt that the young men would almost unanimously accept the invitation. Their presence, for the purpose of coronation, would inspire the orators of the day to their utmost exertion to do justice to the occasion, and, instead of the customary platitudes characterizing such efforts in the absence of living, practical incentives, the best thoughts of the ages would be tested in the crucible of our times, and moulded in forms of useful attractiveness, and addressed with that enthusiasm which is produced by the expectation of effecting immense results. The immediate effects could not be otherwise than most salutary upon the young men. The sacred honor and vast responsibility of the franchise would mean something after spending such a day at the threshold of manhood. One can scarcely imagine their consenting to be bought, or lending themselves to any form of corruption, after such an induction into their sovereignty as citizens. Moreover, the effect upon the whole community would be of equal value. Boys approaching the period of their majority would be impressed most favorably. Year by year older men would be held face to face with their responsibility, and the crime of trifling with the ballot would be held up to such scorn as would certainly affect them most favorably. Voters and voting days would be more respected. Politics would be purified. Ward heelers and political bosses would lose their vocations. Our grave problems of self-government would possess larger probabilities of immediate and righteous settlement.

The great merit of this suggestion lies in the fact that it has attractions for the very people who ought to be reached.

Then, too, our people at large would have one great worthy holiday devoted to the highest ends and possessed of the noblest means toward those ends. Great crowds would always assemble. The guarantee for that would be the fresh enthusiasm surrounding the new candidates for coronation. Thus good fellowship would be promoted, and it would be no small result if the days of great oratory should return once more.

A. B. RIKER.

MISTAKES ABOUT JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN MEXICO.

IT is truly lamentable to see the mistakes often made by able men of this country visiting Mexico regarding our institutions. I recently noticed a serious one about our judicial system, which appeared in the Lisbon, Ohio, *Leader*, of February 18, 1897, in a speech delivered by the Hon. P. M. Smith, in answer to a toast, "The lawyer in Mexico," at a banquet of the Lisbon Bar and county officials, which took place in that city on Wednesday, February 2, 1897. It seems that Mr. Smith had visited Mexico, and seen the holding of a court, very likely in a very small Indian town, where the court "met in an adobe structure, containing a table, three chairs for the judge and lawyers, and a mud bench along the wall covered with cement, without books or file cases." He noticed that no oaths were administered to the witnesses, and without understanding the reason of this omission, he allowed his imagination and humor to get the better of his judgment, and offered the following explanation, showing not only his ignorance of the matter, but his undaunted courage in attempting to explain the meaning of something which he did not understand:

"Oaths were not administered on the theory, I assume, that an oath would add nothing to the natural truthfulness of the Mexican, and if you are liable to be defeated by false testimony of two witnesses for a small consideration, you can secure three to contradict the two, and thus possibly win your case, and aid in securing justice to a worthy litigant."

If Mr. Smith had been better acquainted with the judicial system of Mexico he would have found that prior to 1873 we did administer oaths, as is now done in this country, in all judicial proceedings, and to all public officials on being qualified for their respective offices, and that in that year the oath was replaced by a formal promise to tell the truth. What we called our Laws of Reform, which had been enacted from 1855 to 1859, and which established full liberty of conscience and free exercise of any religious belief, and a complete separation between Church and State, was incorporated in our Constitution in 1873 as an amendment to the same, which made it necessary to suppress the oath, as the oath is a religious act, in which God and the Holy Scriptures are invoked in witness of the truth of a statement made, and it ought not to be required in judicial and other official matters, when some men might consider themselves forbidden by their creed to take an oath, and others look upon it as meaningless. When the oath was replaced by a formal promise to tell the truth, the law provided that said promise should have the same effect as the oath, its breach being punishable as a perjury. That promise is not only required in judicial proceedings, but in every case in which the oath was before administered, that is, in the qualification for public offices, and so forth. Had Mr. Smith taken the pains to understand the subject, he would have avoided the gross mistake alluded to.

Mr. Smith is also mistaken when he asserts "that whenever the authorities in Mexico want to get rid of a person who is obnoxious but does not violate any law that justifies his extermination, he is sentenced to the penitentiary for some criminal act, and while on his way to the prison he is advised by his guards to escape, and that when he attempts to do so, he is shot and reported lost on the road." In disturbed and lawless times, assassinations might have taken place in that manner, as they often do in other countries, because, unfortunately, men invested with authority are sometimes apt to abuse it; but Mr. Smith may be sure that one or two cases that may have

occurred in peaceful times could not justify his assertion, and that any person violating the laws in Mexico is always liable to trial, and to suffer the proper punishment for his offence.

Another of Mr. Smith's errors, although one of less consequence, is his assertion that there is a constitutional provision in Mexico guaranteeing a jury in criminal trials, but that in practice it is unknown. Our Constitution has no such provision, and it is only in the Federal District, by an Act of Congress, that we have established the jury system which is now in force, notwithstanding Mr. Smith's statements. It is a fact that article VII. of our Constitution provided that all offences committed through the press should be tried by a jury, who should decide as to the facts, and, if the accused was convicted, another jury should apply the law and fix the penalty; but the practical result of this system was that no offence of that kind could ever be punished, because the jury always acquitted the accused, and our Constitution was amended on May 15, 1883, abrogating the jury system and submitting the offenders to the common courts, so that now offences committed through the press are tried and punished like crimes of any other character. It is not likely that Mr. Smith could have referred to this occurrence, but even in case he had his information was incorrect.

M. ROMERO.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXXXVII.

JUNE, 1897.

HOW THE HOUSE DOES BUSINESS.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED.

THE citizens of the United States have, as a rule, only vague ideas of the methods adopted by the House of Representatives to do its part of the legislative business of the country. A clear comprehension of the facts would dissipate many objections and do much to reconcile even members themselves to the limitations of each individual's power, for they would find that the limitations arise out of the nature of things and are well-nigh inevitable.

Every member of the House represents a large constituency in its relation to national affairs. Each one, therefore, feels that his rights should be commensurate with his duties. In fact and practice, however, there are 356 other gentlemen who represent constituencies just as extensive, and with just as many rights. The problem is how to recognize each one's rights, having also due regard to the rights of all the rest. Obviously, no one has rights to the exclusion of the rights of others. This problem the House has had to meet from its very beginning in 1789, and the methods now in use have been the creation of no one man and of no set of men, but have been the slow growth of a hundred years, changing with the changed circumstances and meeting new conditions as they arose. Why they are what they are can best be understood by considering the duties and obligations and the

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physical possibilities of an assembly of 360 men, for such is the number of men who compose the House of Representatives when you include the three Territorial delegates, who have the right of speech though not of vote.

It is to be noted at the outset that there are few analogies between the House of Representatives of the United States and the corresponding bodies of the different States. The differences between the two are fundamental and very wide reaching.

When the Constitution was prepared and submitted to the people of the separate States the authors of the *Federalist* recognized one difference, which has not only lasted to this day, but which has greatly increased. When they undertook to defend the entrusting of two years' power to the House they encountered much opposition. The popular sentiment of that time was well expressed in the popular proverb that where annual elections left off tyranny began. All the thirteen colonies then believed that two years' power was a dangerous gift, too dangerous even to be entrusted to the representatives of the people themselves. Whether much of the trouble we are having in the States does not arise from the abandonment of that opinion of our forefathers is well worth the consideration of the judicious. However that may be, biennial elections were fiercely assailed, and the defence brought out a fundamental fact as true, or, perhaps, more true, to-day than ever before, the fact that we all of us know little of what is thought and believed outside our own locality. Although we are a great nation, united and compact, it is still true that the first government we live under is the government of the State. That first attracts our attention, and, speaking generally, that is about the only part of the government of which we have much knowledge. Of Congress the people get little information; of their own legislatures the people get a great deal. Inasmuch as the newspapers so limit their accounts of Congressional action that an absent Congressman can hardly keep track of the proceedings of his own assembly, the individual in private life can hardly expect to have much of an idea of what is going on even in that part of the proceedings which affects him. As for the action of States other than his own the citizen in general has no notion whatever unless some extraordinary action is taken. Our State affairs we take in by absorption.

In Congress every member finds himself at one great disadvantage, which length of service may diminish but can never entirely take away, and that disadvantage arises from the lack of local knowledge as to far-off States. We may be a homogeneous nation, but we are certainly not lacking in diversities.

The broad extent of the country, in more ways therefore than one, affects the legislative action of the House, and also its methods of action.

In some of the smaller States all the business which is presented to the Legislature is disposed off in some way or other. The committees report all bills and resolutions which are sent to them, and both Assemblies say "yes" or "no" directly or indirectly to them all.

In Congress neither House attempts to do anything of the kind. The pigeon holes of all of the committees which are fortunate enough to have any business at all are found, at the end of the session and of Congress, full of bills undisposed of. Thousands also of the bills reported are left on the calendars without even the poor formality of being discussed, or even of being called up. In a word, Congress, when it gets ready, adjourns, leaving the dead bills by the wayside.

In assemblies where all the business is transacted, where the dockets and calendars are cleared, it is only a question of the time when a proposition shall be heard, and never a question whether it shall be heard at all.

In order to state the situation in the House of Representatives in more concrete form, and therefore to bring it nearer to general comprehension, the facts relating to the business of the House and Senate of the 54th Congress now last past will be very useful. Both sessions of this Congress were short. The number of bills introduced into the House and Senate was 14,114. The number of resolutions was 470, making a total of 14,584 bills and resolutions. When we adjourned there had been passed of these, 948 acts and resolves. On the calendars of the House were more than 2,000 bills and resolutions not acted upon, and the rest were in the pigeon holes of the committees undisturbed, or at least unreported. It will therefore be seen that the House did only six and a half per cent. of the business laid before it. Out of 14,584 a selection of 948 was made. The question which naturally arises is how was this selection made, how did it

happen that these particular bills were passed upon and not the others. A detailed statement may help to make this clear. Among the bills passed were those which raised, or attempted to raise, revenue, bond bills, all the bills carrying the great appropriations for the support of the government, bridge bills, railroad right of way bills, private bills, and public bills of all descriptions.

Among those bills which were not passed were many which without the sanction of law or precedent proposed to pay large sums. Added to these were private claims, pension claims, individual schemes, and propositions to increase the salaries of our civil servants while we were borrowing money for the necessities of life.

To have passed the bills which were passed and all those which were presented would have been a task which could not have been accomplished even if the House had worked day and night for the whole period of two years.

Obviously, there are some things which have to be done. There are bills which must be passed. Unless revenue is furnished, even the ordinary function of government would be at an end. So also if the revenues were not properly appropriated according to law, the government could not go on, for its continuance costs money. Hence, under the rules of the House, the Committee of Ways and Means having charge of bills raising revenue, and the Committees on Appropriations obliged to provide for the expenditure of revenue, have a right of way which is thorough and complete. Whenever the House desires to take up such bills there is neither let nor hindrance. The country, therefore, can be sure that its necessities are provided for.

Besides these pressing necessities which cannot be denied, there are others which ought not to be denied. So far as the bills of this character carry money and require its expenditure, the rules do not offer very great facilities, and indeed could not. But if there be a pressing emergency calling for expenditures, the Committee on Rules has the right to submit to the House a proposition to consider the measure calculated to meet the emergency. If the House so desires the measure is then considered.

In this way were considered in the last Congress the Bill to Regulate Immigration, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Labor Commis-

sion Bill, the Postal Bill relating to second-class mail, the Pacific Railroad Bill, and various others.

There are a great many measures which it would be impossible to treat in that special way, and for these the morning hour is provided, and now that the House has got used to this period the rule has worked well and every measure not involving any appropriation and which was of a public character was passed upon in the last House. Some of the bills on the House calendar to which this morning hour applies were not acted upon, but that was simply because the committee reporting did not care to urge them.

This morning hour was the invention of the Fifty-first Congress. The old morning hour was sixty minutes only, and no committee was allowed more than two days, and the very smallest kind of a filibuster would kill a bill which the great majority of the whole House might be desirous of making law. The new morning hour can be sixty minutes only, or, if the House chooses, may continue all day, and when a bill is once brought up it cannot be killed by mere indirection. During this period of time all, or about all, the work of the Judiciary Committee, which has charge of the changes of federal law, a portion of the work of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which has charge of the transportation interests of the country, and of various other committees to a lesser degree, can and do receive consideration, and are disposed of. All the bridge bills and right of way bills are passed at this time.

After the Fifty-first Congress this rule, which has thus shown its value, was, owing to the high state of party feeling, changed back to the old death trap which existed prior to 1890. It was then deemed necessary to obliterate every possible trace of the Fifty-first Congress.

Time and experience, however, have shown the value of the changes which were made in those troublous times, and I may perhaps venture to say that many gentlemen who had been opposed in the Fifty-first Congress were not hostile in the Fifty-fourth Congress to the most efficient measures to give the majority control of the House. Among other things, we adopted, with hardly a word of dispute, the rule proposed sixteen years ago by Mr. Randolph Tucker, which will probably be found effective to secure a quorum at all times.

Besides these bills the nature of which has been indicated, there are private bills which deal in the main with the personal claims of individual citizens. They are divided into money claims and pension claims, including removal of charges of desertion. The pension claims have Friday evening of each week set apart for their special consideration and other days by special order from the Committee on Rules. Friday itself is set apart for other claims.

Besides the business which pertains to the States and the Congressional Districts, the Congress has another class of business of great importance to the Territory interested. Besides being the legislative body for the whole Union, Congress is also the Municipal Council for the District of Columbia and City of Washington. Local self-government does not exist there, and whatever is done for the District is done by Congress. Much legislation gets into the District of Columbia Appropriation Bills. Nevertheless there is much to be done for the City of Washington, as much perhaps as for any similar city. This necessity is met under the Rules of the House by setting apart two Mondays in each month, the second and fourth, or so much as is found necessary. The Committee on the District on these days calls up such bills as it deems proper for consideration, and the bills are considered by the House or by the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union as determined by the nature of the bill. In this way all the matured and needful legislation is passed which the District requires.

It will be evident from the summary thus given that all the necessities of the government are promptly and thoroughly attended to and that whatever happens to the wishes of individuals the welfare of the great mass of the people is in the hands of their own chosen representatives.

The rest of the business indicated by the bills introduced comprises those bills of a private nature which are lost for lack of time and other bills which cannot be brought up because they are not in order from being too far down the list.

The greater number by far are private bills or those which, like Public Building bills, are for the benefit of particular localities. So few, however, of these private bills can be disposed of even at the expense of one-sixth of the time of Congress that out of that and out of other private and public exigencies,

the custom has grown up at certain times to ask unanimous consent to take up one and another of these bills and also other bills to expend money. Under this system any one member can object and stop any action by the House. Each member has complete control and may object and defeat the bill or may help pass it. Without experience one would suppose that such a system was amply safeguarded and if a bill was so satisfactory that no one could object to it, there could be no danger in letting it be presented for passage. But, alas! the weakness of poor human nature, though of course not often prevalent, does certainly lurk in even celestial and Congressional minds. If a member objects he may be the subject of reprisals and his own bill may go to the tomb of the Capulets. Moreover, he hopes some one else will bear the burden and while he hesitates he is lost and the bill is gained. The *liberum veto* might do in Poland, but it is bad in Congress. However, the custom has been so established that it must be yielded to.

Now as to the method. If the presiding officer were simply to put down the names in the order of application all sorts of things would be presented without even one man knowing anything about them, and as soon as the list reached fair proportions all interest in it would cease, for it would only be superseding one list by another, and when that was done the special emergency idea would entirely disappear. It would not be possible, therefore, to adopt this plan, for it would wreck itself. Various expedients have been tried at various times with results not at all satisfactory. One House, that of the Forty-seventh Congress, I think, adopted a rule devoting an hour of sixty minutes of each day to such s, one for each committee in order. Under this arrangement bills were called up with a provision for five minutes for explanation, and if five members objected the bill was not considered. If five members did not object, then five minutes on a side were allowed for discussion and the proposition was then voted upon. Under this method, however, very few bills were passed. Objections were many and the hour was soon consumed. On two days during the second session of the Forty-seventh five bills only ran the gauntlet. The system in the general opinion was far from being successful, and was not long continued. The Speaker then under the present system has to make the selection, and an exceedingly troublesome

task it is, requiring much labor and exciting not a little feeling. However, it is only just to the members to say that the trouble arises not so much from them, for they are in position to understand the Speaker's difficulties, as from the constituents who cannot understand them. The Speaker is also a member of the House. When he refuses to submit for unanimous consent, he is only exercising his right to object, a right which belongs to him in common with all the other members of the Assembly. He has to make more frequent objection because he has to know what the bills proposed or to be proposed are about and what their provisions mean. He has opportunities to examine them, and indeed must examine them to do his duty.

Another method of breaking the regular order, and one which unlike unanimous consent is sanctioned by the Rules of the House, is the method under "Suspension of the Rules." Some years ago the right to move to suspend the rules and pass a bill or resolution prevailed every Monday. In exciting political times all sorts of questions and abstract propositions which were presented to entrap members and put them in the wrong were presented on Monday. Some of them were so ingeniously drawn that the enemy were caught whichever way they voted. As no amendment was permitted and but little debate, only fifteen minutes on either side, there was often much trepidation among those who were liable to be impaled on at least one horn of the dilemma. The ordeal through which we had to pass got to be so annoying that when the rules were modified and classified in the Forty-sixth Congress, the power to entertain motions to suspend the rules was confined to two Mondays in the month, the first Monday and the third; committees had the right of way on the third and individual members on the first. Here, however, selections have to be made by the Speaker, and he has some of the same troubles to afflict him which present themselves on the propositions for unanimous consent. On the last six days also of a session rules may be suspended, but as the Houses in the first session seldom determine until very late the day of final adjournment the last six days of the first session are not so dreadful as those of the last session, where the House on the verge of dissolution has its last chance to enact the measure so dear to the member. At that time the struggle has driven many a Speaker to the verge of distraction. He can satisfy not five per cent. of

his applicants, and, therefore, welcomes the final adjournment as the saint ought to welcome death and paradise.

In the proceedings of the English House of Commons there seems to be an entire absence of a large class of bills which clog our calendars and make miserable the lives of members. There are no private pension bills, because there each claimant is left to the administration of the general law, nor do there seem to be any claim bills at all. Parliament is not called upon to adjudicate questions of damages resulting from the dealings of the government with its citizens. Almost all their private bills are those which, under our system of government, belong to the State and other local authorities, our work in that direction being mostly confined to bridges over navigable waters over which the nation has control.

Notwithstanding, however, this immunity from that which worries us most of all and notwithstanding Parliament sits longer than we do, Sir Albert Rollit declared in 1894 that "business in the House of Commons had become more and more congested," and that in the case of non-official members 309 bills had been introduced, of which only 23 were passed and the ministers had hardly better fortune, for as he said of them, "The list of promises was long, of performances extremely short."

It is curious to notice how tremendous has been the increase in the presentation of bills by members of the House. In 1863-64 in the Thirty-eighth Congress the number was only 813. Such a number could be dealt with and all of them passed upon and decided. But who could dare to attempt to struggle with 10,378?

Perhaps a knowledge of the facts in this article may cause more reasonable feeling on the part of constituents as to the business which they entrust to their members and enable them to judge more justly of the difficulties in the way of their wishes. All human instrumentalities are imperfect and while they can be improved they can never meet the wishes of all. Indeed if they meet the wishes of the majority they will be fortunate.

Nothing has been said of the loss of time which might be utilized by action which owes its origin to the desire to address not the House, but the constituency; for that seems to be inevitable It is the same in all countries, and has been the same in all ages. Undoubtedly it serves other purposes than display, and is part of

the education of a free people. Still there are times when business propositions being numerous and the days few, one wishes that eloquence and speaking bore a closer resemblance to reasoning and deliberation.

It might as well be admitted at once that the faults of legislative bodies are not the faults of legislators alone, but in some degree of the people themselves. So long as we rate oratory too high and wisdom too low and gauge our representatives by the number of times they get into newspapers and not by what we ourselves know of their characters and abilities, so long we shall continue the desire for opportunities for display and fail to create the desire for opportunities to do service.

THOMAS B. REED.

ENGLAND'S FOOD SUPPLY IN TIME OF WAR.

BY H. SETON-KARR, M. P.

On April 6, 1897, the following resolution, on the motion of the writer, seconded by Mr. R. Yerburgh, Conservative member for Chester, was, in a fairly well-attended House, accepted by the government, and unanimously adopted by the British House of Commons, viz.:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign imports for the necessaries of life, and the consequences that might arise therefrom in the event of war, demand the serious attention of Her Majesty's government."

The grounds of its acceptance by the government were simply stated by Mr. Balfour. He said: "In the final resort, of course, our security rests upon the navy, and the navy alone, and if we have a navy adequate to protect our coasts, though the price of bread might rise to an alarming extent, and there might be difficulties and embarrassments, and the pinch of want might be felt, we need have no fear that we shall be starved into submission by continental nations. . . . I, both on my own behalf, and on behalf of the government, frankly accept the responsibility which the resolution throws upon us, and I heartily accept also the proposition that the strength of our navy shall be equal to the defence of our commerce as well as of our shores."

While the mover and supporters of the resolution were satisfied, for the time being at all events, to have it accepted by the House and the government, the above-quoted grounds for this acceptance did not altogether represent their views. An invincible navy is no doubt a necessity for the welfare and safety of Great Britain and its Empire. But an invincible navy is not, in the opinion of many, an altogether sufficient safeguard against all the possible risks of war. The wise commander of a fortress not only arms, but also provisions, his garrison; otherwise his arms

and ammunition may possibly be useless. "There are three handmaidens," said King Henry V. of England, when he sat down before the city of Rouen to starve it into submission, "that attend upon War—Fire, Sword, and Famine—and I have chosen the meekest of the three;" and, he might have added, not the least persuasive.

It cannot therefore be assumed, as a matter of course, that England's food supply in time of war is a question for the navy alone. If this assumption were admitted this article would not be written. I propose shortly to deal with this question as one involving other considerations besides and in addition to the command of the sea, a point of view not altogether ignored by Mr. Balfour when he said (as quoted above) that "the price of bread might rise to an alarming extent."

As a preliminary point, I note that the terms of the resolution were criticised in the debate, and also subsequently in the press, as vague and general, and as containing no specific provision against the possible dangers in view. In answer to this it may be pointed out that the resolution was intentionally framed in general terms, as the main point was to obtain a government inquiry. The various remedies suggested traverse a wide field, and were in some cases of an alternative character. They could not all, by any possibility, be comprised in the terms of one resolution. To have inserted one—say protection, for example, or state granaries, both of which have their advocates—would only have resulted in alienating the support of many who nevertheless appreciated the dangers indicated in the general terms of the resolution, and were in favor of a government inquiry, by which means alone the real nature and effect, and the rival claims of the various possible and alternative remedies, can properly and adequately be ascertained and adjusted.

The facts of the case on which the resolution is founded are not a matter of controversy. The dependence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on foreign imports for the necessaries of life is now a well-known and established fact. In addition to five-sixths of our breadstuffs (wheat and flour), we import such articles as butter, eggs, cheese, meat, fruit, sugar, vegetables, milk, lard, as well as oats and barley, in large and increasing quantities every year, the money value of our yearly imports of food being now put at £150,000,000.

For the sake of simplicity I propose to deal solely with the imports of breadstuffs; although, so far as the other articles mentioned are concerned, the difference is one of degree only, and not of principle. But bread is the prime necessity of life, particularly for the wage-earning millions in the great industrial centres of the United Kingdom. It is the one article of food which they desire and expect to buy in reliable and sufficient quantity, and for which they are not prepared to pay a fluctuating or enhanced price. For the purposes of my argument, therefore, the figures of these imports will suffice.

The annual national consumption of wheat and flour in the United Kingdom now amounts to over 28,000,000 quarters of 480 pounds. This is obviously a steadily increasing figure along with the increase of our population. Of this amount about 19,000,000 quarters are imported from foreign countries, chiefly from the United States, Russia, and the Argentine Republic. This also appears to be, in the aggregate, an increasing quantity, though the relative amount imported from the different countries may vary a little from year to year. From British possessions—India, Australasia, and Canada—some 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 quarters are imported. This appears to be at present a somewhat decreasing quantity. The balance of our annual consumption, about 5,000,000 quarters, is produced at home, not taking into account about 2,000,000 quarters used for seed and farm purposes. This home production, needless to say, has been for the last fifty years a steadily decreasing quantity.

The net result is that five out of every six of the population of the British Isles (and some say this is understating the case) are fed on imported breadstuffs, and four out of these five, or two-thirds of the whole, are fed on imports exclusively foreign. Moreover, as things now are, these proportions will inevitably grow larger every year. As regards our reserve of breadstuffs, it is naturally difficult to ascertain the exact amount at any one time in the hands of the various millers and merchants throughout the country. But it may safely be stated that this reserve never exceeds three months' supply, and frequently sinks as low as one month's supply or less. On January 1, 1897, the amount of maize, wheat, and flour on British premises, as given in the published statistics, was only 2,133,000 quarters, or less than three weeks' supply. It is obvious that in the event of a declara-

tion of war a monopoly for the time being would practically be created in breadstuffs, with so small a supply of this necessary of life held in private hands, and a rise in price would inevitably follow.

So much, then, for the bare facts of the case as they now stand with regard to England's yearly national supply of wheat and flour, and the sources from which it is derived. Let us take a glance at the situation from what I may term a comparative and historical point of view. The present dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign countries for its daily bread is unexampled and unprecedented in the history of the world. All the other Great Powers are practically self-supporting within their own borders. France is self-maintained. In the Franco-Prussian war she was never in fear of famine or starvation, except in beleagured towns, and then only from want of commissariat organization and foresight. Germany, Austria, and Italy, the countries forming the Triple Alliance, produce about three-quarters of their national requirements of the necessaries of life in time of peace, and in time of war could no doubt support themselves if necessary. Even Germany, the least productive country relatively to her population of the three, has during the ten years from 1883 to 1893, and notwithstanding her great recent growth in industrial prosperity, increased her wheat area by 300,000 acres. Russia and the United States are not only self-supporting, but are the two greatest grain-exporting countries in the world. England alone, with the widest Empire, and the largest industrial population—relatively to her area—of them all, is the solitary exception, and lives from hand to mouth. Her food supplies are chiefly sea-borne, over ocean routes thousands of miles in length; and two-thirds of her yearly national consumption of breadstuffs come from countries over whose internal policy she has no control, and against whose commercial and fiscal policy she has, by her adoption of Free Trade, deliberately deprived herself of all means of retaliation. The position may or may not be sound, but it is certainly absolutely unique, not only as compared with other countries, but also in her own history. In 1812, when England was at war with both France and America, and when her population was less than half what it is now, she was self-supporting, and imported no wheat or flour. Yet it is a remarkable fact, to be noted in passing, that the price of the quartern loaf at that time rose to one shilling

and eightpence, and bread riots occurred in many of our large towns. This high price of bread was obviously not caused by war-risk to ocean commerce, but probably arose from the operations of the press-gang interfering with agriculture. The occurrence, however, is a significant illustration of the sensitiveness of the price of bread under adverse circumstances. In 1840, according to "Porter's Progress of the Nation," the population of Great Britain was 17,500,000, of whom 16,500,000 were fed on home-grown wheat; Ireland at that time being entirely self-supporting. In 1843, Cobden himself estimated that of our yearly national consumption of 21,000,000 quarters of wheat, we only imported 1,000,000 quarters, producing 20,000,000 quarters at home. With 15,000,000 less population to feed than now, the United Kingdom at that time—fifty years ago—had over double the wheat area it now possesses, and produced at home more than nineteen-twentieths of its national requirements. It is perfectly certain that England's present dependence on foreign food supplies not only did not exist at that time, but that it was never even contemplated as a possible contingency by Cobden and his disciples. Nothing in this connection is more remarkable than Cobden's own arguments on this point. For example, in a speech in 1844 he said:

"These philosophical men, so profoundly ignorant of what is immediately around them, will tell us that Free Trade will throw their land out of cultivation. I predict with Lord Ducie and others that, so far from throwing land out of use, Free Trade in corn is the very way to increase the production at home, and stimulate the cultivation of the poorer soils by compelling the application of more capital and labor to them. We do not (in consequence of Free Trade in corn) anticipate having one quarter less corn from the soil of this country."

This argument Cobden constantly reiterated on many occasions and in every possible form. It has been completely and even ridiculously falsified by the result. England's wheat area at that time was over 4,000,000 acres. It is now under 2,000,000 acres, and is steadily decreasing in inverse ratio to the growth of her population. Whatever else Cobden may have been, it is clear that as a prophet he was an absolute failure. In fact, were he alive now, he would be logically bound by his own arguments, and in view of the total failure of his prophecies, to advocate the reimposition of the corn duties as strenuously as fifty years ago he advocated their abolition.

Since Cobden's successful crusade against the corn laws, and coincidently with the increase of wheat cultivation in Russia, in the great virgin wheat belt of Western North America, and in silver-using countries, such as India and the Argentine Republic, whence the development of steam power and rapid ocean transit, undreamt of by our forefathers, enables foreign produce to undersell the British farmer in his own market town, England's wheat area has gradually but steadily decreased, and foreign imports have as steadily increased along with her population, until the present position of dependence has been arrived at. It must also be noted that since 1853 England has been engaged in no European war by which the situation could be tested. But it is a significant fact that even the Crimean War, which was in no sense a naval war, and in which our naval commerce was never even threatened, had the effect of sending up wheat from fifty-five shillings to seventy-five shillings per quarter, and the price of the quartern loaf then rose in London to one shilling and fourpence.

Finally, and to complete this brief historical survey, England's naval supremacy against any possible combination is not at present, at all events on paper, the absolute mathematical certainty it once was. During the past ten years what may be described as an era of acute naval rivalry has commenced for unhappy Europe, already groaning under the burden of great land armaments. The following is an extract from an article by the naval correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* of April 15, 1897, under the heading of "The Command of the Sea":

"The terrible power of fleets has been only too clearly grasped by the nations of the Continent, who are anxious to avail themselves of this arm, whether for use against each other or against England, with whom they have so many causes of quarrel. In the past ten years Russia has constructed a new and powerful fleet; Germany has developed a small, but admirable navy, while England has made extraordinary efforts. And now France meditates a great increase of her navy, professing alarm lest she should be distanced by her own rival and by Germany. The naval party in France are turning their eyes to a colonial policy, and to carry out such a policy must be able to speak with England in her gates. When they point to the vast progress which the British navy has made in the last decade—its steady expansion, its 200 odd new ships, its increase in men—they hurriedly pass over the fact that, with all this advance, she is not by any means certain of commanding the sea against the Dual Alliance (France and Russia), and that without the command of the sea England becomes an isolated fortress, liable to be starved into surrender. . . . A power which has no ally, and

which is vulnerable, to quote M. "La Poulaine" in fully five times as many points as France. . . . The young school in France, which advocates the bombardment of open towns, the attack upon our commerce, and the abandonment of the armored battleship, is just now particularly active. It wishes to see a large number of very fast cruisers, steaming twenty-five knots or more, constructed for the express purpose of commerce destruction. . . . The vulnerability of British commerce (its mercantile marine is worth, at the lowest figure, £130,000,000) has profoundly impressed Frenchmen."

The article contains a good deal more to the same effect, including the following:

"Said M. de Kerjégu, the reporter on the French Estimates: 'The cause of England's greatness will be a cause of weakness to her in war. Her daily life, her essential interests, are subordinated to the arrival and departure of her merchant shipping. . . . At the simple menace of a conflict with a great maritime Power the rates of insurance would rise to enormous figures.' The fact that we (England) import £150,000,000 worth of food annually, besides raw material, which is the food of our manufactories, is also noted by him."

From a strictly naval point of view this article appears to pile up the agony a little too high; and also seems to ignore the "personal equation" point of view, as well as the fact that England can build, and even man, a second fleet, if the necessity arises, more quickly by far than any of her rivals. But, with this discount, the criticism is powerful enough.

Under all these circumstances, then, the question an Englishman naturally asks himself is this: Do the lessons of history in any way justify the belief that any country can afford to depend so largely on foreigners for the necessaries of life, having in view the risk of war with one or more maritime powers, least of all a densely populated island empire like our own?

In spite of the boasted civilization of this nineteenth century, war is a contingency that must be reckoned with, and the Universal Peace Society can only at present be regarded as a "nebular hypothesis." So far as Europe is concerned, every one who reads the daily papers must admit that a European war in the near future is not an impossible event. Greece and Turkey are fighting at the present moment, and how or when this war will end, and whether or no other European countries will ultimately be drawn into the strife, no man can at present say. Outside the European arena the possibilities of war are not perhaps so great.

In this connection I desire shortly to consider the relations

of England and the United States. The Anglo-American arbitration treaty, an outcome of wise statesmanship on both sides of the Atlantic, has not yet passed the American Senate. Whether or not it will do so sooner or later, the feeling of which that treaty is the outward and visible sign has a real and widespread existence.

The possibility of war between England and America, the two great English-speaking, civilized, and civilizing powers of the world, is certainly regarded on this side of the Atlantic, and probably on both, as infinitely remote. During the height of the so-called Venezuelan crisis, a little more than a year ago, nothing was more remarkable than the calm and pacific tone in relation thereto shown by the English people and the English press, in sharp contrast to the belligerent attitude, to say nothing of the commission of a flying squadron, evoked by the now historic telegram of the German Emperor. All this is now ancient history. But the difference in feeling was clear and unmistakable. Every Englishman believes in the unfortunate possibility of an Anglo-European war. No Englishman believes in the real possibility of an Anglo-American war. The two countries are united by ties of blood, religion, and language. They have vast financial and commercial relations. They would, in the event of war—whatever its result—inflict on one another incalculable damage and loss. They have no conflicting interests, territorial or otherwise—Canada not excepted—sufficient to justify such an international calamity. All these circumstances should combine to render such an event impossible. These considerations directly affect my argument. Half the exports from the United States to England are, in fact, breadstuffs, and of this commodity alone these exports supply more than one-third of our yearly national consumption. To deprive American wheat-producers and grain-shippers of their most valuable market would inflict material injury on American prosperity. Let us suppose that a combination of European powers against England declared food to be contraband of war. Such a declaration of international law has generally been opposed to American policy on general international grounds. For the special reasons mentioned above, and again to quote Mr. Balfour, "this theoretical prepossession would be stimulated by the strongest motives of personal interest." At the same time it may be remarked that

Uncle Sam would hardly declare war in order to enforce this view except for his own hand.

The position therefore appears to be clear up to a certain point. The possibility of America prohibiting the export of breadstuffs, or joining in any European declaration that food is contraband of war, may be dismissed from our minds. Yet the war risk for ocean commerce will still remain. A combination of European powers against England, bent on some national aggrandizement, would not stick at trifles. Our navy would be amply occupied in meeting hostile fleets, in blockading hostile ports, in guarding our shores, and in protecting as far as possible our inter-colonial commerce and our vast mercantile marine. We should have an immense coast line to protect—a vast extent of sea to patrol. With twenty-five-knot hostile cruisers bent on commerce destruction, what, we may well ask, would the rate of war insurance rise to for American and Argentine grain ships across three or four thousand miles of ocean? The Mediterranean trade route, in the event of a Franco-Russian combination, would practically be closed for commerce, and possibly St. George's Channel. The Atlantic route to the north of Ireland could probably be kept fairly well open. By some means, no doubt, our food supplies would be landed, but we should have to supply the protecting battleships and cruisers, and we should certainly be compelled to pay the war-risk price. What this price would be it is difficult to estimate. The extraordinary development of modern naval armaments has largely altered all previously existing conditions. But some small idea of the commercial risk involved, and the consequent rise of price, may be obtained from the experience of the American Civil War. No doubt this was an extreme case. The Southern States had no navy, although the "Alabama" succeeded, single-handed, in paralyzing American commerce, and practically driving, for the time being, the American trading flag off the seas. But, in spite of the "Alabama," Southern ports were in a condition of absolute blockade. No ordinary steamers ran. Rates of insurance, we are told, on blockade runners rose 900 per cent. Wages of seamen rose 300 per cent. The price of commodities rose in proportion. Salt, for example, bought at thirty shillings per ton, is said to have been sold, after a successful blockade run, at £340 per ton. Grain and meat, in this case, did not require

to be imported at all, being home-produced. What their prices might have run to under these conditions, if required to be imported, it is, perhaps, too startling to contemplate. No one, of course, supposes for a moment that with our present navy, England's coast line could be blockaded in such a manner. If such an event were possible, and when it happened, England's Empire and her greatness would be gone. But there are many degrees of comparison between a condition of absolute blockade and a condition of open ocean trade routes, while England in her network of ocean commerce, and with her bread-larder abroad, is beyond comparison more vulnerable now in this respect than any country ever previously known to history. One or two modern and unscrupulous 25-knot commerce-destroyers on the loose in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans might very seriously affect the domestic economy of millions of British homes, while Britannia and her navy remained for all general purposes the Mistress of the Seas.

The question of England's food supply in time of war appears to resolve itself then into one of price, however powerful her navy may be; and the price might run so high as to cause serious suffering, disturbance, and riot at home. It is here that we differ from the "invincible navy and nothing else" school. I am still insular enough to believe that the population of these islands is made of the same kind of stuff as its ancestors, and would, if the necessity arose, and in the last resort, worry through any reasonable, or, for the matter of that, unreasonable, amount of starvation and riot at home, as well as fighting abroad, even under the conditions I have endeavored to describe, rather than compromise ingloriously with its foes. But I am also convinced that the ordeal would be a severe one, severer perhaps than anything we have ever faced before, and if some practicable means can be found to minimize or insure against the risk of starvation involved, it would be well to ascertain and adopt them.

We are all familiar with the arguments of the economic school. The position, they tell us, is inevitable. Our country has nailed the colors of Free Trade to the mast. Nothing must be done to raise the price of the people's food, even by a hair's-breadth. We are bound to import from the cheapest markets, however much our wheat area at home may continue to diminish, and our agricultural industry to decay.

It is obvious that these arguments altogether ignore and leave out of the question the principle of reasonable national insurance against risk. On a declaration of war, we may be told, an adequate supply of wheat and flour can at once be purchased, and be made a matter of imperial expenditure, if necessary. This is somewhat on the principle of insuring one's house against fire after the fire has broken out. The price or rate of insurance, after the event, is generally prohibitive. Our point is that national provision should be made beforehand, when it can be done at a reasonable rate. England no doubt is rich, and the imperial purse is deep, and the shoulders of the individual consumer could in any event be partially relieved from the direct burden of a war-priced loaf. But the purchase of adequate food supplies made in the hurry and panic of a declaration of war would impose a severe tax on the community at large, and indirectly fall on the consumer in the end.

It is not my intention within the limits of this article to deal, except in the briefest manner, with the various remedies or means of national insurance against war-priced foods that have been suggested. It is sufficient here to remark that, in addition to an adequate navy, some insurance against war famine, some national reserve of wheat for example, sufficient to tide over any possible emergency, should in our opinion be provided beforehand. The natural place for such a reserve is in the land, the barns and stackyards of the United Kingdom, to be obtained only by some form of encouragement or protection that would ensure to the British farmer a remunerative price for his produce, and some safeguard against unfair foreign competition. There are many who believe that this result could be obtained by moderate protective duties, on a sliding scale, directed chiefly against depreciated-silver-using countries, without materially affecting the consumers' market. It may possibly still be true, it certainly used to be true, that a strong prejudice exists in the minds of England's laboring classes against any form of protection on food. But I am one of many who now believe that our system of Free Trade is no longer a principle to be blindly worshipped, but a question of expediency to be inquired into, and if necessary modified for some sufficient counterbalancing advantage. The idea is spreading and taking root, and will some day, I believe, bear practical fruit. A comparatively small rise in the price of wheat,

and one that could confidently be relied on by the British farmer, would in a year or two largely increase our wheat area; and when it is remembered that about quadruple our present wheat-acreage, say 8,000,000 acres, or about one-sixth of the whole cultivable area of the kingdom, would supply us with all the bread we need, this solution of the difficulty does not appear altogether impossible.

Another step in the right direction, from England's point of view at all events, is the growing feeling in favor of colonial commercial federation that now exists. The well-known resolution of the Ottawa conference of 1894 in favor of a preferential customs arrangement between England and her colonies, Mr. Chamberlain's speech in London of March 25, 1896, in favor of some such arrangement, in which our colonies must join, on the principle of the German Zollverein, and last, but not least, the new preferential tariff bill, recently introduced by the Dominion government in the Ottawa House of Commons, under which preference will be given to British products, all mark a new era in our intercolonial history. This movement affects my present argument in this respect—that it must tend to the encouragement of colonial rather than foreign agricultural imports to this country, and so relieve our present large dependence on imports exclusively foreign. The latent capacity of India, Australasia, and particularly Canada, with some encouragement, to supply England with all the surplus agricultural produce she may require is undoubted. It is an additional favorable factor in the case that our communication with Canada is along the shortest and the most easily protected ocean trade route to our shores.

Rudyard Kipling's recent verses on the new Canadian tariff bill may well be quoted here:

> "A nation spoke to a nation—
> A throne sent word to a throne:
> 'Daughter am I in my mother's house,
> But mistress in my own!
> The gates are mine to open,
> As the gates are mine to close,
> And I abide by my mother's house,'
> Said our Lady of the Snows."

The last suggested remedy I will briefly mention is a reserve of wheat in national granaries at home. The idea, no doubt, is a new one to the generality of Englishmen, who may never have

seen an American grain elevator, even in a dream, and whose idea of storage is sacks in a barn. It is an alternative remedy until we arrive at the happy condition of growing our wheat at home, and no doubt possesses some drawbacks, more apparent, I think, than real, to the inexperienced mind. It is stated, for instance, that the wheat would not keep, that the experiment would be too costly, and that it would be too great an interference with legitimate trade. To all these objections there are, to my mind, sufficient answers, which it is, perhaps, unnecessary to recapitulate here. These questions form appropriate subject matter for the government inquiry which we desire, and which, in the end, I venture to think we shall obtain. We live, like our cousins across the Atlantic, in a time of popular institutions and representative government. Our great industrial constituencies have long since determined in their own interests that England shall possess an adequate navy to guard her shores and preserve her markets. For the same reasons we may anticipate that sooner or later these constituencies will also insist on some additional and reasonable security being provided against famine-priced food in time of war.

H. Seton-Karr.

POPULAR ERRORS IN LIVING AND THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY CHARLES W. PURDY, M. D.

It seems altogether probable, if indeed not already assured, that the next and greatest advance in medical science will be the mastery of the art of preventing disease. In fact, the trend of medical thought and energy has been surely in the direction of this object for a number of years. It is true that the amount of disease which an educated physician is able successfully to cope with to-day, when armed with our modern resources and methods, seems very great, if compared with that which was possible to the medical man in the days of our fathers; yet this appears to be dwarfed almost into insignificance beside the measure of pain and life it seems possible to save by means of preventive measures.

A subject that so intimately concerns the welfare of the public at large; that is so deeply important in its bearings upon the state, society, business, and domestic life; and withal a study so eminently altruistic in its nature, cannot but command our attention and most careful consideration.

In order to attain the greatest success in the preservation of health, the prevention of disease, and the prolongation of life, something more is necessary than the discovery of disease germs, and of effectual measures for their destruction. It is necessary for the public to understand more thoroughly that health, like financial capital, must be earned if possessed; that, though sometimes a legacy, it remains with the possessor as a reserve only when guarded with the same care as is a bank account; that overdrafts, beyond legitimate living or running expenses, will surely impair the principal; and that, if these be continued, the health must inevitably become bankrupt sooner or

later, in direct proportion to the amount of reserve capital, and the number and extent of the overdrafts made upon it. It seems high time, then, that more widespread and efficient measures be adopted for the purpose of educating the general public in those physiological laws, the observance of which most surely conserve the bodily health, erect the strongest barriers against the encroachments of disease, and thus conduce to the attainment of long life. It seems well nigh a reproach to modern civilization that the higher the plane of intelligence, education, and social attainments reached by most peoples, the greater the public tendency to live unphysiological lives, and history unerringly tells us that to this source we may invariably look for the first evidences of physical decadence. The ancient Greek, through his sacred regard for and scrupulous observation of physiological laws, comparatively imperfect as his understanding of them was, succeeded in building up a physical type of manhood that has ever since challenged the admiration of the world. It was not, indeed, until dominated by the more wealthy and aggressive Roman, that, in the assimilation of his seductive luxuries and excesses of life, his splendid physical attainment began to become undermined. The same alluring influences that beguiled the mind of the philosophic Greek into forgetfulness of his lofty physical ideals have ever operated more or less markedly upon all subsequent nations, and that, as a rule, in proportion to their acquirement of wealth and social elevation, nor is our own fair land and more practical people without danger from this very source.

The problem, then, presented for our consideration finds its solution in the answer to the simple question, How shall we best live? In briefly reviewing some of the more prominent factors that go to make up the reply to this question, it may be premised that this discussion is intended to apply more especially to the life and habits of our own American people. The writer holds that if a man who is born of healthy parents, and who is himself healthy at birth, become seriously disabled in health before the age of from 65 to 70, barring accidents or infectious disease, it is solely because he has not lived properly.

Beginning with the subject of food, it may be emphatically stated that the greatest dietary sin of the average American is his meat-eating propensity. He devours this brawn-producing

food upon all occasions, and upon all the calendar days of the year, even ecclesiastical days not excepted. Indeed, it would seem that the less occasion he has to call upon his muscular resources—or, in other words, the more sedentary his habits—the more he reinforces his muscular system by his habitual consumption of animal food. It is not uncommon, especially among the well-to-do of our population, to see butchers' meat served with every meal, either as the chief or as the adjunct course. Now the amount of butchers' meat that a man of ample appetite will consume when thus regularly spread before him on practically all occasions represents to his excretory organs a tax in its disposal that is physiologically prodigious.

Man belongs essentially to the class of omnivora, and therefore his physical mechanism has been so adjusted that his health is best promoted by drawing upon all the ordinary products of the earth for his food supply. His love of variety may safely lead him to gratify his palate from practically all sources comprising the gift of nature to the animal kingdom, but assuredly he may not confine himself very largely to any one of these sources without reaping the certain penalty of impaired health, or even of premature death; and to no article in the whole list of food supply does this apply with more force than to flesh foods. In order to make clear the physiology of this fact, attention may first be called to the axiom that the disorders of the human mechanism which occur after adult or middle life are largely those that are due to the inability of the organism to rid itself of waste materials; in other words, these diseases are but expressions of the loss of balance between excretion and ingestion. As contributing to this loss of balance, the waste or by-products of flesh foods are among the largest and most common factors, as will be immediately explained. Cooked meat, as ordinarily served upon the table, represents the very high range of nitrogenous composition of 27 per cent. The lean portion holds the great bulk of the nitrogenous contents of the meat; elements which the system is enabled to utilize only in relatively small amounts, chiefly for the purpose of renewing waste of muscular tissue (3 to 5 ounces of meat per day); while the great bulk of those elements that maintain the various operations of the economy, as represented by heat and force, must be supplied by the hydrogen and carbon groups of

foods (twenty to thirty ounces per day). The excessive use of highly nitrogenized foods, of which butchers' meat is the type, therefore leads to an accumulation of nitrogenous waste products in the blood, which, unless they be to the fullest extent metamorphosed and oxidized by active exercise, act injuriously upon the organism, damaging the organs and functions which maintain life. Among the pernicious effects of an accumulation of nitrogenous waste products in the blood is the premature hardening of the arteries, entailing all those dangers from arterial hemorrhage of which apoplexy is the type, and in addition early impairing nutrition, so that the meat-eater grows old before his time. Indeed, it is well known that excessive meat-eating ages man more quickly than any other excess except alcoholism. The ill effects of the excessive use of animal food upon the circulatory system are by no means confined, however, to the arteries. A large proportion of those who are intemperate in this way are subject to progressive enlargement of the heart, and, since this inevitably leads to degeneration of the cardiac muscle, such people are exceedingly prone to sudden death from so-called "heart-failure," or collapse of that organ. The extra tax imposed upon certain glandular and excretory organs in elaborating and eliminating the waste products consequent upon a large consumption of meat foods results in such enormous functional overwork that these organs not infrequently begin to fail about middle life, and soon after fifty years of age they often break down completely. Thus by far the largest number of cases of primary Bright's disease (interstitial neptisitis) are directly caused by this practice. We have amongst us a certain type or class of people, which is certainly very large numerically, and which may be designated briefly by the following characteristics: They are typically healthy or even robust in appearance, inclined to rather full habit of body, but are sedentary in their habits, taking but little exercise; they possess ample appetites, which, as a rule, they gratify without stint and largely upon butcher-meat. Now, as a matter of careful observation, of the large and increasing number of cases of acquired Bright's disease among us, we may safely estimate 90 per cent. of the cases as belonging to this class. Again, the excessive use of animal foods, especially when coupled with

sedentary habits of life, solves the greater part of such problems as the frequency among our people of such diseases as rheumatism and gout, in which respects we bid fair to outstrip our so-called "beef-eating" cousins on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

It should not be supposed that animal foods are best avoided altogether, but it is of the greatest possible importance that the supply be as nearly limited to the requirements of the system as possible, and it should especially be remembered that these requirements are much smaller in people of sedentary life than in those of active habits. In some respects the excessive use of animal food is more harmful than excessive use of vegetable foods, because the system is able to appropriate only a limited quantity of the former. The human organism possesses no resources for storing away excess of nitrogenous elements, and, therefore, the waste, or by-products of animal food, must be disposed of by complicated processes, through delicately constructed mechanisms. With vegetable foods it is somewhat different, since the excess may be stored up for future use, chiefly in the form of fat, while the waste, or by-products thereof, for the most part, find exit through the comparatively more direct and less complicated mechanism of the intestinal canal. Habits of exclusive vegetarianism, however, are not advised, though a moderate approach to such a standard has much to recommend it, as tending to promote health and long life. This fact was strongly brought out by Sir George Humphry, who carefully investigated the life histories of centenarians in England. His report was published by the Collective Investigation Committee of the British Medical Association in 1887. Of the thirty-seven people who had lived over one hundred years, the following features appear in the report: three took no animal food, four took very little, twenty a small amount, ten a moderate amount, and only one habitually took much meat.

Next in order of the more serious dietary errors common among our people is the excessive use of sweets and starchy foods. Those foods whose chief contents consist of starch and sugar form a group chemically known as carbo-hydrates, and their chief use in the economy of the body is the production of heat and force. They occupy precisely the same relationship to the human mechanism that coal does to the steam engine; indeed, by the same

process in both are heat and force evolved—viz., by the oxidation or combustion of carbon. Owing to its more perfect, though more complicated, mechanism, the human apparatus is enabled to extract from the fuel one part of force to five parts of heat; while the most perfect steam engine yet constructed has only been able to extract from its fuel about one part of force to eight parts of heat. The human mechanism possesses another economic advantage over the steam engine in the utilization of its fuel; within certain limits the excess of fuel employed (starches and sugars) is converted into fat and stored up in the organism for future use. While, however, possessing such high economic advantages over the steam engine in the utilization of its fuel, the human mechanism possesses one serious drawback. It is more complex and intricate in construction, and in its operations it is more liable to get out of order, especially when an excess of fuel (food) is employed while the apparatus is running at low pressure. Herein precisely lies the error entailed by the habits of a large proportion of our well-to-do people with regard to the use of carbo-hydrate foods (starches and sugars). They live at high pressure in the amount of heat and force producing agents consumed, while in the utilization of heat and force, in their sedentary habits, they live at very low pressure.

Once introduced into the stomach, amylaceous and saccharine foods (starches and sugars) must pass through one of two processes; either (*a.*) they must undergo the first step in the normal process of digestion and then pass on to the liver for further transformation, or (*b.*) they must undergo destructive fermentation, with resulting liberation of large quantities of gas, which entails all those discomforts and symptoms known as flatulent dyspepsia. It seems perfectly reasonable, then, that if the human mechanism have submitted to it more carbo-hydrates than it can dispose of within a limited time, waste with the above-described consequences is more than likely to ensue. In other words, and to follow our former metaphor still further, the overstoking of the human engine with fuel chokes the firebox, the fuel becomes wasted, and the whole mechanism becomes clogged and disabled for efficient action. Such is the inevitable consequence of overloading all naturally weak stomachs with carbo-hydrate foods, and the practical physician well knows that one of the best remedies for this evil is to substitute green vegetables for

sweet and starchy ones, because the former will not ferment into gases even if they be not digested.

In some cases, the stomach possesses more than the average digestive power, and under such circumstances a relatively large amount of sweets and starches may pass the stomach in assimilable form. In such cases the extra tax falls upon the liver, because one of the chief functions of that organ is to elaborate the glycogen (transformed starch) into fat. Habitual overtaxation of the liver leads to functional impairment of that organ, and if continued it is likely to result in time in organic disease. The conditions so commonly characterized as "bilious attacks," i. e., headaches, furred tongue, and transient nervous storms, accompanied by decided depression of spirits, are due to the escape of bile derivatives into the circulation. With long-continued recurrences of these manifestations, the skin assumes a more or less sallow hue, indicative of chronic bile poisoning. Many of these subjects acquire in time organic changes in the liver. A few of them develop gall stones, which entail acute and not unfrequently fatal suffering; while a very considerable proportion of them run on into diabetes—a disease that has increased in frequency in the United States one hundred and fifty per cent. within the last forty years.

It is not to be understood that all excessive consumers of amylaceous and saccharine foods pay the penalties just described. The stomach and liver in many cases will withstand the extra work imposed upon them without impairment or breakdown, and, when they do so, we are enabled to trace the metamorphosis of starches and sugars to their ultimate normal form in the organism, that is, fat. The decided tendency of our well-to-do people to become unduly stout as they arrive at middle age furnishes a striking example of this chemico-physiological transformation of starches and sugars, as will be clearly evidenced by a glance at the habitual diet list of this class of people. While it is by no means denied that other factors in a measure contribute to the production of obesity, yet that condition is, in the main, due to the generous use of carbo-hydrate foods. Now, with all the traditional and actual amplitude of good nature that accompanies amplitude of body, it cannot be truthfully asserted that corpulence or obesity is a good thing, so far as the efficiency or durability of the physical mechanism is concerned. It may be laid down as a

general proposition that fat people are comparatively short lived. Marked accumulations of fat in the human organism impede normal processes of oxidation, and moreover they tend to produce atrophy of the muscular system, and ultimately they favor degenerative changes in certain vital organs, notably so in the heart. Moreover, it cannot be successfully maintained that the stout man possesses more strength and endurance than the man of moderate weight, although, paradoxical as it may seem, the former has stored up within him much larger amounts of potential force (fat). The truth is, the fat man has utilized too much of his working space for the storage of his fuel and therefore his machinery is crowded and restricted in its natural operation. While, therefore, his movements are ponderous, they lack the poise and precision which make those of the man of moderate weight more effective. In addition to this, the fat man encounters a similar disadvantage to that from which our modern Atlantic liners suffer—too much of his energy and force is expended in carrying his increased avordupois ; his machinery is, therefore, constantly subjected to abnormal strain when in motion, and consequently it is liable to premature wearing out or complete breakdown.

Another error to be noted, and one which there is reason to fear is scarcely less common among our people and certainly not less serious in its consequences, consists in the excessive quantity of food consumed. To the lay mind nothing seems to augur so strongly in favor of robust health as a hearty appetite. Furthermore, there would seem to be a strong conviction in the public mind, sanctified by tradition from time almost immemorial, that the more a man eats the better he is. The quantity of food that many people *naturally* eat is very large as compared with their actual physiological requirements ; add to this the many tempting forms in which food is presented to the palate by our modern culinary arts, the sharpening of the appetite by the ante-prandial cocktail, the stimulus afforded the appetite by a bottle of good wine, and the result is often the consumption of an amount of food that simply overwhelms the assimilative organs. Such indulgence, if unrestricted and habitual, taxes both the assimilative and the excretory organs to their highest capacity, especially when coupled with sedentary life, and moreover it lends an additional impetus to the evils springing from the use of improper quality of food, which have already been

considered. The human elaborating and excretory mechanism was evidently adjusted for ordinary wear and tear to an average limited period of about seventy years. Under 40 per cent. of extra work we must naturally expect impairment or breakdown of the mechanism much earlier. It should, therefore, excite no special surprise that so large a proportion of our well-to-do people die from Bright's disease, heart failure, and allied diseases at fifty or fifty-five, who should, and under properly regulated lives and habits would, have attained the natural ages of seventy or over. Paradoxical though it may seem, such people usually spring from exceptionally healthy stock, and often point with pride to the fact that their immediate ancestors lived to advanced ages of eighty years or more. This paradox, however, is more apparent than real, for investigation will usually reveal the fact that, for the most part, the parents in such cases were people of more simple habits, such as corresponded with New England life seventy-five or a hundred years ago. The truth is that the well-to-do man of to-day lives in a faster age than that of his father and grandfather; he meets with greater opportunities and possibilities, and therefore greater stimulus to all his energies; he more easily acquires pecuniary resources, and in larger amounts, and therefore he possesses greater luxuries of domestic life. With these come greater temptations to excess. While he has often inherited a splendid constitution from his ancestors, unlike them he has run his physical mechanism at a breakdown rate, and it must of necessity more quickly wear out.

Before quitting the subject of food, it may prove profitable to consider briefly some of our popular beverages. As a rule, Americans consume too much sugar in their beverages. Thousands of drug-stores reap their most handsome profits during the summer season in dispensing the most atrocious compounds under the name of "soda water." These preparations are saturated with cheap sugar, are often made up of poor water flavored with various extracts and aromatics, and are entirely destitute of the article from which the name is derived—soda. Recently it has become the custom to add the various forms of ice-creams to these compounds, and to present the whole mixed problem to a physiologically astonished stomach and liver through the seductive agency of so-called silver spoons. At the dinner-table cham-

pagne is perhaps the favorite alcoholic indulged in by those who can afford it; and the average quart bottle of champagne contains about one-eighth of a pound of sugar. Those of more moderate means content themselves with sauterne or sherry, which contains rather less than half as much sugar as champagne, while many still more economically inclined patronize domestic wines, some of which average about half a pound of sugar to each quart bottle.

At our open-air resorts so largely patronized by the populace in summer the aristocrat may indulge in his favorite champagne, or he may follow the example of the man of more plebeian palate and purse and gratify his thirst with beer, which contains an average of six grains of sugar to each ounce. It will be readily seen that habitual use of any of the beverages named entails the consumption of large amounts of sugar; so that it becomes a matter of comparative indifference from which of these sources a man derives his headache or indigestion; for, be it remembered, that, as a rule, it is the sugar, and not the alcohol, that is responsible for both.

In the consideration of general habits, nothing seems more strikingly characteristic of the American than his indomitable love of physical repose. It is by no means intended, even inferentially, to accuse him of indolence, which it would be clearly unjust to do, but he is, *par excellence,* the man of sedentary life. Gifted with ingenuity and mechanical handicraft scarcely approached by the man of any other nation, he has turned these gifts somewhat largely to account in providing substitutes for his legs. The rapid development of the various systems of transit in the United States within a comparatively few years has rendered the covering of distances so convenient, speedy, comfortable, and withal so cheap, that walking has almost gone out of fashion with us. In addition to this, the systematic development of the various departments of service, the high state of efficiency of the post, telegraphic, and telephone systems, have tended to diminish more and more the necessity of getting about, and to confine the man of business to his office; for, as a matter of fact, many men now conduct all the ramifications of extensive business enterprises without leaving the office desk. Nor is it alone in business relations that Americans are emphatically sedentary. In recreations and amusements the same tendency has largely pre-

vailed. Relaxation and amusement are sought at the theatre perhaps more largely and uniformly by our people than by any other. If a man, however, really determines that he needs fresh air to improve his health, it is the fashion to go for a carriage ride, and thus he generously gives to his horse that which he himself most needs—a little wholesome exercise. At the present time it is seriously believed by some observers that our people are on the eve of a muscular revolution, and the widespread use of the bicycle lends color to this belief. There can be no doubt that a continuance so general of this delightful and wholesome practice must ultimately result in substantial benefit to the public health. If practised with ordinary intelligence and discretion, bicycling furnishes an ideal type of exercise, which would decidedly tend to counteract the pernicious effects of our sedentary habits, and this applies emphatically to our women as well as to our men.

As standing in close relationship to our sedentary tendencies it may be noted that, in our northern latitudes, our dwellings, stores, and offices are almost constantly overheated during the colder months. When living and sleeping in an atmosphere, the temperature of which is but a few degrees below that of blood heat, but little call is made upon the heat and force producing agents taken in as food. Besides, an overheated atmosphere invites the blood to the surface of the body, thereby largely maintaining an artificial circulation in the capillaries (small vessels). This impairs the tone and vigor of the heart's action, because that organ is thus relieved of a very considerable portion of its work. When the artificial heat is withdrawn and the body comes into contact with the cool air, the blood recedes from the surface, and so remains for the most part, because the heart has lost its power to force the blood into the peripheral vessels at the surface. Our people, therefore, cultivate a diminished resistance to the influence of cold in those very latitudes where the vicissitudes of climate demand that they should foster increased resisting circulatory power. It should not, therefore, seem a matter of surprise that in our northern latitudes common colds and catarrhal diseases prevail so largely, nor yet that in the winter months the mortality lists become alarmingly swelled through such fatal diseases as acute rheumatism and pneumonia.

Before concluding this review it seems altogether proper that

reference should be made to the important subject of clothing. While Americans expend, perhaps, more money upon apparel than any other nation, yet they are physiologically the worst clad of all civilized nations. The physical objects of clothing are to protect the body against cold or against warmth, as the climate may require, and all other hygienic uses ultimately resolve themselves into one or the other of these objects. Now, as regards protection against cold, it is a matter of comparative indifference of what material external garments are composed so long as the proper quality of goods be worn next the skin. Herein lies the error committed by a large proportion of our people. It is the exception to find with us persons who are habitually clad in *all-wool* undergarments, and yet in our northern latitudes such clothing only can afford adequate protection against the climate. In order to maintain equable warmth of the body, the first essential condition to be secured is uniform dryness of skin. We should, therefore, in selecting undergarments in cold latitudes, choose a material that possesses the highest possible hygroscopic (water-absorbing) power. Now, wool is emphatically that material, possessing, as compared with cotton and linen, double their hygroscopic power as regards weight, and quadruple their hygroscopic power for surface. Of the five textiles most employed for clothing—jute, linen, cotton, silk, and wool—the last is the weakest conductor of heat and therefore the warmest, while the others follow in reverse order. Moreover, wool takes up and holds the moisture from the body, and this moisture contains much escaped latent heat which the body always loses rapidly under perspiration. In holding this moisture the wool radiates it but slowly, and in so doing renders back to the body its escaping latent heat. It will therefore be readily perceived that in our northern latitudes all-wool undergarments should be worn, *and none other*. The weight of these garments is a matter of comparative insignificance and may be left to individual preference, since with a light-weight but all-wool garment in contact with the skin one may readily keep the body warm by adding outside wraps as the day or climate may demand.

With regard to protection against heat, fortunately in the United States, there is less to contend with in this direction than in tropical latitudes, although a high mortality among children is due to excessive heat in the summer months in the larger

cities. In the selection of clothing to protect the body against heat—*i. e.*, the direct solar rays—color is the chief feature to be considered, since texture has but little influence. White affords the best protection, next light-gray, then yellow, pink, blue and black in the order named. In warm latitudes in hot seasons, then, white or light-gray clothing should be worn, and appropriate weight should also be considered.

In summing up the answer to the question propounded at the beginning of this enquiry, it will be noted that the answer depends somewhat upon individual constitutions, habits, occupations, and location in each individual case. But the following suggestions will serve as a general guide. The man of robust constitution and sedentary habits should live largely upon fish, green vegetables, and acid fruits, eating butchers' meat but once daily. He may in addition eat bread and potatoes, but these should constitute his limit of starchy foods. Cakes, farina, oatmeal, and the various cereal breakfast foods should be indulged in but rarely or altogether avoided. Sugar should be used but sparingly, and only as a flavoring for food or beverages, and never as a food in itself. If he use wine with his dinner, it should preferably consist of the non-saccharine order ; and he should limit the quantity of fluids consumed with his meals to from twelve to sixteen ounces. He should dine between six and seven o'clock in the evening, and at all times eat in moderation, never under any circumstances overloading his stomach. In northern latitudes, and especially in humid and changeable climates, such as those near the seaboard and the great chain of inland lakes, he should wear all-wool undergarments, including stockings, the year round. In dryer and somewhat warmer climates, such as the Middle and Southern interior States, silk underwear may be substituted for wool. Warm or tepid baths are preferable to cold ones, and after middle age cold showers, and plunges, or even sea bathing, are not without serious risks.

The man of sedentary life should reduce the temperature of his office and dwelling to 68 degrees, Fahr., and he should habitually walk at least two miles in the open air each day or take an equivalent amount of physical exercise. The best form of exercise is horseback riding, next in order is bicycling, while walking may be ranked as third.

The laboring man may be permitted more liberties in his diet

than the man of sedentary habits, especially in the matter of butchers' meat, starches, and sugars. His greater muscular activity more readily oxidizes the waste products of these foods, and, moreover, his increased force expenditure demands more heat and force producing foods. The laboring man may therefore safely and with benefit eat butchers' meat twice daily, and he may also eat oatmeal and puddings at least two or three days in the week in addition to his bread and potatoes. He should dine in the middle of the day, and he should be allowed a full hour for his dinner and rest. His dinner is best for him if served without any form of alcohol. In matters of clothing, the laboring man should follow the general lines already laid down.

Through childhood and adolescence proportionately more meat should be used than after the period of adult growth, because meat furnishes the basis of tissue growth, which is active at such periods. A larger proportion of starches and sugars are also demanded during these periods in order to sustain the incessant activity of early life. With regard to the clothing of children, all the rules laid down apply here with emphatic force.

In the light of the facts and conclusions established in this discussion, is it not pertinent to this subject, considering the momentous nature of the issues involved, that in conclusion we should pause and ask ourselves the following questions ?

(1.) Are we not becoming more and more addicted to the use of drugs for the relief of ills and pains that are purely the result of faulty habits of living, and most of which would be more surely, more effectively and permanently relieved by simply correcting our improper habits of life ?

(2.) Are we not afflicted with a large amount of suffering, misery, and disease for which there is no necessity whatever; and are we not likely through hereditary transmission to entail much of this misery upon our offspring ?

(3.) Do not a very large number of our people die much earlier in life than their constitutions, apparent vigor, and family histories would seem to warrant; and are not these premature deaths very largely unnecessary, and therefore clearly avoidable?

CHARLES W. PURDY.

LITERARY TREASURE-TROVE ON THE NILE.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D., ETC.

THERE seems to be no doubt that one or more Arabs have discovered, somewhere on the banks of the Nile, a library of the Alexandrine period, or else the tomb of a man of science of the same epoch buried with his books. I do not know whether the place of discovery is known, even approximately, to the British representatives in Egypt. I think not; but if even they are acquainted with it, they are perfectly justified in keeping the secret to themselves, so as to prevent international jealousy and competition from interfering in their dealings with the discoverers. The first papyrus of importance was published in 1891 by the British Museum (*editio princeps* by F. C. Kenyon). It contains the greater part of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, a treatise of great value for the interpretation of many obscure or uncertain points in the constitutional history of Athens. How far or in what sense this is to be regarded as a genuine work of Aristotle is still a subject of discussion; for, although we know that the great Stagirite has written, wholly or in part, about one hundred such treatises on municipal constitutions, there are reasons to suspect that this newly found πολιτεία was composed by one of his pupils from notes collected in the course of his lectures.

The owner of the library, or of the tomb, the contents of which are being rifled by the Arabs, was not only a student of political economy, but also of poetry, as proved by the present discovery of the poems of Bacchylides. To appreciate its value, we must remember that the great lyric, born at Iulis, in the island of Ceos, towards the middle of the fifth century, B. C., was considered by the ancients a worthy rival of Pindar. Little is known of his life and literary career, except that he

lived for a long time at the court of Hiero, in Syracuse, together with his uncle and fellow-townsman Simonides, and with Pindar himself. He wrote in the Doric dialect very short poems, hymns, *epinikia*, pæans, dithyrambs, the scanty fragments of which were first collected and edited by Neue in 1823 (*Bacchylidis Cei Fragmenta. Berlin*).

I cannot better illustrate the present discovery than by reproducing a short communication addressed to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* by Mr. Kenyon himself, to whom, as in the case of Aristotle's πολιτεία, the British Museum has given the enviable task of editing the text. Mr. Kenyon's letter is dated London, December 31, 1896, and is addressed to Professor Giacomo Lombroso.

"I will gladly give you all the information in my power for the purpose you mention, namely, the announcement to the *Accademia dei Lincei* of the discovery of Bacchylides. You will understand, however, that it is impossible to give very full details at present, since the manuscript has only been here for a very short time, and I am still engaged in the work of determining the true order of the scattered pieces. The manuscript is a papyrus, and, when perfect, must have been a very fine roll. It is written in a rather large (large, that is, for a papyrus manuscript) and well-formed uncial hand, which, I think, may almost certainly be assigned to the first century, B. C. Accents, breathings, and punctuation have been supplied in many places, though not universally, and generally by the first hand. Some have been added by the second hand, which has also made a few corrections, and inserted several titles (apparently in the first and second century after Christ). A few titles are written by the first hand. Each column contains about thirty-three lines, which are, of course, of uneven length, but are generally rather short. The text seems as a rule to be well and accurately written.

"Unfortunately, the papyrus has been very seriously mutilated by its Egyptian discoverers. The longest single piece measures twenty inches in length, and contains four and a half columns of writing. There are fourteen pieces of some considerable size, about thirty fragments of medium size (measuring a few inches in each direction), and a large number of small fragments. It is in the arrangement of the fragments that the most difficult part of my work in preparing the *editio princeps* will consist. The larger portions of the manuscript, so far as my reconstruction has at present gone, contain thirty one columns, of which fifteen are either perfect or approximately so, giving a total of about 500 perfect lines, and from 500 to 700 which are at present imperfect. I have at present found evidence of about fifteen distinct poems, but of some of these only small portions are preserved. Most of them are evidently epinikian odes, but one section of the papyrus contains poems which must be classed as hymns or dithyrambs. There are fragments of titles preserved, namely, 'Theseos,' 'Io' (addressed to the Athenians), and 'Idas' (addressed to the Lacedemonians).

"Of the epinikian odes, two are addressed to Hiero (one for an Olympic

victory, and one for a Pythian); two to Lachon of Ceos (Olympic); one to Alexidamos of Metapontum (Pythian); one to Tisias of Aegiria (Nemean); one to Automedes of Phlios (Nemean); one to an Athenian, perhaps, named Eubulas (Isthmian); while there are others which may be determined more definitely as the fragments are arranged.

"With regard to the value of the contents, it is perhaps dangerous to trust to first impressions; moreover, it is a subject on which different people will form different opinions. The style of Bacchylides, both in language and in metre, is simpler and easier than that of Pindar. I do not think he rises to Pindar's heights of strength and splendor; his distinctive merits seem to me to be grace and ease, assisted by a poetical vocabulary. The recovery of his poems will enrich the lexicons with several new compounds, and the mythology will, I think, be found interesting.

"I do not know that there is any further information which I can give at present; and perhaps it is not wise to publish many statements which may have to be modified by increased study of the papyrus. But what I have here written down will I hope, enable the members of the *Accademia dei Lincei* to judge of the extent and importance of the present discovery. It is my wish now to get the text printed with as little delay as possible; but the number of small fragments to be arranged will, very possibly, make this work a long one. I would only ask scholars to be patient, and to trust that I will do my best to put them in possession of the new poet as soon as possible.

FREDERIC G. KENYON."

It pleases me to state that the Romans did offer to Bacchylides the same honors they were wont to pay to Pindar. The wealthy and learned citizens of the last century of the republic or of the time of Augustus, who covered the hillsides of Tusculum, of Tibur, and Præneste, and lined the shores of the Tyrrhenian with their magnificent country seats, did not forget to place the bust or the medallion of the lyric of Ceos side by side with those of the lyric of Thebes. The evidence of this fact, not generally known to students, is to be found in the discoveries made in 1775 among the ruins of the villa of Cassius, one mile east of Tivoli, on the road called *di Carciano* or *Cassiano*. The place is actually called by the local peasantry *la Pianella di Cassio*, "pianella" meaning a terrace of a Roman villa supported by substruction walls.

I visited this delightful spot on January 14. There are not one but three terraces, one above the other, over 500 feet long and about 150 deep. The substructures are built in the so-called *opus incertum*, over the remains of an older villa built in the so-called pelasgic or poligonal masonry. Age has given to these walls a brilliant golden-brownish hue, such as is seen in the late fall in our forests, when the setting sun strikes the half-

dried leaves of the oak or the walnut. The gardens are now represented by groves of olives two or three centuries old, the quiet green of which harmonizes so well with the color of the ruins. There are glades and vistas through the masses of foliage over the Campagna, Rome, and the seacoast, with Hadrian's Villa and the sulphur springs in the foreground, while the Monte Affliano, crowned with the remains of the temple of the Dea Bona, towers back of the ruins to the height of 2,500 feet.

The excavations of 1773–1775 were undertaken by Domenico de Angelis, a Tiburtine amateur, in company with Antonio de Matthias, owner of the ground, and under the supervision of Giovanni Corrodi, government inspector of antiquities. I enter into these details because, although the general facts and the results of these excavations are known to archæologists from the few lines written by Ennio Quirino Visconti, in the first volume of the *Museo Pio-Clementino* (Milan edition of 1818), I know a great deal more about them since I became possessor of most of the Visconti papers after the death of the last representative of that archæological family, Carlo Ludovico, on June 29, 1894. The excavations were undertaken by De Angelis and De Matthias, with the view of providing new works of art for the Museo Pio Clementino, then in course of formation, and they succeeded beyond their own expectation. As the sixteenth century can boast of the finds made by Paul III., Farnese, in the Baths of Caracalla, the seventeenth of those made under Innocent X. and Clement X. in the Palace of the Valerii on the Cælian, so the following one will be celebrated forever for the discoveries obtained in the Pianella di Cassio. Visconti describes the search as "*uno dè piu insigni scavi dè nostri tempi.*" The marbles were found in the middle terraces, the statues among the ruins of a hall of basilical type, the busts and hermæ in the garden outside. The statues numbered seventeen, the busts twenty. There was Apollo Citharoedus, and seven out of nine muses. There was also a statue of Minerva. The goddess of learning could not find a more appropriate company than the daughters of Jupiter and Mercury, the representatives of fine arts: and we know, among other instances, that in the temple of Tegæa Minerva's image was actually surrounded by those of the "tuneful nine." Visconti mentions also a statue of Sleep (in connection with which he quotes the passage of

Pausanias' Corinth. ii., 31, "not far from the temple of the Muses, at Troezene, stands an old altar, on which they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that this last is, of all the gods, the friendliest to the Nine Sisters"); a copy of the Faun of Praxiteles, a statue of Hygieia or Health, a draped female torso, and a rather licentious group of Silenus and Bacchante. Then came the busts of Antisthenes, Bias, Periander, Æschines, inscribed with their names, and the headless hermæ of Anacreon, of Chabrias, of Pittacus, with the motto "Know the Time"; of Solon, with the motto "*Ne quid nimis*"; of Cleobulus, with the motto "Keep an even mind," and of Thales, with the motto missing. There were five plinths of hermæ bearing the names of Pisistratus, Licurgus, Archytas, Hermarchos, and Diogenes. Some of these marbles were lying on a polychrome mosaic floor representing the crossing of the Nile. Pius VI. lost no time in securing the produce of the excavations for the Vatican collections, and ordered at the same time a second and more careful search to be made in that terrace. It was attended with equally happy results. First to appear was one of the missing muses, the eighth, Urania ; then followed two or three heads belonging to the hermæ ; two busts of Pericles with the helmet and some plinths with the names of Pheidias and of our two heroes, Pindar and Bacchylides. One of the halls appeared to have been designed in the Egyptian style, judging from three statues of black basalt, and from a figure of a crocodile in *pietra di paragone* which were found among its ruins. The last marble, a graceful altar dedicated *ΑΓΑΘΩ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ* ("to the good genius)," was considered by the discoverers as a tribute of honor and gratitude paid by the ancient world to Pius VI., who, in spite of troubled and eventful times and of cruel French persecutions, never lost a single occasion to increase the archæological wealth of his country.

Those were grand old times. Instead of fettering or forbidding private enterprise, and of grudging to private collectors every fragment, however indifferent, of antique marbles or terracottas, Pius VI. invited landowners and excavators to collaborate with him in the recovery of works of art and of epigraphic documents. I am just now perusing the registers of the Vatican Museum of the last quarter of last century, and I simply wonder at the exquisite taste and discernment of the pontiff who would

allow no one but himself to decide on the subject of acquisitions for the *Museo Pio Clementino,* or of exportation of antiques to foreign countries. And whenever exportation was denied, or an embargo put on a statue or on an inscription, he declared himself ready to purchase the object at a just price. No wonder that his call should have been answered by many, and that the greatest activity should have prevailed on the field of discoveries.

Three Englishmen placed themselves at the head of the movement—James Byres, an architect ; Gavin Hamilton, the painter, who had just finished his frescoes from the Iliad in the casino of the Villa Borghese ; and Thomas Jenkins, the banker. They left no corner of the Campagna unturned, no ruin unexplored ; they were carrying on ten, twenty, explorations at the time, and when James Byres went back to England, about 1790, his place was taken by an equally energetic man, Robert Fagan, the pioneer of the excavations of Ostia. Pius VI. had the first choice of their discoveries ; Charles Townley took the rest.

To come back, however, to the subject of this paper, a noble hall, the "*Salla delle Muse,*" was built for the reception of the statues, busts, and hermæ discovered in the Pionella di Cassio. In the arrangement of the pieces little or no attention was paid to the plinths inscribed with the names.

ΒΑΧΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ.

They were placed each at one extreme end of the hall, and so near the ground that one has to lie on the damp, chilly marble pavement to be able to read them. After the discovery of the poems of the former they ought to be given a more prominent place.

The villa of Cassius was probably, if not certainly, designed or decorated by the two leading architects of the age, Sauros and Batrachos. The way this fact has been found out is well worth being related. Pliny the Elder says that the two artists, Lacedemonian by nationality, practised art for the love of it, being very wealthy in their own right, and that the ambition of seeing their names engraved on the works they produced, made them sometimes erect monuments or chisel statues "at their own expense for the sake of celebrity."

In 33, B. C., Augustus gave these partners the commission of re-erecting, from their own design, the temples of Jupiter

(Stator) and Juno (Sospita) within the portico of Octavia, and having denied them the privilege of inscribing their names on the pediment of the temples, they obtained their purpose in an indirect way, viz., by carving in the flutings of the columns of

both temples their "*armoirie parlante*" under the shape of a frog (Gr. *Batrachos*) and of a lizard (Gr. *Sauros*).

Winckelmann was the first to notice the presence of both emblems in a capital of the Ionic order now in the Church of *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*. This is a work of the third century after Christ, badly designed and roughly carved, by some one who had read Pliny's anecdote, or who had remembered having seen the original symbols in the portico of Octavia. The fragment discovered in the Pianella di Cassio, on the contrary, belongs to the best period of the Greco-Roman decorative art, and has been given a place of honor in the Vatican Museum. There is one difficulty; the presence of a third animal, a wasp, which has evidently nothing to do with the *armoirie parlante* of the Lacedemonian architects. Perhaps this outsider was introduced in the composition simply for the sake of symmetry.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

II.—THE MIDDLE STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States include that portion of North America where the first settlements were made, not by the English, but by the Dutch, Swedes, and Germans, and hence the native population is of a miscellaneous character, while the great influx of immigrants in the last fifty years has tended still further to make of the Middle States the most cosmopolitan community in the world. This section of the Union, moreover, includes the most important cities and seaports, and is pre-eminent as regards trade, banking, manufactures, and wealth.

Population.—There is no other part of the New World so densely populated as this, the average being 140 persons to the square mile ; this is a much higher ratio of density than that for the continent of Europe, and falls little below that of France. If the same rate of progress continue as since 1870, these States will have at the next census a population of 17 millions. The increase since 1850 is seen in the following table :

	1850.	1890.	1897, est.
New York	3,100,000	5,998,000	6,700,000
New Jersey	490,000	1,445,000	1,680,000
Pennsylvania	2,312,000	5,258,000	6,050,000
Delaware	92.000	168,000	190,000
Maryland	583,000	1,042,000	1,130,000
Dist. of Columbia	52,000	230,000	270,000
Middle States	6,629,000	14,141,000	16,020,000

The increase since 1850 has been nearly 150 per cent., or almost double the rate of progress recorded in New England, but much less than the general average for the Union, which has been 212 per cent. in that interval. In these States, however, the growth has been almost confined to cities, the advance of rural

population being slow. For example, if we compare the census of 1890 with that of 20 years before, we find that, whereas in 1870 rural and urban population stood respectively as 10 to 6, they were in 1890 equal, viz.:

	Urban pop.		Rural pop.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
New York	1,894,000	3,501,000	2,489,000	2,497,000
Pennsylvania	1,041,000	2,056,000	2,481,000	3,202,000
New Jersey, etc.	749,000	1,494,000	1,194,000	1,391,000
Middle States	3,684,000	7,051,000	6,164,000	7,090,000

Here we see that in twenty years urban population rose ninety-one per cent., rural only fifteen per cent., which shows that rural population was in a measure unable to hold its own, since its natural increase (excess of births over deaths) ought to have been forty per cent. in the interval. Meantime the cities have largely gained by immigration. It is gratifying to find that the American white population in the Middle States has grown five times faster than in New England, and almost keeps pace with the growth of the population generally, as shown thus :

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Americans, white	5,498,000	7,263,000	32
Negroes	389,000	546,000	40
Foreigners	1,980,000	2,872,000	45
Their children	1,982,000	3,460,000	74
Middle States	9,849,000	14,141,000	43

It must not be concluded from the above that the negro population increases faster than that of white Americans throughout the Union. Here it may be interesting to compare the growth of population in the Union in the above 20 years :

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Americans, white	28,111,000	45,902,000	63
Negroes	4,880,000	7,470,000	53
Foreigners	5,567,000	9,250,000	66
Total	38,558,000	62,622,000	63

As regards the Middle States foreign settlers constitute 20 per cent. of the population, and are mostly German or Irish, viz. :

	New York.	Pennsylvania.	Middle States.
German	499,000	231,000	896,000
Irish	483,000	244,000	860,000
British	188,000	196,000	456,000
Various	401,000	175,000	660,000
Total	1,571,000	846,000	2,872,000

While there has been a large influx of foreigners there has

been a simultaneous movement of Americans to the Western States; the number of Americans in the Middle States but for this movement westward would have been 8,960,000 in 1890, or 1,700,000 more than the census shows.

Agriculture.—The area under farms exceeds by 3,000,000 acres the total cultivated area of Great Britain, and yet agriculture has been so far unable to keep pace with population that at present the ratio is only 2½ acres per inhabitant, as compared with four acres in 1850, viz.:

	Acres cultivated.		Per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York	12,410,000	16,390,000	4.0	2.7
Pennsylvania	8,630,000	13,210,000	3.8	2.5
New Jersey, etc	5,150,000	6,170,000	4.2	2.2
Middle States	26,190,000	35,770,000	4.0	2.5

The production of grain and potatoes shows some increase since 1850, but that of meat has declined; the actual production of food is only one-third of what is required to feed the population, viz.:

	Tons produced		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1895.	1850.	1895.
Grain	4,270,000	6,200,000	1,430	900
Potatoes	640,000	2,050,000	210	300
Meat	325,000	306,000	106	46

The average consumption of grain in the United States is 2,400 lbs.;* that of meat, 140 lbs., per inhabitant yearly: hence it appears that the Middle States do not raise enough food for the single State of Pennsylvania. In these States, the same as in New England, there is a tendency to reduce the size of farms, the census of 1890 showing an average of 69 acres, against 75 in 1850. This is apparently the result of dairy-farming, for we find that while the farming area rose 36 per cent. since 1850 the number of milch cows increased 70 per cent. In 1894 the number of milch cows was 2,880,000, which was sufficient to supply milk and butter to 14½ million inhabitants, the population being half a million more. Thus, in every respect, the agriculture of the Middle States is deficient, although there is an unimproved area of 37 million acres, much of which ought to be available for cultivation. Doubtless, the explanation is that manufactures and commerce are more profitable in these States,

* Including, of course, what is required as food for cattle.

and that farmers have a tendency to go West. The value of farm products, taking the average for the years 1893–94–95, is shown approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Value, dollars
Grain	5,200,000	95,600,000
Potatoes	1,440,000	23,800,000
Hay	10,100,000	119,000,000
Meat and tallow	360,000	57,600,000
Dairy produce	.....	129,000,000
Sundries	.....	85,000,000
Total		510,000,000

The gross result gives an average of $980 to each farm, or $14¼ per acre, against $11 for the Union. The total value of farms and live-stock and the average value of land per acre are shown thus:

	Farms, millions dollars.		Dollars per acre.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York	650	1,140	45	59
Pennsylvania	464	1,063	47	70
New Jersey, &c	254	429	44	61
Middle States	1,368	2,632	45	63

We may infer that the enhanced value of land is mainly due to the development of dairy farming and the rapid growth of urban population. Agricultural interests seem to have improved very notably in the above interval, for, although the average size has diminished by six acres, the capital represented by each farm has risen from $3,910 to $5,060, an increase of 29 per cent. The value of land, as we see above, has risen $18 an acre, as compared with $12 in New England, which is another proof that farming is on a better footing in the Middle States. If the value of all farm-products in 1894 were divided among the population it would give to each inhabitant $30 in New England, $34 in the Middle States and $56 in the Union at large, the latter ratio being much higher than in any country of Europe, except Denmark.

Manufactures.—The progress of this branch of industry has been much more rapid than in New England, the output having multiplied eight-fold, the sum paid for wages nine-fold since 1850, viz.:

	—Millions dollars.—	
	Output.	Wages.
1850	470	101
1890	3,648	937

The manufactures of the Middle States exceed in value those

of France or Germany, and fall only five per cent. below those of Great Britain. Dividing the value among population, they give an average of $253 per inhabitant, as compared with $110 in Great Britain and $75 in France. There is, in fact, no country in the world where the output of manufactures shows so high a ratio to population as in the Middle States, except New England. Comparing the census returns of 1890 with those of 1850, we see that the rise in wages has surpassed that in the value produced: the number of operatives in 1850 was 418,000, and in 1890 it was 1,810,000, the ratio corresponding to each being, therefore, as follows:

	Dollars per operative.		
	1850	1890	Increase.
Product,.....	1,120	2.017	80 per cent.
Wages,.....	240	517	115 "

This shows that the workman now receives a larger share of the profit resulting from manufactures than he did fifty years ago. Wages in 1890 averaged $9.94 per week, or 10 per cent. more than in New England, the difference perhaps being accounted for by the higher cost of living in the Middle States. How much faster manufactures have grown than population is shown in the following table:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York.....	240	1,712	77	285
Pennsylvania.....	154	1,332	67	253
New Jersey, etc.....	76	604	63	208
Middle States.....	470	3,648	71	258

The chief seat of the hardware industry is Pennsylvania, which produces goods of this description to the value of 388 millions yearly, equal to $74 per inhabitant, the average being $10 in Germany and $19 in Great Britain. According to the census of 1890 Pennsylvania stood for one-third of the hardware manufactures of the United States, and hence the ratio of hardware to population in that State is extraordinarily high, the ratio for the whole Union being only $18, which is one dollar per inhabitant less than in Great Britain.

Mining.—The mineral resources of the Middle States consist for the most part of coal, iron ore and petroleum, the output in 1890 reaching a value of 189 millions, or one-third of the total mining industry of the Union.

	Tons raised.		Value of all minerals, dollars.
	Iron ore.	Coal.	
Pennsylvania	1,560,000	129,000,000	150,900,000
New York, etc	1,700,000	5,200,000	37,900,000
Middle States	3,260,000	134,200,000	188,800,000

The extraction of petroleum, almost wholly confined to Pennsylvania, averages 50 million barrels of crude oil yearly, worth 30 million dollars. In the last 35 years the oil-springs have produced 710 million barrels, valued at 660 million dollars. The mineral output of the Middle States, as shown above for 1890, gave a value of $13 per inhabitant, against $11 in Great Britain.

Commerce.—Most of the foreign trade of the Union passes through the ports of the Middle States. In an interval of 40 years, from 1854 to 1894, the trade of the Middle States rose 325 per cent., that of the rest of the Union only 260 per cent., viz.:

	Port entries, tons.		
	1854.	1894.	Increase.
New York	1,840,000	7,120,000	5,280,000
Philadelphia, etc	350,000	2,240,000	1,890,000
Middle States	2,190,000	9,360,000	7,170,000
Other States	2,150,000	7,660,000	5,510,000
United States	4,340,000	17,020,000	12,680,000

New York takes 42 per cent. of the trade of the Union, and ranks as the second seaport in the world, being 1,300,000 tons less than London, and 1,600,000 more than Liverpool. It is to be deplored that American shipping laws are ruinous to national interests, for we see that 40 years ago three-fourths of the carrying trade of American ports was done on American bottom, whereas at present the American ratio is less than one-fourth :

	Tonnage cleared.		Ratio.	
Flag.	1857.	1894.	1857.	1894.
American	3,480,000	3,750,000	71.3	21.7
British	980,000	9,040,000	20.1	52.2
Various	420,000	4,520,000	8.6	26.1
Total	4,880,000	17,310,000	100.0	100.0

The importance of a merchant navy to a country possessing such fine seaports, such extensive seaboard, and such commercial relations with all parts of the globe, is a consideration of the most transcendental order, and the shipping laws of 1860 should, therefore, be repealed at once. At present the United States

pays an annual tribute of 40 million dollars to British ship-owners.

Railways.—In 1896 the Middle States possessed 21,900 miles of railway, representing a cost of 2,092 million dollars, although the census report of 1890 makes the value much less. The length of railway compared with population is almost the same as in New England, 142 miles to 100,000 inhabitants, or three times the relative mileage that exists in France or Great Britain.

Banking.—If we assume, for the reason already given respecting New England, that the discounts of the National Banks are 70 per cent. of the total the sum for the Middle States will be 1,197 millions, equal to $77 per inhabitant, as compared with 111 dollars in New England. In this business of banking Massachusetts is relatively ahead of New York, viz.:

	Discounts.	
	Millions dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
New York	688	106
Massachusetts	373	166

In like manner the savings banks deposits average $99 per inhabitant in New York and $178 in Massachusetts.

Wealth.—The components of wealth according to the census of 1890 were:

	Millions dollars.					Dollars per
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	inhabitant.
New York	1,140	4,850	535	2,052	8,577	1,429
New Jersey	182	802	99	362	1,445	1,000
Pennsylvania	1,063	2,859	455	1,814	6,191	1,178
Delaware	46	66	17	47	176	1,048
Maryland	201	570	67	247	1,085	1,042
Dist. Columbia	....	287	5	52	344	1,496
Middle States	2,632	9,434	1,178	4,574	17,818	1260

There is a greater concentration of wealth in the State of New York than elsewhere, the average per inhabitant being 40 per cent. over that of the Union at large. This is partly shown in the prodigious value of house-property, including public buildings, which averages $810 per inhabitant in the State of New York, against $420 for the whole Union. The six Middle States taken collectively give an average of $660 of house property per inhabitant, which is double the ratio found in Great Britain, and hence it may be affirmed that the people of these States are, on the whole, the best-housed community in the world. The accu-

mulation of wealth during the 40 years averaged 38½ dollars per inhabitant, viz. :

	Wealth, millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.		Annual increase per inhabitant.
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.	
New York	1,080	8,577	348	1,429	$41.50
New Jersey	200	1,445	408	1,000	32.60
Pennsylvania	722	6,191	312	1,178	37.40
Delaware	21	176	233	1,048	29.70
Maryland	219	1,085	373	1,042	27.10
Dist. Columbia	14	344	280	1,496	61.10
Middle States	2,256	17,818	340	1,260	38.50

The average wealth per inhabitant has almost quadrupled in 40 years, a marvellous proof of the progress of these States, and unparalleled in Europe; for McCulloch lays it down that only prosperous nations can double their wealth in that interval. The accumulation in the Middle States per inhabitant has been $10.20 per annum higher than in New England, and exactly double the average accumulation yearly in Great Britain in the interval of 1860–1895. Agricultural wealth forms only 15 per cent. of the total in the Middle States, whereas it is 25 per cent. in the whole of the Union. The proportions of real and personal property compare thus :

	Dollars per inhabitant.			Ratio of real, per cent.
	Real.	Personal.	Total.	
Middle States	820	440	1,260	65
New England	635	477	1,112	57
Great Britain	523	1,003	1,526	34
France	590	620	1,210	49

There is apparently no part of the world where the preponderance of real property is so great as in the Middle States, the average in European countries being 46 per cent. The amount of property of all kinds in these States covered by insurance is 8,354 millions, or 47 per cent. of total wealth, the insured property in the Union at large being only 28 per cent. of wealth.

Mortgages in 1890 amounted to 2,587 millions, equal to 22 per cent. of the value of real estate. It is to be observed that house property is more heavily mortgaged than farms, the reverse of what we have seen in New England. There is an exception in the case of New Jersey, where farms are more heavily mortgaged. Comparing the total amount of mortgages with wealth we find as follows:

	Millions dollars.		Ratio of mortgage.
	Wealth.	Mortgages.	per cent.
New York	8,577	1,608	18.6
Pennsylvania	6,191	613	9.9
New Jersey	1,445	233	16.1
Maryland, etc	1,605	133	8.3
Middle States	17,818	2,587	14.5

Mortgages are as 14½ per cent. of wealth, against 10 per cent. in New England, and 9 per cent. in the Union at large. The sum paid yearly for interest on mortgages is equal to $10.20 per inhabitant, as compared with $6.20 in New England.

Finances.—Taxation in these States is less than in New England, the sum of local and State taxes in 1890 being $138,000,000. Including the ratio of national revenue the total burden comes out $17.20 per inhabitant, against $18.70 in New England and $18.20 in the United Kingdom. Meantime local taxation varies exceedingly in the Middle States, being $12.50 in New York, $7 in Pennsylvania, and only $5.50 in Delaware.

Education.—In 1893 the Middle States spent on public schools the sum of $43,000,000, that is only $4,000,000 less than the school expenditure of Great Britain. Popular instruction is at a high level, more than 97 per cent. of the native-born white population (over ten years of age) being able to read and write:

	Pop. over 10 years.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
Americans, white	7,956,000	229,000	2.8
Foreigners	2,757,000	401,000	14.5
Negroes	434,000	156,000	35.8
Middle States	11,147,000	786,000	7.0

Notwithstanding the large number of illiterate foreigners in New York, that State has the lowest ratio of illiteracy, namely, 5½ per cent., the ratio in Maryland being 16 per cent., which is explained by the fact that in the latter State colored people form one-fifth of the population.

In many respects the Middle States constitute the most important community of the Union. It is only in agriculture that they are below par, standing for no more than 14 per cent. of that of the United States. They represent 27 per cent. of the wealth, 33 per cent. of the mining, 39 per cent. of the manufactures, 44 per cent. of the banking, and 55 per cent. of the foreign trade of the Union. The average of the foregoing six industries is 35 per cent., while the population is only 22 per cent. of that of

the Union. Hence it may be said that two persons of the Middle States exercise the same influence in American progress as three persons of the United States generally.

The European reader may form an accurate idea of the Middle States when he is told that they are equal in area to the United Kingdom, in population to Spain, in manufactures to Germany; that their mineral output more than doubles in value that of France; and that as regards wealth the single State of New York is equal to Belgium and Holland put together.

M. G. MULHALL.

THE MILITARY VALUE OF THE SHIP-YARD.

BY LEWIS NIXON.

REBUILDING of the Navy is the most important national enterprise of this generation. The first practical steps towards it were taken by the Administration of President Arthur fifteen years ago. Since that time steady progress has been made, and has now reached a stage which, including ships building, puts us at least sixth in rank among naval powers. Beginning with the act authorizing completion of the "Miantonomoh" and including among the provisions for increase of the Navy the cost of the gun-factory at the national capital, one hundred and eleven millions of dollars have been appropriated for naval rehabilitation. No similar expenditure in the history of the government has produced such gratifying results, or met so pressing a need. But this expenditure has not only founded a new navy; it has also stimulated development of our industrial resources, particularly in the production of steel, which all agree would have been impossible under ordinary commercial conditions.

When the first ships were authorized, the country had no facilities for making heavy steel forgings for machinery or for armor. The turrets of the "Miantonomoh" and shafts for several of the earlier cruisers were purchased abroad. At the present time the forging facilities of this country are not excelled, if indeed equalled, elsewhere. This forms an element of national defence, and a guarantee of national independence, hardly second in importance to the new fleet itself. But the end is by no means reached yet. The naval rank of the United States, due to the extent and character of the fleet already provided, is not yet suitable to her general rank among the nations of the world, nor are their naval resources adequate to the effective protection of their extended and exposed coast lines, which

front two oceans under geographical conditions forbidding easy or prompt co-operation between them by water, and therefore require two separate defensive naval forces each able to protect its own coast.

From the authorization of the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin" to the present time the appropriations for "Increase of the Navy" have been as follows:

Total appropriations for the first four ships	$4,308,694
For increase of the Navy, Act of March 3, 1885	1,895,000
" " " " " " August 3, 1886	3,500,000
" " " " " " March 3, 1887	11,048,362
" " " " " " September 7, 1888	5,760,000
" " " " " " March 2, 1889	6,745,000
" " " " " " June 30, 1890	8,120,000
" " " " " " March 2, 1891	16,607,000
" " " " " " July 19, 1892	9,460,000
" " " " " " March 3, 1893	7,125,000
" " " " " " July 26, 1894	9,955,025
" " " " " " March 2, 1895	13,327,521
" " " " " " June 10, 1896	11,479,054
Special appropriation for nickel matte, 1890	1,000,000
	$110,330,656

The direct and visible results of this expenditure are in completed ships:

Type.	Number	Total tons displacement.	Total I. H. P.
First-class battleships	4	42,000	44,000
Second-class battleships	2	13,000	17,000
Armored cruisers	2	17,500	36,000
Harbor defence vessels	6	26,000	15,500
Total armored	14	98,500	112,500
Protected cruisers	13	58,000	136,000
Cruisers	3	6,300	16,000
Gunboats	16	19,500	27,000
Special class	2	2,400	7,500
Total unarmored	34	86,200	186,500

The grand total of all types and classes available for active service, or about to become so, is 48 ships of 184,700 tons displacement and 299,000 indicated horse-power.

In addition to this effective fleet, provision has been made for five battleships, the construction of which is fairly begun, and eighteen torpedo boats, of which three are completed and fifteen in various stages of forwardness. The five battleships when completed will add say 57,500 tons of displacement and about 55,000 indicated horse-power to the armored fleet.

At this point we have stopped. On March 4, 1897, Congress, for the first time since March, 1883, adjourned without provision for further increase of the navy. A perfunctory appropriation

was made for continuing work on vessels previously authorized; but so far as the latest three battleships are concerned—the most important part of the work in hand—the effectiveness of the appropriation for them was destroyed by an impracticable limitation on the price of armor of the present navy standard, whereby its production to meet the immediate requirements of these ships was to all intents and purposes prohibited. The excuse for stopping increase of the navy unofficially offered by the dominant party in Congress was insufficiency of revenue; but this excuse loses its force when we consider the fact that ships authorized this year could not draw seriously upon the treasury till next year under the most favorable mechanical conditions, and the additional fact that the avowed cardinal policy of the dominant party was and is to enact laws calculated to correct the alleged insufficiency of revenue and to make those laws promptly effective. From this point of view the logical conclusion is that the policy of reconstructing the navy of the United States has been abandoned, and that to the new administration has been assigned the task of gracefully winding up its affairs.

The effect of this sudden and unexpected end of a policy hitherto universally popular, and on the whole carried out consistently and consecutively to a degree seldom witnessed in the conduct of American public affairs, was of course instantly and severely felt by the industry most directly involved, that of American shipbuilding at large. The present development of this industry—which, relatively to its condition when naval reconstruction began, represents a new growth—is, with exceptions too trifling for serious mention, the result of the encouragement afforded by the patronage of the government in the work of the new navy. The inception of this work in 1883 found a few struggling shipyards which the demands of the coasting trade had enabled to eke out a precarious and feeble existence, a condition which had continued for many years, and which is best described as a hovering between life and death. But the swift collapse of the policy in 1897 finds a number of ship-yards in the highest state of organization and equipment, upon which much capital has been lavished and vast energy expended, capable of the grandest achievements possible to the shipbuilding art; and it has left them destitute of occupation and almost bereft of encouragement.

I by no means imply that the government owes the shipyards a living, or that for the sake of maintaining them in a high state of efficiency it should give them work the product of which it does not need. I maintain that if the government needs a navy at all—which no one in full enjoyment of sound faculty will deny—it needs a force the production of which in suitable degree must afford occupation to American ship-yards, great and small alike, for many years to come.

Disastrous as this quick and inexplicable collapse of our naval policy may be to shipbuilding, it is none the less so to the vast array of cognate and contributary industries that have been stimulated, encouraged, and developed along with it. When the new naval policy was inaugurated in 1883 we had no forges capable of producing armor, or gun or machinery forgings in modern steel; no rolling mills that could make plates or shapes suitable for modern ships or their boilers; no foundries able to turn out the classes and qualities of castings in steel, iron or bronze necessary to fulfil the specifications of any up-to-date man-of-war. In 1897 we are making the best and most massive forgings, rolling the longest, widest, and heaviest boiler and ship plates and shapes, and casting the most intricate and ponderous designs in iron, steel, and bronze ever seen. All this development is due to the demands of the new navy. With the sole exception of the "St. Louis" and "St. Paul," no merchant vessels were built during the period under consideration whose requirements could even remotely tax this phenomenally developed and wondrously expanded capacity —and no others appear in even dim prospect.

This brings me to the point of considering the public value of private industries capable of producing war material as elements of national defence, and therefore as guarantees of national independence, wholly external to and not to be measured by purely commercial rules.

In this sense every great forge and machine shop that can make modern steel breech-loading guns of any calibre and power, or projectiles of any size or endurance, or armor of any thickness and resistance, is a national fortress or citadel, in the perpetuity and integrity of which every citizen has or should feel a patriotic interest. From the current commercial output of such an establishment under peaceful conditions the actual proprietor may reap a certain, limited, and easily calculated profit in money.

But from its capacity for material output under warlike conditions, the nation at large, and thereby every citizen unit in particular, may reap a profit in the defence alike of the integrity of the country and the possessions of the individual, at once incalculable in the denominations of currency and limitless in the boon of safety.

In this sense also every ship-yard that can build war vessels capable of sustaining the armor or using the guns and projectiles of such forges against any common enemy becomes a public shield against any and all possible foreign aggression, the value of which to the nation at large, and in the long run, cannot be computed by the formulas of trade.

Possibly the real weight of these portentous facts is more readily apparent to men conversant with the mechanical problems involved in the production of modern armaments. But it seems to me that every man of ordinary intelligence or average information on such subjects must be able to grasp the great fact that the day for quick improvisation of wooden navies or log forts armed with cast-iron guns, upon which Americans formerly relied for defence, are gone by, and that we must now accommodate ourselves, as best we may, to warlike conditions in which, to a very great extent, art has taken the place of pluck, skill the place of valor, and superior mechanism the place of the "fortune of war"! In other words, we may now translate Napoleon's maxim that "God is always on the side of the strongest battalions" and Nelson's aphorism that "the French and Spaniards can build ships, but it takes old England to build the seamen," into the comparatively tame phrase that "hereafter the fates of nations will be settled by the perfection of their machines rather than by the prowess of their heroes!"

This era of mechanical warfare has brought with it difficulties in the production of warlike material unknown to the earlier and simpler days of wooden hulls and cast-iron weapons. In those days any well-built merchant ship of suitable size and rig could be converted into an effective man-of-war by mounting cast-iron cannon on her decks and cutting ports for them through her sides. For the rest nothing was needed but the "hearts of oak" popularly supposed to beat in the bosoms of sailors. Moreover, the building of regular men-of-war in that era was itself a simple thing mechanically, the comparative facility of which may

best be illustrated by the statement that an entire ship-yard, capable of constructing ships of the line, in the days of wood and sail power, could have been equipped and organized with less capital than is invested in a single tool in use at Cramp's—the floating derrick!

Likewise, in those days, a complete foundry capable of turning out cannon and projectiles *aa libitum* could have been erected at less cost than that of the forging press at Bethlehem, which now makes only the rough forgings required for modern steel rifled breechloaders, to say nothing of the ponderous and costly plant necessary for the machining and assembling of them. And, more important than all, the cast-iron weapon of the old days could be produced and put in action in one-tenth the time and at one-fiftieth the cost required to complete the modern gun, while a thousand cast-iron cannon balls of the former period would not represent the time, cost and labor required to produce a single armor-piercing projectile of to-day. Perhaps the clearest way in which these vast changes can be indicated is by stating that the expense of firing a hundred rounds from the thirteen-inch guns of the battleship "Massachusetts" in ammunition alone would exceed the entire cost of the old "Constitution's" battery in 1812, with ammunition enough thrown in to fight all her battles!

Passing from weapons to material of construction, we find that the exactions of the new era are even more crucial. Not only has the day of improvising warships from the merchant fleet passed away, but the conditions involved in the building of regular men-of-war have been immeasurably augmented in complication and expense. Without going into tedious detail, interesting only to technical men, I will simplify the proposition by saying that each one of the 13-inch turrets of the "Massachusetts," with its two guns and all its actuating gear, cost more money, so far as construction is concerned, than the cost of the old "Constitution" entire from the time her keel was laid till she bombarded the Bashaw's Castle at Tripoli! The cost of the whole battery of the "Massachusetts," including the armor used as gun-protection, would have built, armed, and equipped ready for battle two 120-gun three-deckers like the old "Pennsylvania"; the cost of the side armor alone of the "Massachusetts" would have built and put in commission the "Hornet"

and "Wasp" of our little navy in 1812; and the cost of the "Massachusetts'" machinery would have provided sail power for our whole naval force at that time.

Possibly these comparisons may to the general reader be more graphic and striking than tables of figures could be. If so, they will better serve my purpose, which is simply to impress upon the public mind the practical significance of the changes that have come about and the mechanical problems which confront the producer of war material in the new era, unknown and undreamed of in the old.

In view of this vast growth of complication and expense in sea armaments, and of the infinitely enhanced tax they impose on the industry and skill of producers, it becomes manifest that the ability of the government to build its own war material must correspondingly decrease, and that therefore with every advance in the application of mechanism to warfare, the dependence of the government upon the resources of the private skill and enterprise must increase. These are the reasons why plants and organizations capable of manufacturing material and munitions of modern warfare possess a status of public importance altogether beyond and distinct from ordinary commercial and industrial considerations.

I believe that this view of the matter has found some lodgement in the American public mind. This has been indicated by the universal approval which the people gave to the earlier steps in naval reconstruction; by the popular enthusiasm with which the remarkable performances of our new ships on trial have been greeted, and by the avidity of the press for every scrap of news from day to day concerning the progress of ships building and the careers of those built.

But of late, if the temper of Congress and the tone of the press may be taken as an index of the popular feeling, interest in the new navy is on the wane. To what cause this is due need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the tide has turned without a good reason for its turning; and unless better counsels soon prevail, the American people will find that they have stopped half-way in the grandest and most salutary and farthest reaching of all the patriotic enterprises they have undertaken since 1776.

The foregoing *résumé* of the history of our naval reconstruc-

tion and survey of the existing situation, though incomplete perhaps in themselves, on account of the necessary limitations of space, cannot fail to derive additional interest and receive augmented significance from comparison with or contrast to the policy in like premises of a nation which has thus far been our only rival in sea commerce and our only foe in sea war—Great Britain.

In this comparison or contrast we need go no farther back than the date of our own renaissance period, say 1885. We may pass over the history of England's earlier efforts to gain the sea power by virtue of which she is now the world's monarch in commerce, in finance, in diplomacy; in every attribute of national success, ascendancy, and wealth necessarily consequent upon dominion of the ocean and ownership of the highways of mankind.

We need not go back to the dawn of her sea power in the reign of William the Third, nor trace her supreme efforts during the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic epoch, when in twenty-two years she spent nearly eight billions of dollars and three-quarters of a million lives in the gigantic struggle which ended with an ocean that knew no European flag but her own, and a globe whose continents and islands never rested from the sound of *reveille* in her garrisons.

We may omit consideration of the steadfast, relentless, and unswervable policy bequeathed from one generation to another by which every resource of mind and matter, money and muscle, ambition and endeavor, skill, cunning, valor, and sacrifice has been exhausted in the one grand grasp at overwhelming sea-power alike in peace and in war, in trade and in reprisal, in traffic and in battle.

We need not recount how, when, in the days of wood, her own forests had ceased to supply ship-timber for so much as one-tenth of her needs, she imported it in the rough at a great cost, built her own ships in her own ship-yards, disdaining to buy any ship of alien build, clinging to her home shipbuilding with the grimmest of resolution and the fiercest contempt of every obstacle.

Nor need we tell how, when at last the iron ship came in course of mechanical development, she hailed it as her deliverer from impending bondage, fostered it, made it her talisman of

the future, and, yoking with it the marine engine, hitched the pair to a new Neptune's chariot of ocean conquest in which her later triumphs have almost relegated the early glories of her "wooden walls" to oblivion.

Suffice it on this point to say that from first to last English patriotism and English statecraft have steadily realized and steadfastly maintained that, while the one instrument of her supremacy is sea power, the sole foundation of sea power itself is the perpetuity of home shipbuilding; that the English ship-yard is the keystone of the arch of the British Empire.

Passing by all these stupendous facts with simple mention in paragraphs, each one of which suggests the subject of a volume, and the whole of which might be expanded into a library better worth this generation's reading than all the histories of land conquest from Tamerlane to Napoleon, we will consider merely what England has done for her sea-power during the period of our own naval reconstruction, that is since 1885.

In order that the comparison of England's naval progress with our own since 1885 may be clearly understood, it is necessary to describe the condition of each at the start. We began our new navy at zero. When the first four ships were authorized in 1883 we had a few old wooden relics which possessed names to figure in the Navy Register, and could float; but they could neither fight nor chase nor run. All they could do was to limp around the world as rottening reminiscences of a glorious past, the shame of the gallant men who had to serve on them, and the laughing-stock of the foreign navies who had to exchange courtesies with them.

It was different with England. She had in 1885 a navy equal in material to any three others, and in *personnel* probably to all others combined, in the effective, if not in the numerical sense.

But a new era in naval construction was then setting in. Improvement in guns, armor, and machinery, due mainly to the substitution of mild steel for iron as a prime material of structure, had made, or were rapidly making, the ships of the previous two decades obsolete. In this emergency England did not rest content with the supremacy of the past. On the contrary, she recognized the new conditions, adopted them, applied them to the still greater expansion of her sea-power, and set a pace of

new construction which quickly made the rest of the world lag by comparison with her strides. From 1885 to 1896, inclusive, England expended for new warships and their armament (including new breech-loading guns for some of the old ships) 97,000,000 pounds sterling in round figures (exactly £96,815,000). And Parliament in March last voted for the fiscal year beginning April 1st last 11,435,000 pounds sterling, the grand total since 1885 being 108,250,000 pounds, or the equivalent of $541,250,000.

During the same period she has increased the *personnel* of her navy from 52,800 men in 1885 to 100,050 in 1897.

With this enormous expenditure she has built the six battleships of the "Admiral" class, the "Nile" and "Trafalgar," the "Sanspareil" (and the lost "Victoria"), special classes; the ten ships of the Naval Defense Act of 1889, the "Royal Sovereign" and "Centurion" types, the nine of the "Magnificent" and "Majestic" class, the five of the "Canopus" class, authorized last year and now under rapid construction; the "Renown," and the four authorized in the estimates just agreed to—a total of thirty-nine first-class battleships, or thirty-eight, excluding the "Victoria." The aggregate displacement of this fleet of new battleships is, roundly, 580,000 tons, and the indicated horse-power about 510,000. Of second-class battleships three have been built, and of armored cruisers nine, displacing, in the aggregate, 81,000 tons, and propelled by 96,500 horse-power. The total of all the new armored displacement is, therefore, 661,000 tons, and the total horse power 606,500.

Of vessels not armored, but with deck protection and sponsonied or shielded batteries, England has built since 1885 twenty first-class cruisers, displacing in the aggregate 202,750 tons and propelled by 319,500 horse-power; fifty-one second-class cruisers of 227,250 tons' total displacement and 456,000 aggregate horse-power; thirty third-class cruisers of 65,000 tons' displacement altogether and 173,000 collective horse-power.

Of vessels neither armored nor protected she has built since 1885 nine composite sloops and thirty gunboats, displacing in all 34,000 tons, and engined with 121,000 horse-power, and 72 vessels variously known as "torpedo-catchers," "torpedo-boat destroyers," etc., designed for very high speed—over thirty knots in some cases. These embody a total displacement of 20,000 tons and an aggregate horse-power of about 270,000, the relation

of power to displacement alone sufficiently explaining their character.

The grand total of all types and classes is 262 ships, displacing in the aggregate 1,209,400 tons and propelled by a total horse-power of 1,945,600.

This is England's increase of her navy since 1885. It is her expression of the value she places on the perpetuity of her sea-power. To all appearances it has sufficed to renew her lease of absolute autocracy on the ocean for an indefinite period, because there has been no naval increase elsewhere, putting all the other powers together, approaching the nature of a menace to it.

To comprehend the prodigious significance of this fact, it is necessary to survey the naval progress of other powers worthy of consideration in the maritime sense during the same period.

Taking the naval progress of England since 1885 as the unit, we find that of France to be as two-sevenths ; that of Russia as two-elevenths ; that of the United States as two-twelfths ; that of Germany as two-fourteenths, and that of Italy as two-seventeenths. In other words, the naval progress of England since 1885 has been to that of France in the same period as 14 to 4 ; to that of Russia as 22 to 4 ; to that of Germany as 28 to 4 ; to that of Italy as 34 to 4, and to our own as 24 to 4. To avoid prolonged calculation, we will take 70 as the nearest mean common integer, and it will be seen that since 1885 England has built a new navy on modern lines which bears to the combined new navies of the rest of the world the ratio of 70 to 64.

In making this calculation I have not only taken account of the factors of displacement, armor, armament, and indicated horse-power, but I have also made an allowance of a certain percentage throughout the equations for the known and admitted superiority of the English *personnel* afloat as against all included opposing factors except the United States, and I have further allowed a percentage in favor of the superior facilities the British possess of quick mobilization of their available sea-power as compared with any probable or possible foe or coalition of foes.

In such a calculation it is not worth while to include the minor maritime nations, such as those of South America and Asia, because what navies they have are built in England, and therefore represent accretion rather than diminution in the actual English sea-power.

For the purpose of valuing the new navy of Great Britain at its full worth we should consider it by itself, assuming the navy she had in 1885 to be wiped out. From this point of view it would be in all the essentials of effective power—in its exhaustiveness of the latest appliances; in the harmonious distribution of its force among various types and classes suitable for the diverse duties devolving on such a fleet; in the careful and thoughtful adaptation of each type and class to the complementary or co-operative needs of the others; in short, as a symmetrical whole—vastly more potent than the British navy that preceded it; superior to any other single navy in the world, old and new together, and more than equal to any other two. And it must be borne in mind that vast as are the results of the past decade of British naval reconstruction there is not the slightest sign of diminution, much less discontinuance, of output in the next decade. With ten years more of the energy and achievement that have made the last ten years memorable, if the future progress of her rivals may be judged from what they have done, the naval relation of Great Britain to the rest of the world combined, in the overwhelming and untouchable ocean mastery she will then possess, will be something which it is startling to contemplate.

William L. Marcy in the state paper which announced the refusal of the United States to join in the agreement of the Paris Conference to abolish privateering, said that mastery of the sea by one power must be a greater menace to the interests of all other powers than land mastery by any power possibly could be; because, while land mastery must be limited by the conditions of land transport, sea mastery would be boundless, therefore ubiquitous on the globe and threatening to everybody everywhere. This is the actual attitude of England, and every year's accretion to her already overwhelming fleet and consequent overshadowing sea-power augments the perennial threat she holds over the rest of mankind. To accentuate this proposition let us consider a recent Berlin dispatch to the effect that the Emperor William was trying to organize a concert of continental powers for the purpose of restraining the alleged designs of England upon the independence or integrity of the Boer Republic in South Africa. Suppose this dispatch to be true, and that William should succeed in organizing his con-

tinental concert to oppose British designs in South Africa. What could he do ? How could he bring any material force to bear ? The proposition is farcical. The whole continent of Europe could not land one soldier in South Africa or anywhere else by sea transport against the will of England. Or, if by stealth or stratagem or by British neglect they should succeed in landing their soldier, they could never afterward supply him with three days' rations from a sea-base without England's consent. These are facts of the most stubborn kind, though everybody, except the English themselves, seems trying to evade or ignore them ; the wish that things might be otherwise appearing to be father to the thought. If England wants to crush the Transvaal Republic she will do it, and she will do it simply and solely by virtue of that overmastering sea-power which is the result of her unparalleled shipbuilding.

We come now to consider the phase of England's new naval policy, which is most interesting in the mechanical and industrial sense. I have shown by simple compilation from the British naval estimates, annually voted by Parliament, that, since 1885, England has expended for increase of her navy $541,250,000, and that this expenditure has produced a total of 1,209,400 tons of displacement and 1,945,600 indicated horse-power.

Closer examination of the successive annual naval estimates discloses the fact that in the general average 64 per cent. of the total displacement and 97 per cent. of the total indicated horse-power have been built by contract in private ship-yards and machine shops of the United Kingdom.

At the average rate of contract prices since 1885, the 64 per cent. of total displacement represents the sum of $302,350,000, and the 97 per cent. of total indicated horse-power represents the sum of $75,000,000, or a total sum of $377,350,000 paid to the private ship-building and engine-building industries of Great Britain during the twelve years under consideration for hulls and machinery alone. To this must be added the sums paid for armor and gun mounts, which are all made by contract, and for materials furnished by contract to vessels built in the national dock-yards. In short, the whole sum expended by England on her new navy has gone to encourage, promote and sustain the private industries of the realm, excepting only the wages paid to the workmen on the payrolls of the dock-yards and the royal

gun factories. Examination of the British naval estimates from year to year since 1885 shows that on an average the proportion of dock-yard and gun factory wages to the total was $6\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., so that on the basis of a total expenditure of $541,250,000 during the period under consideration, $507,151,250 went to the credit of private industries and $34,099,000 to the public dock-yards.

The general result is that in English practice the naval programme from year to year is adapted to the needs and capacities of the English shipbuilder, who is considered the friend and mainstay of the country; whose ship-yard, as I have already said, is recognized as the keystone of the arch of the British Empire; who is always fostered, encouraged, and promoted in all his endeavors as the chief bulwark and first line of imperial power.

Thus far I have only traced the application of British public policy and shipbuilding resource to the increase of the British navy and augmentation of the Imperial sea power in its warlike aspects. But this is by no means all. To such an extent has the shipbuilding resource of Great Britain been developed by the consistent, consecutive, and unstinted aid and promotion lavished on it through public policy that, in addition to its output for British use, vast as that has been and is, it has found time and means to build whole navies for Japan, China, Chili, Argentina, Brazil, Portugal, and some lesser states, parts of navies for Italy, Russia, Germany, Spain, Holland, Sweden and Norway—in short for every maritime power on earth except France and the United States—together with merchant fleets for every flag except our own. The aggregate of this output of English shipbuilding for foreign account is not accessible, but its net results are the further development and enrichment of her shipbuilding industry to an extent hardly second in importance to that caused by the patronage of the British government itself.

Summing up, we find that British shipbuilding has built the British Empire as we see it to-day; that, having built the empire, it maintains its integrity, asserts its supremacy, and, as compared with the feebler efforts of other powers, assures its impregnability in sea power; all this in the military sense only. If we extend our view to the commercial, industrial, and financial aspects of the resulting state of things, the contemplation becomes if possible still more astounding. British ships now carry more than seven-tenths of the world's ocean-borne commerce as a

whole, not merely in the traffic between other countries and Great Britain herself, but in the international traffic of all other countries with each other, irrespective of British ports. This is a source of absolute tribute from all nations to Great Britain amounting to nearly eight hundred millions of dollars a year, every cent of which is cash on a gold basis. And the only escape from it possible to any nation under present conditions is simply to stop trading; because, as matters stand, there can be no sea-borne commerce unless it is carried in British ships.

In estimating the commercial or, one might say, the actual money value of commanding sea-power in the hands of one nation, due account must be taken of the fact that the advance of civilization, and the progress of its acts, augment the interdependence of peoples in commerce, industry, and finance, and correspondingly lessen the possibilities of national self-containment or isolation in a ratio of almost geometrical progression. Hence the relative value of commanding sea-power, and with it monopoly of ocean carriage, as to the sum-total of human productivity grows year by year out of proportion to any other growth. The English perceive this clearly, and the marvellous energy they are now exerting seaward is simply an endeavor to compensate for their relative decline in exports, as compared with their necessary imports, by grasping more and more of the increment of common-carriage by sea. At this moment, without any traffic tolls, the balance of trade on the basis of imports and exports alone is nearly a billion dollars a year adverse to the United Kingdom. But her traffic tolls, with the banking, insurance, brokerage, and handling profits, all of which must be paid by the cargoes and passengers carried, more than even up the account sheet as a whole. From this point of view it is not an extreme stretch of the imagination to conceive a time when the British Islands will rely entirely for means of subsistence on the earnings of their merchant fleet.

In our own case the manifest destiny of future progress points with rigid finger to the sea. If we do not progress in that direction we must stand still. For the time to come, if existing conditions are perpetuated, our lot will be little better than that of producing cargoes for British ships to carry, and of earning money to pay British traffic-tolls.

LEWIS NIXON.

OUR TRADE RELATIONS WITH CANADA.

BY JOHN W. RUSSELL.

THE protectionist principles of President McKinley and his party are combined with the programme of reciprocity for the upbuilding of the export trade of the United States. A change of Canadian policy from protection to tariff reform at a time when the United States is reverting to protection does not obscure a view which has always been clear to the statesmen of the Dominion—the perception of their country's advantage in closer trade relations with the Republic. The nearness and magnitude of the market, together with exceptional inducements of profit and convenience, make such relations in every way most desirable. The Liberal Government now in power at Ottawa are naturally in favor of a commercial treaty with the United States, if it can be obtained on satisfactory terms; and there are reasons why their efforts, if not already doomed to failure by an advance decision at Washington, may meet with a more encouraging reception than those of their predecessors. Accepting in good faith the Republican principle of reciprocity, they simply ask that its application to Canada shall be a matter of business impartiality, and they expect no concessions for which they are not prepared to make a fair return. Have they any well-founded hope of success? Does the failure of past attempts reveal a fixed principle of policy which will again be applied by the United States with a similar result? And is there also a fixed Canadian policy which will prevent compliance with necessary conditions?

The past history of the question shows that political reasons, largely tinged by the memories of two wars, have added their weight to such economic objections to reciprocity as existed, and that in some cases they may have been alone sufficient to prejudice the success of the Canadian proposals. The operation of the

Elgin treaty of 1854 was so beneficial that the people of both countries would gladly have seen it renewed, but hostile feelings prevailed in high places and barred the way. The speech of Sumner and the exasperation due to English aristocratic sympathy with the South told decisively against the Canadian offer. Between 1866, the date of the abrogation of the treaty, and the last effort of the Conservative Administration in 1892, Canada has made six attempts to obtain reciprocity, and the disappointing results have given color to the assertion that the offer which comes from Washington with such good will toward Brazil and the other republics of the continent is not made in the same spirit to Canada. Without discussing the historical incidents of these attempts, it is sufficient to say that those which were made between 1879 and 1892 were subject to the needs of the Canadian protectionists. The Commissioners could not extend their offer so as to include a satisfactory list of manufactures. The protectionists, who controlled the Government, would not allow the imports of Canadian natural products to be paid for in American factory goods. Such a course they deemed ruinous to their interests, and the Government had urgent reasons for respecting their veto. After the passage of the Wilson bill, defective as it was compared with the legislation originally promised, there was a sympathetic response from the Liberals of the Dominion to the friendly policy of the new tariff, and renewed attempts were made to influence Canadian opinion in the same direction. It was generally believed that a return to the McKinley rates was unlikely, and that the United States had entered upon a gradual abandonment of protection. Such hopes as were founded, however, upon the supposed mutual approach of similar economic policies were soon disappointed by the high-tariff reaction. It was then seen that whatever trade concessions might be expected from the larger nation to the smaller would only be given for special reasons and as exceptions to the rule of predominant opinion. This certainly holds good to-day. As the Dingley rates against Canadian natural products were imposed for definite reasons, it is not likely they will be lowered unless inducements are offered other than those which have already been weighed and found wanting in the counsels of protection.

On the other hand, the Canadian situation has recently undergone a significant change. On April 22 last a tariff bill was in-

troduced in the House of Commons which, it is safe to say, was not contemplated by the Liberal leaders a short time ago. Disclaiming retaliation, they have nevertheless been compelled to assume a position determined for them by a partial exclusion from one of the two great markets which absorb nine-tenths of Canadian trade. It is perhaps too early to know whether the task of a reciprocity treaty has been made more or less difficult thereby, as the schedules of the Dingley bill have not been finally determined, and there yet remain ways of approach which otherwise would not be available. But the new tariff practically discriminates against the United States and gives a preference to Great Britain. There is one schedule for those countries which admit Canadian goods free or at minimum tariff rates, and another for protectionist countries. Articles regarded as special sources of revenue and as raw material in certain lines of manufacture will be admitted at fixed rates, irrespective of the country from which they are imported. The new feature of the tariff which attracts most attention is a reciprocity clause whereby a one-fourth reduction in duties is offered after the first year to all countries treating Canada as favorably as the Canadian tariff treats them. This applies at once to Great Britain and New South Wales, and would apply to the United States except for the Dingley bill.

The preference given to Great Britain, which is not special, but results from her position as a free-trade nation, does not involve any departure from the industrial policy under which she has prospered during the past half century, but it has been very warmly received by the friends of imperial preferential trade as an important step towards the realization of their scheme. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the political implications of the new departure with regard to the mother country, but rather to notice that, so far as the United States is concerned, the adverse discrimination is not special, and has no retaliatory feature. None of the existing duties against American goods has been increased, and wherever the interests of Canada demand a cheapening of the necessaries of life and the raw materials of manufacture the United States shares in the benefit of reduction, notably in the case of corn, which has been placed on the free list, and of iron and its manufactures.

It is a source of regret to Canadian Liberal statesmen that the

Dingley bill threatens the further restriction of a trade which is so beneficial. Each country produces something which the other has not, or which is superior in quality to a similar product in the other. Brazilian coffee and American cotton goods may seem to the protectionist specially fitted to be the subject of a reciprocity treaty ; but it is no less true that the two contiguous English-speaking countries have climatic differences with resulting products quite as advantageously exchangeable. The Dominion grows better wheat and barley, the Republic grows better corn ; and to the objection that similarity in products partially neutralizes the mutual gain of exchange let the history of the Elgin treaty make answer. To those who denounced that treaty as a one-sided bargain the Hon. George Brown, the Canadian Commissioner to Washington in 1871, showed that during the twelve years of its operation the balance of trade was largely in favor of the United States. Nearness of trade centres in the two countries has in many cases determined the lines of commerce. Ontario prefers to get its coal from Pennsylvania rather than fetch it from the distant mines of Nova Scotia, while the latter are more convenient to the manufacturing cities of New England. If the broad dictates of mutual interest were unchecked we should see the refinements of economic theory cast to the winds.

But right athwart the clear course of commercial advantage come a few dominant conceptions whose influence has been felt for more than a hundred years. These two English-speaking peoples are the product of a schism, and though they have a close social resemblance and a measure of political life in common, they yet hold certain differences to be fundamental. The cabinet system of the one is contrasted with the presidential system of the other ; the respective spheres of federal and State or provincial legislation in both countries widely differ ; more important still, the connection of Canada with Great Britain is a fact which largely modifies economic considerations. The commercial idea, prompted by gain, the national idea, strengthened by patriotic sentiment—these forces have vigorous play between two nations of the same race, and their opposition has created the perplexing resultant which now exists.

Improved trade relations between the two countries must come either through a closer assimilation of their tariffs or by means of a treaty giving mutual preferences and concessions.

The former can only result from a change of policy in the direction of free trade; the latter may be effected by an arrangement for reciprocal commercial advantages agreed upon for special reasons, for a limited time, but without any such change. It is worth while to note the circumstances which, as I believe, have made the latter the less hopeful means of accomplishing the desired end. In the first place, official opinion at Washington and Ottawa has lately become less interested in regard to negotiations for reciprocity. It is now known that the Dominion Government have postponed their intended mission until a more opportune season, and that the recent visit of two Canadian cabinet ministers at Washington disclosed difficulties which have made more improbable the realization of their plans. Some of these difficulties are ascribed to the unfriendly policy of their Conservative predecessors; others they doubtless feel to be connected with past futile attempts and the conviction that inequality of interest makes the stronger and richer power indifferent to the proposals of the weaker. What other construction, indeed, could be placed upon this repeated knocking at the Congressional door which has been rather tardily opened on some occasions, and on others not at all? Apart from the friendly exchange of official courtesies, they might well reflect upon the impression which six or seven failures have produced at Washington, and might very properly ask themselves whether there has not been a resulting loss of dignity in the negotiations. It is quite true that the smaller power should initiate the proceedings; but many Canadians are of the opinion that this has been done often enough, and that one more failure may create the presumption of an American attitude finally adverse and the expression of a fixed policy. It is also true that the Hitt resolution, unanimously recommended by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, came near passing through Congress; but its promoters were undoubtedly looking to a commercial union which would have compromised the autonomy of the Dominion, and as such would not have been accepted by the Canadian Government and people.

Certain requirements which would be made by the United States as conditions precedent to a treaty are well settled. The terms of the Elgin treaty will never again be considered as a basis of reciprocity, and in any future schedule of exchangeable articles

Canada would have to include a varied list of manufactures, and would be compelled to discriminate against Great Britain. Mr. Blaine announced the governing principle in his report to the Senate dated April 15, 1892. He said: "It was regarded as of essential importance that a list of manufactured goods should be included in the schedule of articles for free or favored exchange. It was the desire of the United States to make a reciprocity convention which would be exclusive in its application to the United States and Canada, and that other countries which were not parties to it should not enjoy gratuitously the favors which the two neighboring countries might reciprocally concede to each other for valuable consideration and at a large sacrifice of their respective revenues." In considering what the Dominion Government would be willing to concede, it is necessary to say that the present situation is not summed up in the mere replacement of a Conservative by a Liberal Administration; it rather concerns the modified attitude of the whole electorate. Any one who has carefully observed the course of political opinion in Canada during the last few years knows that the requirements of the United States with regard to a reciprocity treaty could not be met. No arrangement involving a common tariff for the two countries as against the rest of the world would be considered, nor would a discrimination against Great Britain. Nor could the Liberal Government, consistently with their promises, offer to admit such a variety of manufactured goods as would injure too suddenly and severely the manufacturing interests which have grown up in the Dominion since 1879. It is not necessary here to refer to the legal or constitutional objections which Great Britain might interpose. But it could not be expected that the Government of the United States would give a favorable hearing to proposals which did not meet all the conditions imposed by that contracting party which, in any scheme of reciprocity, must be predominant. There can be little doubt that at Washington the whole subject is viewed with comparative indifference. To the United States the Dominion is only one of many countries with which a reciprocity agreement may for special reasons modify the present policy of protection; but to the Dominion the United States is one of the two great markets with which nearly all her trade is done.

Under conceivable circumstances the 70,000,000 of the Republic might well demand political union as the condition

precedent to a share in their industrial privileges. But high protection and a denial of reciprocity do not mean a pressure which may not be borne. It is a mistake to suppose that if the American farmer is protected against Canadian agricultural products he is therefore, on the whole, less free from competition. He already produces more than he can sell at home, and his hope and interest point as well to foreign markets. His Canadian rival is also resolved to sell his surplus produce, and if the States immediately across the border will not buy from him he will look towards Liverpool. He has already cultivated the English market with excellent results, and to it he will transfer the competition he is denied on his own continent. The American shipments which bring such good returns abroad will have to meet the displaced Canadian products which Mr. Dingley and his friends have sent there. The Dominion Government have already taken special measures whereby connection with the British market will be made more frequent and remunerative.

As to discrimination against England, there is unquestionably an increased repugnance to it among all classes of the Dominion. The protective tariff of 1879 was a blow at British free trade, but it was an assertion of fiscal independence which gratified domestic pride, and the acquiescence of the mother country was an additional proof of her respect for colonial rights. A very different feeling would be aroused if a Canadian Administration were now to propose a treaty giving any foreign nation preference over British goods in the Dominion. Already a policy has been declared under which such a course would be impossible. Both political parties are pledged against any such preference, and Mr. Laurier is no less emphatic than Sir Charles Tupper.

Though writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith may appeal with confidence to the doctrine of the economic unity of this continent, the power of sentiment and political affiliation will largely nullify their most cherished formulas. Geography may make nations friends, but only in co-operation with more potent forces. Desirable as are closer trade relations between the two countries, it is futile to hope for them in the face of a policy which, though it may not be intentionally unfriendly, would mean commercial atrophy for Canada if the British market did not exist. The idea of a common race and origin is not yet strong enough

for the hard maxims of competition, and until it is the Dominion may not expect any more economic consideration than Brazil or Mexico. Thousands of Americans may contend that she deserves less, since the latter are republics while the former is in their eyes an outpost of monarchy. To what extent anti-British feeling may aid protectionist principles it is impossible to say; but it is none the less true that there is in the United States a phase of thought and a school of journalism which disposes of the whole question by the alleged rule of political necessity. Not Canada, but Great Britain, is the chief object of its attention. It seems to look upon a modification of the Dominion's political status as necessary to a final determination of the point at issue. In effect it demands: Cease your connection with the Old World and accept unreservedly the democracy of the new; dissolve your relation as the western arm of an Empire which ought not to have voice or direction on this continent; leave feudalism and its hereditary rank and precedence on the soil where they have so long grown—do this or you shall not have access to the markets of the Republic; we do not wish our business relations with you to be in any way conditioned by your political relations with a foreign state. The fact that Canada has already complied with some of these conditions is apparently not recognized; that she still retains a political connection with England makes her answerable for all the rest.

These views probably have a numerous following, but do not stand for the sanity and self-control of the best American thought, and are therefore not so formidable if one should apply Matthew Arnold's test and weigh opinions instead of counting them. But whatever their extent and importance they ought not to encourage the supposition that the Dominion is such a suppliant for commercial opportunities that she is willing to barter her nationhood in order to obtain them. Her choice of an independent course is now a matter of open political record, and carries the clearest implication as to those countries with which she will trade and on what conditions. So far as the Republic is concerned it is not to be expected that the Canadian offer of freer trade, as contained in the general reciprocity clause of the new tariff, will induce any important modifications of the Dingley bill. The protectionists are in office, and they will have their way for the present. But recent indications may

suggest to them the precarious tenure on which their power rests. Public opinion in the United States shifts to and fro rapidly until stable conditions answer its expectations, and the Republican party will speedily be judged by the effects of its policy. The friends of tariff reform are already preparing to fight the battle over again, and were never more deeply convinced of the truth of their principles. The Liberals of the Dominion will watch their efforts with sympathetic interest, hoping that the cause whose triumph was nullified for a time by party treachery will yet prevail. When that time comes, as they believe it will come, they will no longer rely upon special negotiations to secure the benefits of freer trade.

JOHN W. RUSSELL.

THE TRUST AND THE WORKING-MAN.

BY THE HON. LLOYD BRYCE.

I CITE a bill which is a fair sample of a kind of legislation that threatens the country:

"An act to prevent monopolies in articles or commodities of common use, to prohibit the restraint of trade and commerce, and to define the procedure of the Attorney-General in securing testimony." It declares null and void, as against public policy, any contract, agreement, arrangement, or combination which creates a monopoly in the manufacture, production, or sale of any article or commodity of common use, which restricts trade or commerce in such articles, or restrains or prevents competition in their production or sale, or interferes with the free pursuit of any lawful business. A person or corporation entering into such a combination shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of $5,000 or one year's imprisonment or both. Suit may be brought by the Attorney-General against any person, trustee, manager, director, or other officer or agent of a corporation, or against the corporation as such to prevent violation of the act.

The combinations at which such bills aim are endless in their variety. They may have for their object the sustaining or raising of prices, the limiting of production, sometimes carried to the extent of suppressing one or several of the factories, the distributing of business, or paying into a pool by the parties to the agreement charges on sales beyond their assigned allowance to be divided in certain proportions among them.

But whatever phase these combinations assume they all revolve around the restriction of competition with a view to preventing losses or increasing profits through prices.

In discussing legislation intended to prohibit this there are several questions that present themselves. Can you enforce such legislation? Are not economic laws of themselves operating to bring about the very results aimed at by artificial laws? If so, is the excuse for interfering adequate, and would not the evils resulting from such interference greatly exceed the benefits?

Of course the spirit of these bills is against the wealthy manufacturer, but the difficulty of drawing the line perhaps prevents the distinct statement being made in any bill that I have studied. Consequently, if strictly interpreted, it would affect the agreement between the two rival village blacksmiths to keep up the price of shoeing, as well as that between the country grocers not to undersell each other. For I venture the assertion there is scarcely an industry in which some such agreement does not exist among some of its members. Mr. Justice White, who delivered the dissenting opinion in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case, thus speaks of the Sherman Anti-Trust law:

"The interpretation of the statute, therefore, which holds that reasonable agreements are within its purview makes it embrace every peaceable organization or combination of the laborer to benefit his condition either by obtaining an increase of wages or diminution of the hours of labor."

Organized labor and organized capital are both developments of the industrial system running side by side, and each is beneficial to the other. To restrain the one and not the other is to establish the principle of class legislation. Once it is recognized that the law discriminates against capitalists, where will the capital come from to start up new industries? The capital already engaged here in business that can take to itself wings will do so. The capital that cannot get away will shrink up. Production will decline, and if such hostile legislation be persisted in the country generally will be reduced to the condition of Kansas.

Indeed one of the principal difficulties of this type of legislation is that it has a way of hitting the very people in whose interest it pretends to be directed. Some of the bills expressly exempt labor unions. But there are other classes more difficult to distinguish. Many of the agreements between business men are not reduced to writing, consequently prohibitive legislation would tend to injure the honest man in favor of him who would swear falsely. The principal question is, however, whether economic laws are not of themselves operating to bring about the very conditions aimed at by these artificial laws.

Suppose six factories are all engaged in the manufacture of the same article. They are all in business to make money, but by reason of competition all are losing money. Let us assume that the managers of these six factories come together and decide among themselves to raise prices.

If they put up prices to a point which will increase their profits beyond what will be a reasonable return on the capital employed, immediately, with the superfluity of capital that now exists, outsiders start up, begin the competition anew with improved machinery, and beat down prices to as low a scale as before, or possibly to a lower scale. But a salutary lesson has been gained, and it is this: adjust prices to the smallest possible amount that will leave a fair return on the capital employed; otherwise, new Richmonds will come into the field.

Thus a law of limitation is always running against all these combinations, never mind what shape they take.

This law of limitation not only applies to combinations between moderate concerns, but equally to those between large ones. Take the most extreme case of an agreement—a trust. It always has this law of limitation running against it equally with other industrial combinations. The Cordage trust in the days of its prosperity had the Goods for a competitor. The American Sugar Refining Company had the Spreckels—the American Tobacco Company has the Lorillards. Whatever form the combination among manufacturers assumes, if they raise prices too high their Nemesis is at hand. If the Standard Oil Company is an exception to this rule, it is because the company controls the sources of supply, which is not the case with other concerns. Besides its principle of business has been to make its profits by lowering prices, which is its security. It defies competition not because of its size, not because of any artificial laws, but because of its business insight in perceiving that by controlling the sources of supply the price of oil could be put so low that it would not pay outside capital to come in and compete with it. Indeed, during the last twenty odd years the price has fallen in a greater ratio than that of any other article I am aware of—viz., from fourteen cents to a little under five cents per gallon.

Much of the opposition to these combinations, indeed, proceeds from the fact that they are all loosely called trusts; and the mistaken idea arises that the profits of those concerned are on a scale with a few exceptional trusts. In point of fact, many of these combinations—I may say most of them—are really struggles for existence, without which the parties to the agreement would go to the wall. Large or small as may be their profits, however, it will be admitted, I think, that these contracts, combinations,

and trusts have been gradually developing during the last twenty-five years. A review of this period will show that two tendencies have been most pronounced—namely, a rise in wages and a fall in prices.

The working-man can ride over more territory in New York for five cents to-day than he could for twenty cents twenty years ago, and the same principle to an almost equal degree applies to every other branch of industry that supplies his necessities. For instance, from 1875 to 1895 steel rails have fallen from $68.75 to $24.33 per ton; sugar from 10.8 cents to 4.6 cents per pound; oil from 14.1 to 4.9 cents per gallon; cotton goods (standard sheeting) from 10.41 to 5.74 cents per yard; shipments of wheat from Chicago to New York, all rail, from 24.1 to 12.17 per bushel. Since 1895 there has been a still further decline in each one of the articles I have mentioned. But I prefer to adhere to the scale of prices before two years ago as being more nearly that of the period I have taken for my labor scale.

A table prepared by the *Street Railway Review*, touching on this subject, tells the story by comparison, showing the appreciation of the purchase power of money during the past ten years as applied to street car fares and sundry commodities:

		Per cent.
1886	What a unit would buy (in 1886) - - - - -	100
1896	What the same unit would buy (in 1896):	
	Street Car Rides	337.5
	Bricks	178
	Steel Rails	174
	Silver	145
	Sugar	137
	Portland Cement	136
	Wheat	134
	Corn	131
	Cotton	122
	Coal	118
	Salt Pork	85

A like reduction in prices appears in every department of industry. What does this cheapening mean? Simply that not only necessaries but unheard-of luxuries are placed within our reach. An acquaintance proudly showed me a pair of boots one day that he was wearing. They were machine made, but of an extremely good shape and fit, and costing only $2.50 were at a rate at which

the working-men could hardly have purchased any kind of a pair ten years go. My acquaintance was a very rich man, and those boots were good enough for him. Thus the luxuries of one generation become in the next within the means of all, and the working-man to-day can walk in the millionaire's boots at the same price he paid ten years ago for a pair of the coarsest shoes, if not at a lower price. I have shown what a distance the working-man can cover for five cents in a luxurious cable car, and when he reaches home, if he be inclined for literature, he can read in his Sunday paper for another five cents words of authors who twenty-five years ago would have been entirely outside his reach. His wife and daughters possibly indulge in these delights of literature, however, more than he, and there is not an article of their daily consumption that they cannot enjoy two-fold more than they did before the period I have mentioned.

I now come to the question of wages during the past twenty-five years, *i. e.*, during the time of this conspicuous fall in prices.

One of the most extraordinary features of the late campaign was the complaint of the agitator that prices were so low that the working-man got low wages. History shows the fallacy. The trend of wages all over the world during the past twenty-five years has been upward as the trend of prices has been downward. If high prices made prosperity, the Parisian during the Franco-German war had no right to complain of the siege, for any kind of meat sold for five dollars per pound and wages were almost nil. Of course, if prices are so low they are unremunerative to the employer, then the working-man's wages will suffer, and if no one is making money he cannot complain. Such a condition, however, must be only temporary and of an exceptional nature, as otherwise the employer would go out of business. I take the following table from the census returns :

Year.	No of operatives.	Wages paid. Millions.	Dollars per operative.
1860	1,311,000	379	289
1870	2,054,000	620	302
1880	2,733,000	948	347
1890	4,713,000	2,283	485

"The average of wages has risen 60 per cent. since 1870, and at the same time the accumulation of urban wealth per head has been 76 per cent. more than in the period from 1850 to 1870, which shows that the rise in wealth and the increase of wages go almost hand-in-hand," says Mr. M. G. Mulhall, the great statistician.

But it is during this very time while the tendency to make pools and arrangements, combinations and trusts, has been most pronounced—*i. e.*, during the last thirty years—that this upward tendency of wages and downward tendency of prices has been most pronounced. Is it too much to assume that these pools and combinations, these arrangements and trusts, have been part and parcel of the general scheme? Thus economic laws would of themselves appear to be working out our salvation.

Perhaps it might be held that the public would be better off under unrestricted competition, and the claim is often made that the people have a right to demand this. It seems to me that already the public secures the benefit of competition to the fullest extent economical conditions warrant. Let me ask, however, what would be the effect of passing penal laws to enforce unrestricted competition? It would drive many out of business, leave their trade to a reduced number, and so decrease production. What would become of the workmen in the concerns that went under? Many would be walking the streets. Eventually some would probably be absorbed into the surviving factories, but there would be delay, and they could never be all absorbed until the survivors had secured all the business of the other factories. Thus a reduced number of employers would be getting a living out of the business. There would be hardship and delay in finding re-employment on the part of the workmen, and competition would be rather restricted than expanded, for the business would be now confined to a smaller number of producers than before. Consequently we should be carried further away than ever from "unrestricted competition" by the forcible attempt to impose "unrestricted competition."

It is a dangerous matter trying to fly in the face of the laws of nature or of trade. Experiments were being made a few years ago with a torpedo. It was directed at an old hulk in the harbor, but contrary to all expectations, it turned in its course and exploded among the spectators on the beach with terrible effect.

Again unrestricted competition practically means that the manufacturer's hands shall be tied. He is to make no effort to counteract a competition that may be ruining him, because his profits are supposed to be inordinate.

Perhaps you will frame the law to apply only to large aggregations of capital and where profits *are* great. We have touched on

some of the objections to this discrimination before, but granting that you can draw the line, and do not frighten off new capital by the fear of a difference of opinion as to the point where discrimination is to begin, would your condition be improved?

A review of the figures I have given in evidence of the cheapening of prices and the rise in wages during the last few years makes as good a showing for large capital in this double respect as for small; I might say a better. The New York Traction Company is a large aggregation of capital, and yet it charges only the same fare for riding over all its lines that each separate part required for going over the fractional distance. The Standard Oil Company is surely a large aggregation of capital, and sold oil at five cents a gallon in 1895, whereas in its earlier stage it demanded fourteen cents a gallon. For working people to complain, therefore, of large aggregations of capital is equal to their saying: "We resent your enabling us to ride for five cents as far as twenty odd years ago we had to pay twenty cents to ride; we resent your letting us buy as much refined oil for five cents as we used to buy for fourteen, or as much sugar for four cents as we used to buy for ten cents, or as much sheeting for our beds at five cents as we used to pay ten cents for, or to bring by railroad as much wheat for bread from the West to our children's mouths for twelve cents as we used to pay twenty-four cents to bring. In short, our interest is to destroy you; because you have put, not only necessaries, but unheard-of luxuries within the reach of our wives, our children, and ourselves, and have enabled us to purchase for one hour's labor as much as we would have had to work one hour and three-quarters (stated broadly) to purchase before."*

Take the department store, against which so many bills are aimed, and which is but another phase of the employment of large capital. There is not an article of their daily consumption that the people cannot enjoy to a far greater degree than before by reason of the department store, and only because it supplies the "many" can it exist.

Take the press. Each great daily paper, even those that declaim most loudly against capital, are but large consolidations of capital. Before each large paper, innumerable smaller journalistic ventures have gone under. Their circulation grows in inverse

* I have adhered to the period between 1875 and 1895 for the sake of consistency, but the fall since then is even more marked.

ratio to their prices, and it is because the smaller ventures have succumbed before them that they can sell so cheap.

If particularly sympathetically inclined, the working-man may drop a tear over the sad ventures in journalistic enterprises that have made this cheapening possible, but he would hardly put out double the money every time he buys a paper to keep the defunct enterprises alive. Yet, strange to say, this is the very thing the demagogue would have him do when he declaims against capital, trusts, corporations, and department stores. The fact is there is a motive in the demagogue's talk. He wishes to hunt with the hounds and to run with the hare; to voice the complaints of the comparatively small number of sufferers in the smaller ventures and to cloud the reason of the beneficiaries of these failures till they imagine him their friend.

It may be objected perhaps, that it is not large capital but machinery that has tended to lower prices. Large capital provides adequate machinery, and it is only large capital that can keep up with the necessary improvements in machinery, and always secure the best. I have already shown the enormous rise in wages during the period of this consolidation of capital. Do the large concerns pay a lower rate than the small? Does the Traction Company of New York pay its employees less than the old lines of horse cars? Does the department store pay lower salaries than the small store pays? Does the working-man in the various branches of industry that supply the department store receive a lesser rate for his work than when he is supplying the separate establishments? Does the press pay less for printing and for composition than when the journals were smaller? The most casual examination will show that there is not a single one of these various branches of industry where the tendency in wages has not been upwards since their expansion and the consequent fall in the price of their commodities. To be sure, just recently, this upward tendency of wages has been checked by business depression. But I will venture to say the cuts in wages in the small concerns have been more excessive and of more general occurrence than in the large concerns—for the very sufficient reason that their smaller reserves of capital have made such cuts a matter of greater necessity. I will venture another assertion, too, that the working-man's wages just recently have not suffered a decline in equal ratio to the contraction of the profits of the employer in the industry in which he is engaged.

On the contrary so far from the large concern paying a smaller rate of wages the tendency would be for them to pay higher.

In the largest output is the largest and the most stable profits. That concern enjoying the best profits can best afford to pay good wages; and it will, in the long run, do so, because it is a matter of policy to keep its workmen satisfied and the large concern is best able to maintain this policy.

Besides when business is profitable, the demand for workmen increases and they can best enforce under these circumstances a demand for high wages.

No, the workman has no quarrel with large aggregations of capital. Therefore, in making these laws against pools, combinations, and trusts, he would gain nothing by applying the law only to great aggregations of capital.

But to come back to ordinary combinations; so far from establishing monopolies these combinations must have often tended to break up monopolies, and if you prohibit them you are but spiking your own guns. Suppose, for instance, X had a tobacco factory, and he made a combination with other factories not in the American Tobacco Company. Although this combination might only be to restrain trade in the particular locality where these factories were situated, with a view to enable it to compete the better with the trust, this would be enough to make the agreement criminal. Read Judge Peckham's interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case. You will see that he does not limit the law to combinations of transportation, but embraces combinations in all departments of business. He holds that it is not necessary to show that the combination is unreasonable nor what the intentions of the contracting parties were. If there be a contract in restraint of trade, though the object might be to compete the more successfully against some large concern, that intention makes no difference and the combination is illegal. No proof is necessary that the combination actually does restrain trade, or that trade is harmed. The true meaning of this is, therefore, that any contract *touching* trade is illegal. The deplorable consequences of such a sweeping decision I leave to your own judgment.

The fact is, all these laws are loosely drawn, since they are framed to meet the demands of people at sea in their complaints,

for now they declaim against trusts and pools and combinations on the score of raising prices, and in the next breath against department stores because they lower prices. How can any human law meet such conflicting grievances? The judge must interpret them according to his political bias, and while to-day the decision may be popular, to-morrow it may be the reverse.

Of course, I do not mean to say there are not many exceptions to the rules I have laid down about these combinations, etc. I only contend in the main that my argument is right. I have tried also to use a broad brush, preferring to show the principles influencing modern industry rather than to attempt to illustrate and defend every phase these combinations you propose to destroy may take.

But lest I should seem avoiding the issue, let me take the case of a trust. All these trade combinations are loosely designated trusts, as I have said; but strictly speaking, a trust is where a number of manufacturers or producers relinquish the individual control of their properties in the common interest. This was the plan of the Standard Oil Company, as I understand it, and though now I believe it has been reorganized and placed on the same basis as any other large corporation, it will answer the purposes of illustration. Suppose you dissolve the Standard Oil Company; you would reduce its profits undoubtedly, but, though it is a matter of conjecture, I believe the re-establishment of the numerous refineries it has suppressed would more than eat up these profits and require a rise in the price of oil to meet the increased cost of production. The same, I think, would be the case with the dissolution of any of the other large trusts and their obligatory return to their original condition.

There is one aspect of the trust on which much might be written, but which space compels me to treat briefly, viz., the trust in politics. Stated as a broad rule, I think that when the trust enters politics it is generally for self-protection. The more laws you build up against trusts the more inducement you give to them to enter and to remain in politics.

To be sure, a few trusts have given rise to great fortunes, but these are seldom due to legislative action. The development of a new country and improvements in machinery have afforded opportunities for the accumulation of wealth unsurpassed in the history of the world.

Generally speaking, this wealth has been accumulated by doing something for the public in a better or a cheaper manner than it was done before, and the measure of the wealth is in a sense a measure of the service done. In seeing this wealth and comparing it with our own, we are apt to forget that it is generally but the reflex of our own material advancement, and consider there is something wrong with the system that admits of such wide discrepancies in fortune. Be this as it may, the particular phase of the matter I have been discussing is not these great fortunes, but combinations and contracts among ordinary business men. An unpopularity is cast on these by the looseness of designation that sums them all up under the name of "trust"; and I have only taken the trust itself to show that even in this extreme case legislation may do more harm than good.

The reason we don't admit all this is that the depression of the last year or so clouds our judgment. We attribute closing factories, decreased work, instead of to business depression, to pools, combinations, and trusts, whereas these have been sustaining us by making it possible for the industry on which we depend for employment to live.

Besides, we mistakenly attribute much of the hardship that really belongs to the whole industrial system to these particular phases of the industrial system alone, and ask that the law step in for our protection—the hardship that is continually doing away with the middleman, changing the small proprietor into the employee, eliminating the weak, as in the case of the small shop-keeper before the department store. But in this elimination lies the great saving in production, and as the workman gains by the cheapening of production he has no right to complain; on the contrary, he ought to rejoice, for the harshness is directed against the comparatively few and is in his interest. It is the harshness that displaced the driver of coaches for the driver of the steam engine; the harshness that displaced the horse-car driver for the motor-man; that, in short, is displacing inadequate labor for the adequate; and that in dispensing with the high-paid middleman engages ten active workers in his place—the harshness that is inseparable from all progress.

It is extraordinary what misconception exists on this topic. Judge Peckham, in delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court against the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, said:

"Such combinations deprive of occupation little traders and manufacturers, and turn them adrift to seek other employment. In business or trading combinations they (trusts) may even temporarily, *or perhaps permanently, reduce the price of the article traded in or manufactured by reducing the expense inseparable from the running of many different companies for the same purpose.* Trade or commerce under those circumstances may nevertheless be badly and unfortunately restrained by driving out of the business the small dealers and worthy men whose lives have been spent therein, and who might be unable to readjust themselves to their altered surroundings. *Mere reduction in the price of the commodity dealt in might be dearly paid for by the ruin of such a class and the absorption of control over one commodity by an all-powerful combination of capital.*"

Again:

"*In this light it is not material that the price of an article may be lowered.* It is in the power of the combination to raise it, and the result in any event is unfortunate for the country *by depriving it of the services of a large number of small but independent dealers who were familiar with the business* and who had spent their lives in it, and who supported themselves and their families from the small profits realized therein.

This political economy is not American; it is Bryanese. It is a wrench backwards, and brings us one degree nearer the stone-axe period. To be sure it is hard on the owner of a stone axe to be supplanted by the man with an iron axe, but no less so than for the driver of a stage coach to be supplanted by the driver of an express train.

Those who recommend a return to previously existing conditions are industrial reactionaries, only equalled by the political reactionaries who would recommend going backwards to the small principalities of Germany or Italy. There were more officers, more tax-collectors, more paraphernalia of government then, because there were many governments in place of one, and it was hard on these functionaries to be discarded. But have not the people at large gained? Consolidation of empire and of capital spring from the same causes, and the very political union we enjoy in the United States is based on the same principles.

So far from these pools and combinations accentuating the hardships of the industrial system, they rather modify it. They enable many industries to remain in business and share the benefit of large capital in a more or less completely consolidated form.

To sum up, there are many difficulties in the way of legislating against these industrial agreements, the principal one being that

it would probably have the very opposite effect from that intended.

A review of the very period when these industrial agreements have been most conspicuously in operation shows a marked fall in prices and a rise in wages; consequently, so far from injuring the public, it is a fair assumption that they have borne their share in benefiting the public, and therefore that economic laws are bringing about the very results aimed at by remedial legislation.

While there is undoubtedly much that is harsh in connection with trusts, pools, associations, and contracts, it is really the harshness of the industrial system, and this hardship is directed only against the comparatively few, in substituting adequate for inadequate labor.

In short, these poolings and contracts are but another form of co-operation. Co-operation is the eventual development of all industries which cannot stand alone, and which depend on a large output for their profits, since combination is the only condition of their continued existence.

There is a principle behind the movement—the principle is that in union there is strength. The principle can no more be affected by hostile legislation than the principle of gravitation. But while the principle cannot be affected, the capital embarked in business may, just as the capital embarked in railways has been affected by the anti-pooling decision.

In a previous article the loss the workman met with in the disastrous legislation against railroads has been pointed out. If industrial combinations are to be legislated against, let a commission of men who understand economic questions be selected who, at least, will deal with them on economic principles, and remember that the very life-blood of the masses is at stake. To be a mere measure of party politics is suicidal. We are in an acute commercial crisis. Unwise or hasty legislation will give but an additional blow to the suffering industries of the country, through them to the working classes, and will set back the hand on the dial plate of industrial evolution, which is civilization.

LLOYD BRYCE.

THE RECORD REIGN.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K. T.

MANY Americans feel as much admiration and veneration for Queen Victoria as do her own subjects. The feeling has nothing in common with any preference for monarchical or for republican institutions. It is non-political with large masses of men and women who simply look on the Queen as a woman who throughout a long life, lived conspicuously in the full sight of the world, has borne her burden of office with dignity and wisdom, and has fulfilled, in the way we all deem the best, the ideal of the life of maiden, wife, mother and widow. "Not once or twice in our rough island story, the path of duty was the way to glory," as Tennyson sang; but duty may be followed in various ways, and glory may be sought in more. It has been the proudest prerogative of Queen Victoria to make the woman's duty the nation's glory. The sovereignty the governing people give to their Queen has in no other of the long centuries of our history been so blended with the majesty no suffrages can bestow and no law establish. Elizabeth derived from her Tudor ancestry the love of splendor and conquest which, with her untamed temper, betrayed the wildness of her Cambrian blood. Anne, the last of the Stuarts, who also saw great deeds done by England in war and in letters, was too much influenced by designing favorites to hold the place which can be occupied only by one having a powerful and trained judgment as well as a pure domestic character. To be in the world and yet not of it; to feel with the sorrow and hopes of those around us, and yet to be able to measure the ends that grief and joy may reach; to be thoroughly human and humane, and yet to be carried away by no violent enthusiasm; to be strong enough to bear the isolation of great rank, and still be simple and kindly and perfectly true; to see the

good even in the most mistaken, and to be able to point out faults without passion and with the insight that is not sympathy, and is not over-censure—are the qualities which were lacking in the rules of Elizabeth and Anne. The one was an autocratic termagant, the other an emotional matron. Their times were alike only in this, that none rightly knew who would succeed to the throne when they should die. But Elizabeth had a clear field for the exercise of her authority. Anne had too big a nursery and too powerful subjects to lead in politics herself. The last of the Tudors could make her little England of only three million souls do much as she chose; and her choice was action that recked little of what is now called "European Concert." The last of the Stuarts was necessarily but a piece to be played in a game where allies had greater forces in the field than those sent by England. The statesmen of Elizabeth were courtiers of the Queen; the men who ruled Britain under Anne were stronger than the sovereign. There has been no previous example of the modern conjunction of party rule with the modifying influence exercised by a woman, at once the sovereign and the most experienced counsellor in the realm. As gold exists where unseen, so influence may be found where no outward form reveals it. The headstrong conceit or passion of a party leader is less apt to be turned from a sudden and violent purpose by the disapproval of a King than by the gentle wording of the writing of a Queen. Counsel is more listened to by men when it comes fron a woman's lips or pen (provided always that the woman have good sense), than from any man, however great his tact may be. Strength may be found in the very weakness of the position of a Constitutional Sovereign, in that the view expressed by the Reigning Personage can be neglected or followed as the Governing Personage, in the shape of the Minister in power, may choose.

The minister must generally feel that such views are those of one whose own position cannot be affected by the wishes expressed, and are therefore based on an impartial consideration of what is best for the country at large. In matters connected with foreign policy, this is especially the case. Fortunately, the patriotism of the British Parliament has usually left foreign complications to be dealt with by the ministry without hindering it by an opposition that might diminish the influence of the government in conducting negotiations abroad. But this is not

always, and cannot always be, the case, and the Sovereign may in such conjunctions be a most useful intermediary between the Government and the Opposition, bringing the leaders of both to a common opinion with regard to the course to be pursued to avoid a common danger, or enforce a common national policy. It is customary to say that as soon as the constitutional head of a State becomes, or is suspected of being, a partisan, or even of leaning to one party, his usefulness is gone. But this is an exaggeration. No sane person can live among conflicting opinions without having his own views. To be a mere register of the fleeting opinion of the majority would expose the Sovereign or Governor who so effaced himself to the contempt of his own ministers. But his action must not be in public opposed to the majority in the Chamber. If it be, and if a crisis arise in which it is necessary that he disagree with ministers openly, they must resign and another ministry must take the responsibility of the refusal to adopt the policy of the men they supplant. The constitutional head of the state is borne harmless through the crisis, not because he has no opinion of his own, but because that opinion is covered and endorsed by another ministry responsible to the country for it. Where the advice of a government is not accepted, the resignation of that government must necessarily follow, and if the responsibility assumed by its successor be not approved by the people at the election held to confirm the power of the newcomers, the Head of the State may see himself under the disagreeable necessity of recalling the former ministry whose advice he had refused to take.

When a government is defeated at the polls the power of Constitutional Sovereign is for a period considerable, for he can refuse to accept the advice of those who have been defeated in the elections, and yet may not accept their resignations until the meeting of Parliament, thus keeping them dangling between a political heaven of irresponsibility and the earthly obligation of carrying on the administration of affairs *ad interim*. But here again the "next man in," as soon as Parliament has met and the previous ministry is out, has to declare that the responsibility of all that has been done is assumed by himself and his colleagues. "The king can do no wrong," because there is always a minister there to be the "whipping boy" or rather the boy who is whipped, and who is the bearer of all responsibility. This gives

the position of Constitutional Sovereign an isolation and a permanence which cannot attach to any ruler who takes an active part in politics, and who is associated in all men's minds with views which fail or become unpopular. But the weaker, or the less tangible, the public part taken in affairs by the reigning sovereign, the more easy does it become for him, not only to place his views on all important occasions before ministers, but to see that they are listened to and weighed by his councillors.

The power to do this must greatly depend upon personal qualifications, that is, on the influence the individual monarch may exercise. It is recorded of the Sovereign of a little German State that he had become so used merely to echo the words of his councillors that when he received an address from the mayor of a town and heard that the mayor and the burghers were glad to see him, the gracious ruler could only answer: "I too am glad that you see me!" Usually, however, even in such an extreme case of inanity as this, and where the personage is probably "unaccustomed to public speaking," he has friends who can put some sensible words into his mouth, for no European King has to undergo the ordeal of platform oratory favored by candidates for the Presidency "on the stump" in the United States.

They say that the speed of a squadron of warships at sea must be regulated by the slowest vessel. It is a maxim that the strength of a chain is no greater than that of its weakest link; but the object of mankind in constituting a government must be to prevent any weakness from dominating any situation. Personal influence may be powerful for good, but it must not be potent for harm. In America, the frequent checks provided by the statesmen of the Revolution makes all action executive only after some time has passed after the vote for such action has been given. Yet the President may do more harm than can a British King. In Britain there are too few checks on the Chambers, and more than sufficient to weight the monarch. The long practice of self-government on the part of the people is supposed to be a sufficient check of itself. Whether this be a correct theory, when almost every one is allowed to vote, time only can show. But there is little doubt that the checks provided against the Sovereign's arbitrary power are complete, and even if he have less experience and wisdom than the rashest of the deputies in the House of Commons, he can do but little harm. On the other

hand, if he be wise and tactful and persuasive, and if he have the power to make men believe in his disinterestedness, impartiality, and honesty, he may have a great part in public affairs.

Personal influence! Yes, how that survives, and defies all attempts to render it ineffective! Men who disbelieve in it and set up socialist or communist ideas, denying to any individual any priority or advantage over his fellows, see with astonishment and mortification that the hated thing enters into their most secret circles and sways all their action. It was supposed that it was only in the unenlightened ages of the world that any one man could have any personal command in great affairs. With contempt it was pronounced that the heroes of antiquity or the great captains of bygone centuries must have had an inferior crew to deal with when so paramount a position was given to any individual. Englishmen in more recent times thought that it was only Frenchmen who could let "Bony" ride so rough-shod over them, when "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had but just been inscribed over the doors of every public building in France. Who but unenlightened Russians would allow a Tsar to have absolute dominion? Nowadays, surely, it was argued, when intelligence, culture, and education are so generally diffused, none could arrogate to himself any large share of the admiration and worship of his fellow countrymen. Is this so? Do we not rather see that men, even if raised to a high level of knowledge of material things, are yet as emotional as ever, as apt to follow like sheep the lead of one, as incapable of weighing and judging the faults of those who by appeals to their pride, their passion, and prejudice may rise to the head of affairs? Except in the very rare cases where great wars or convulsions of the political world are in progress, it is most difficut to get electors to value the "high politics" at stake at their proper measure of importance. Rather will they discuss the character of a candidate, and his private affairs, his position in society, the influence he may be able to use for their individual benefit; nay, even his appearance seems often to them of more account than his principles. The personal factor seems to be almost as great as ever!

The old hero worship is not dead, though all men may be able to reckon equally and have the same right to use the ballot box. We may flatter ourselves that in civil affairs, at least, the person so distinguished by popular favor may have justified his

elevation by the greater probity of his character as compared with the popular idols of former times. It is to be hoped that such flattery has some foundation. Where it is most likely to have the surest grounds for justification is in cases where long life in high position has tested the belief in excellence. In what Tennyson calls "the fierce light that beats upon a throne," there is a test, when that throne is occupied by one ruling over a free people. In private council, a great personality has enormous influence with a free people; their press enables them to measure with greater accuracy as time passes the effect of their monarch's conduct on morals, on politics, on fashions. The imitative quality in human nature must always make the personal conduct and character of anyone called to a throne a matter of importance. If evil is shown in high places it will be multiplied in the lower. The stamp of fashion will be set in the habits which would not be imitated were they not known to be those of the rich and the fortunate. And this is not only true in regard to wearers of the crown, but it is to be seen as following for good or for bane the lives of all who have made their mark, and whose actions have thus become a subject of interest to the many.

Trust is of gradual growth. It is only in cases of "love at first sight" that we are desirous in private life of putting all "on the hazard of a die," only because, as an Irishman would say, there is no hazard, or we do not believe that any risk exists. But, as a rule, even in the family life, trust comes last of the attributes of affection. Still more in public business, a man must be very lucky if he be deemed "safe." It is of the essence of all trust that it ripens the belief in truthfulness as well as in capacity. Openness, loyalty, and honesty are the levers to raise the respect to admiration and trust.

The ministers of Queen Victoria found in the maiden monarch a loyalty to the truth which is rare, even among the best of maidens. The girl who at seventeen years of age was hastily summoned one morning at Kensington Palace to hear that her uncle had died and that his counsellors were coming in a few hours to greet her as Queen was by good fortune and good training, and native health of character, able, like the warrior youths of old, "to ride and speak the truth." And it is mainly because of this quality, confirmed and strengthened by the character of the Prince whom she was so soon to accept as Consort, that trust

in her has for sixty years been part and parcel of the British mind.

The young Coburg prince was a cousin of the Queen, and was a man of very remarkable weight of character. The instruction given to him as a boy to bear himself *fürstlich*—that is, in a princely way—in life had not been given in vain. Full of an almost romantic desire to give dignity by conduct to a position which was eminent in his own land, but not important, he united high aims with a singular absence of enthusiasm in manner. Shyness was probably the cause of this concealment of enthusiasm. No one could be heartier, gayer, and happier than he was in family life, but in society he seemed cold, and he was not at first appreciated in London. There is always among Britishers a strong prejudice against foreigners, which must be chiefly due to the insular position of the country, for most Englishmen's fathers have come to England as strangers at times remote or near. But each newcomer in any island, even one as large as Great Britain, is always looked upon as a peculiar and inferior specimen. This may be noticed wherever salt water surrounds a bit of land, and is a human peculiarity which must be left to physiologists to explain. All who learned to know him well at Court soon perceived how excellent he was, but his diffidence made him stiff with those he did not care for, and this appearance of haughtiness was against him in the London world. Singularly self-sacrificing in desiring that the Queen should have all the regard and loyalty and honor given by her people, he kept himself conscientiously in the background, and yet toiled like a slave at the work necessary to qualify himself as her councillor and partner in all the anxieties and responsibilities of her station. He was full of this anxiety to live in accordance with the high ideal he had formed of what the husband of a British sovereign should be, and he succeeded in the task. Before he died, at the early age of forty-three, he had so organized the Court that the burden of its routine was much lightened for the Queen. He had brought system into her life, so that each part of the day had its allotted occupation, whether of work, social entertainment, or private amusement. He was no lover of sour retirement or pedantic tedium. Riding, driving, skating, dancing, were as much a part of the life he guided and shared as was the elaborate noting and summing up of debates on all public affairs. Memorandums for

the Queen to send to her ministers, full of wise, moderate counsel in time of difficulty ; letters to leaders of parties giving well-informed views on foreign politics derived from a large personal acquaintance and correspondence with sovereigns and leading men in Europe—all these were never lacking : while attention was bestowed on the sometimes almost as harassing details of social work. And in the delicate labor of giving an example in Court life, which is so rare an accomplishment in sovereigns full of youth and high spirits, and yet so necessary in countries where the ears of the press can hear all the whispers of scandal, he made virtue to be at once loved and feared, and honor a name to be worn by the brave and the noble, but denied to the bully and the gamester. The Queen herself would be the first to say that the success of her sixty years' reign is chiefly due to the young man who at the age of twenty-two taught her so to divide time as to reign over an empire.

The habits he persuaded her to adopt have become the custom of her every-day life. There are still hours devoted each day to given duties and occupations, and there are still the same months of each year given to residence in the places where the happy joint life was passed in the days that laid the foundation of the success won by order and industry and tact. Work is never neglected, and touch is always kept with ministers, one of whom is on duty when the Queen is at her country place in Scotland. The Prime Minister or the leader of the House of Commons, being the chief of the party in power, sends each night a brief account of the debate of the night, and this is forwarded, as are all despatches, in leather boxes to the Sovereign. Each morning the contents are read and the despatches returned with any notes and observations which may be expedient. This routine of business, with all events noted, and documents copied and filed, gives a reserve of precedent and a fund for judgment which statesman after statesman has found to be invaluable. The thoughts which the Queen may express upon any subject have been quoted by them with respect and admiration for the knowledge shown, and the value of the light thrown upon difficult problems. The well-known instance of the modification of the form of a despatch written at Lord John Russell's instance in regard to the seizure of Mason and Slidell by a United States war vessel in 1861 furnishes an example of the influence for peace

that has been successfully exerted by the Queen's supervision of affairs. This was the last occasion on which the Prince personally was able to assist his wife. Since then his system has been diligently followed.

The Crown has been compared to the figure-head of a ship. It is sometimes said that it is only preserved to give a fictitious dignity to the vessel of state. They who speak thus know little, and probably care less, how monarchy works. If figure-heads can walk the deck and have conference with the captain, arrange for the command in case he falls overboard, and even have influence for the keeping of discipline in the forecastle, the comparison may be good. In public affairs we deem chairmen necessary at meetings, and we do not condemn them as useless if they cannot eject all whom they cannot persuade. In private life we consider it fortunate if the family have the advantage of the guidance of a good mother. And this Her Majesty has been to her people. She has exercised a continuous influence for good for sixty years. Of how many others in any position can the same be said? No wonder that all Anglo-Saxons and Celts are proud of her, for the blood of both is in her veins, and the wish expressed in "*Ciad Mille Failte*" is that of the time-honored "God save the Queen."

LORNE.

THE QUEEN'S PARLIAMENTS.

BY H. W. LUCY (TOBY, M. P., OF "PUNCH").

PART I.

Of the crowd of Members of the House of Commons who on the 20th of November, 1837, thronged the bar of the House of Lords to catch a glimpse of the girl-Queen opening her first Parliament, only six are living at this day. That fact, standing alone, marks the unparalleled length of Queen Victoria's reign. Of the half dozen survivors, one is Mr. Leader, who represented Westminster in the first Parliament of the Queen, and distinguished himself by joining the minority of twenty who supported that once well-known, now forgotten, statesman, Mr. Coroner Wakley, in an amendment to the address. The ministry, avowedly Liberal, had omitted from the Queen's speech promise to undertake Parliamentary reform. The Coroner, with professional energy, forthwith proceeded to sit upon the government. He found only eighteen members to follow the lead of himself and co-teller in what might be construed as a rudeness to the young Queen, whose first speech was nominally the subject of debate.

Others of the six relics of this House of more than sixty years ago, are Mr. Hurst, Member for Horsham; Mr. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Member for Malton, now Earl Fitzwilliam; Sir Thomas Acland, Member for West Somerset, whose family name is honorably represented in the House of Commons of to-day by the Ex-Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Villiers, now, as then, Member for Wolverhampton, and Mr. Gladstone, to-day in busy seclusion at Hawarden, then Member for Newark, hearing his days before him and the tumult of his life.

Of the Queen's ministers who paid homage on the young girl's accession to the throne not one survives. Lord Melbourne was

First Minister of the Crown, none objecting to the Premier's being seated in the House of Lords, the less so since he had a vigorous lieutenant in the Commons in the person of Lord John Russell. Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. It is incidental, but striking, evidence of the growth of the empire under the sway of the Queen and the direction of her fourteen parliaments that in 1837 there was no such personage as a Secretary of State for the Colonies. Great Britain's colonial possessions were by no means insignificant even sixty years ago. But with the assistance of an under-secretary specially concerned for the colonies their affairs were quite comfortably managed, in addition to his own duties, by the Secretary of State for War. It was not till 1854 that the offices were divided, Sir George Grey in that year becoming Colonial Secretary.

Looking down the yellowing page of the first division list recorded in the first Parliament of the Queen, one comes upon some familiar names starring the long columns of the now unknown. Sir Robert Peel was leader of the Opposition. By his side sat Lord Stanley, aftewards, as Earl of Derby, known as the Rupert of debate. O'Connell was in the prime of his power, the fullness of his force. His lieutenant was Richard Lalor Shiel, whose pallid face and delicate frame contrasted strangely with the ruddy countenance and burly body of the Liberator. Shiel was an orator in spite of his voice, which Mr. Gladstone once described as reminding him of "the sound of a tin kettle battered about from place to place."

"In anybody else," Mr. Gladstone testifies, "I would not, if it had been my choice, like to have listened to that voice. But in him I would not have changed it, for it was part of a most remarkable whole, and nobody ever felt painful while listening to it. Shiel was a great orator, and an orator of much preparation, carried, I believe, even to words, with a very vivid imagination and an enormous power of language and of strong feeling. There was a peculiar character, a sort of half-wildness in his aspect and delivery. His whole figure, his delivery, his voice, and his matter were all in such perfect keeping with one another that they formed a great Parliamentary picture. Although it is now thirty-five years since I heard Mr. Shiel, my recollection of him is just as vivid as if I had been listening to him to-day."

By an odd coincidence another Shiel lives in the recollection

of later members of the Queen's Parliaments by reason of his voice—or, to be more precise, by consequence of its temporary absence. Mr. Edward Shiel, nephew of the orator to whom Mr. Gladstone pays sympathetic tribute, was elected to the tenth Parliament of the Queen, representing Meath. When Mr. Parnell formed his militant party Mr. Shiel joined it for awhile, serving as whip. During one of the spells of all-night sittings, the usual contributors to the proceeding having talked themselves hoarse, the junior whip was impressed for active service, just as in times of stress on board ship the cook and steward are summoned to the pumps. Having a couple of hours' notice given him, Mr. Shiel prepared notes for a speech, and in due time was called upon by the Speaker. He rose in obedience to signal, but there was no other response. Members turning their attention to the benches below the gangway on the Opposition side observed a slight figure, upright, with a beardless face, paler than ordinary, staring straight at the Speaker. On closer inspection it was seen that Mr. Shiel's lips were moving, but not a whisper was audible. For fully ten minutes he remained on his feet, and when he sat down the House concluded he had finished his speech. Observation of the fact that he was no longer on his legs was the only evidence available.

Other members of this first Parliament of the Queen whose names are familiar to the present generation are Lord Ashley, who did a long life's work as Earl of Shaftesbury; Mr. Grote, the banker, whose annual drafts in favor of the ballot were honored after many years; Mr. Horsman, at this time Member for Cockermouth; Sir Harry Verney, whose handsome, venerable figure decorated the Conservative benches below the gangway so recently as the tenth Parliament of the Queen; Mr. Wyndham Lewis, just returned for Maidstone with Mr. Disraeli as colleague, not yet dreaming that some day Mrs. Wyndham Lewis would become Mrs. Disraeli, and later bloom as Lady Beaconsfield; many-lettered Lytton Bulwer (in the division list he figures as Edward G. E. L. Bulwer), who sat for Lincoln, with the famous Colonel Sibthorpe for colleague.

There is a George Granville Harcourt, Member for Oxfordshire, kinsman of a later Member for Oxford, who has added enduring Parliamentary fame to the family name. It is even more startling in running the eye down the Division List to

come upon the name Henry Labouchere. This is, of course, not the Editor of *Truth*, Member for Northampton in the present Parliament. It was his uncle, who, unconscious of offence to be given to the later developed convictions of his distinguished nephew, accepted a Peerage, and sat in the Upper House as Lord Taunton.

Behind Sir Robert Peel, in those now shadowy days, sat two young members, as yet untried, whose Parliamentary fame parallels if it does not surpass that of their first great leader. When the Queen's first speech was read in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone was twenty-eight years old. Mr. Disraeli was thirty-three. Happily there are preserved to this day pen-and-ink pictures of the member for Maidstone in 1837, and the member for Newark in the same Parliament. We read of Disraeli's ringlets, of his silken black hair, his flashing eyes, his effeminate air and lisping voice, his dress-coat of black velvet lined with white satin ; his white kid gloves, the long hanging fringe of black silk that fell from his wrist, with more black silk in the shape of a tassel adorning his ivory cane, with its handle inlaid with gold.

"Disraeli," writes an American traveller, who crossed the Atlantic before steamships were built, "has one of the most remarkable faces I ever saw. He is lividly pale, and, but for the energy of his action and the strength of his lungs, would seem to be a victim to consumption. His eye is black as Erebus, and has the most mocking, lying-in-wait sort of expression conceivable. His mouth is alive with a kind of working and impatient nervousness. When he has burst forth, as he does constantly, with a particularly successful cataract of expression, it assumes a curl of triumphant scorn that would be worthy of Mephistopheles."

"Mr. Gladstone," we read in pages descriptive of the British Senate in 1838, "is a fine-looking man. He is about the usual height and of good figure. His countenance is mild and pleasant, and has a highly intellectual expression. His eyes are clear and quick. His eyebrows are dark and rather prominent. There is not a dandy in the House but envies what Truefit would call his fine head of jet black hair. It is always carefully parted from the crown downwards to his brow, where it is tastefully shaded. His features are small and regular, and his complexion must be a very unworthy witness if he does not possess an abundant stock of health."

Mr. Disraeli did not wait long before he gave the House of Commons a taste of his quality. The first Parliament of the Queen was opened on the 20th of November, 1837. On the 7th day of the following month the ringleted member for Maidstone delivered that historic speech with its angry prophetic last word: "The time will come when you *shall* hear me."

Mr. Roebuck was not present when the Queen delivered her first speech in Parliament, having been defeated at Bath at the general election following on the accession of Her Majesty. He came in four years later, and thereafter, up to the Parliament of 1873, when he was elected for Sheffield, he fitfully reappeared on the scene. He made one prominent appearance even in these early days of the Queen's first Parliament. Canada was in revolt, and Lord John Russell brought in a bill suspending the constitution of Lower Canada. Mr. Roebuck was agent and representative of the Province, and claimed the right to be heard at the Bar of the House in opposition to the measure. This was granted, and, according to contemporary record, the House was surprised to find itself instructed by one who "looked like a boy scarcely out of his teens."

I recall another very different scene in the House of Commons, when Mr. Roebuck was the centre of interest. It was in the session of 1878, when party feeling, excited by the foreign policy of Mr. Disraeli, ran high. Mr. Roebuck, though sitting on the Opposition side—a quarter which, politics apart, was more in unison with his constitutional tendencies—supported what at the time was called the Jingo policy. This made his presence below the gangway on the Opposition side especially unwelcome to the Radicals, who claimed the quarter as their own. Mr. Roebuck further aggravated the situation by insisting upon a vested interest in the corner seat, a coign of vantage which in the following Parliament was made more prominent by the occupancy of Lord Randolph Churchill. At this time it was held by Mr. Dillwyn, one of the oldest and most respected members. He daily obtained renewal of possession by the customary course of being down at prayer time. Having observed that not always convenient condition, it was trying to human nature for Mr. Roebuck to arrive at a comfortably late hour and insist on taking the prized place.

There was not only the member for Sheffield to be provided

with room. There was his walking stick, almost as truculent as himself. This he insisted on placing lengthwise at the back of the seat. When Mr. Dillwyn and members seated to his left had moved down to make room for the old man, he had an agreeable fashion of prodding his stick along successive ranges of human backs, till room was made for it to repose at full length. Out of deference to his age and ancient reputation this trial was long suffered. But the worm will turn at last. One evening, in a house crowded in every part in anticipation of a critical debate, the bent figure of Tear'em was seen slowly advancing up the floor, making for the corner seat. It was filled as usual. Roebuck stood leaning on his stick waiting for Mr. Dillwyn to move. The member for Swansea made no sign, staring at the ceiling, apparently unconscious of the figure standing before him, or of the glowering countenance turned upon him. One or two Conservatives on the front bench immediately opposite jumped up, proffering their seats. Roebuck, turning round, slowly crossed the floor, and, amid a ringing cheer from the Conservatives, finally entered their fold.

The Queen's first Parliament did not meet in the stately palace that to-day dominates the Thames at Westminster. Nor was it gathered in the old building through which rang the voices of Pitt and Fox. That was destroyed by fire three years before the Queen came to the throne. The new Houses of Parliament were commenced in 1840, and it was not till 1852 that the Commons met for the first time in their new House. Meanwhile, the business of the Legislature was carried on in a temporary building. The Queen's first appearance on the Parliamentary scene was on the 17th of July, 1837, when she prorogued the Parliament in session at the time of the death of William the Fourth. We find in contemporary records that the speech was read "in a low, sweet. clear voice heard all over the House." Her Majesty was dressed in a white satin robe decorated with jewels and gold, the Garter on her arm, a mantle of crimson velvet over her shoulders.

When the new Parliament was elected (at that date a proceeding peremptorily following on the demise of the Crown) the Queen opened it in person, the sweet voice from the throne pleadind that "the early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom renders it a more imperative duty that under Divine Providence I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-oper-

ation and upon the love and affection of all my people." It is a notable fact that in the Queen's first speech on opening Parliament the only legislation promised related to Ireland.

Up to the commencement of the Queen's reign it was the practice, observed as we see in the Queen's earliest experience, for the Sovereign not only to open Parliament in person but frequently to go down to prorogue it. Whilst the Prince Consort was yet alive the Queen commonly lent to the opening session the grace and dignity of her presence. Upon her great bereavement the habit of abstention from public ceremonial extended to Parliamentary proceedings. Mr. Disraeli having won his way to the Premiership, the Queen honored him by personally opening the Parliament he led. Thrice during his premiership Her Majesty appeared at Westminster. Once was the memorable occasion when Benjamin Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield. One has vivid recollection of the scene on the February day, in 1877, when the Queen entered the crowded and expectant House of Lords, preceded by the heralds clad in gorgeous cloth of gold. In the procession there appeared a familiar face, a strangely disguised figure. It was hard to think that the personage in the red cloak tipped with ermine, who bore aloft a jewelled scabbard, was the somewhat dingily dressed Dizzy we had known so long in the Commons. Yet it was he, now Earl of Beaconsfield, carrying the Sword of State, in attendance on the Queen whom he had just made Empress of India.

In these later times the Queen's voice is not heard. The speech is in charge of the Lord Chancellor, who, when the Queen is seated on the throne, and the Commons, summoned by Black Rod, have ranged themselves at the Bar, advances, and on bended knee proffers the document. By a gesture of the hand the Queen signs him to read it. Thus it comes to pass that the Queen opens Parliament without opening her mouth.

The whole business, as far as the Queen is concerned, does not occupy more than fifteen minutes. But the scene is worthy of the setting and the occasion. For once the Peers wear their robes, flooding the floor of the House with a mass of color. This is diversified by the uniforms and orders of the Foreign Ambassadors, for whom provision is made on the benches to the right of the woolsack, where in ordinary times the Bishops flock. Here are seen the Turkish Minister with

his fez; the Japanese and Persian ministers in their gay uniforms; the members of the Chinese Legation in round high caps and petticoats, looking as if they had just stepped off the panel of a tea chest. Here are the ministers of Continental powers, their breasts ablaze with orders. Here, before Greece found she could not afford the luxury of a Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James's, gleamed the Greek Minister, in tight white breeches and petticoat of cloth of gold; and here, conspicuous by his plain morning dress, is found the American minister.

To the picturesqueness of the scene the judges lend their sage countenances, their full-bottomed wigs, their ermine gowns. They have places provided for them immediately before the woolsack, where they sit among the surpliced bishops. On this rare occasion women have their rights, a considerable proportion of the benches on the floor of the House being allotted to the Peeresses, whilst other ladies garland the long length of the side galleries. The coming of the Prince and Princess of Wales usually precedes the arrival of the Queen. The Prince wears the robes of a Peer, with no difference save that the quaint garment is tied at the throat with white silk ribbon. The Princess is conducted to the woolsack, where she sits with her back to the thronged House, her face to the throne. Meanwhile the Prince of Wales takes his seat in a chair set for him at the right of the throne. As the Prince and Princess of Wales enter, a swift, soft, rustling sound fills the chamber. It is the ladies, who have hitherto sat with opera cloaks covering their shoulders, beginning now with one accord to throw them off, revealing the flashing light of countless costly jewels.

When after long interval the Queen was, in 1876, again present at the opening of Parliament the white satin frock of girlhood's days had given place to a robe of imperial purple, so dark in hue that at a short distance it might have passed for black. On her head, surmounting the white pointed cap familiar in many of her portraits, was set a miniature crown of diamonds. Round her throat was strung a magnificent necklace of diamonds. On her breast the Koh-i-noor flashed like a comet. The jewel of the Order of the Garter glistened on the broad band of blue ribbon that crossed her shoulder. These were unwonted splendors of array, assumed in honor of the state occasion. Contrast-

ing with them, possibly more to the Queen's taste, were the simple black fan she carried and the black gloves that covered hands and wrists.

Though the Queen has long relapsed into abstention from taking personal part in the opening of the recurring session of Parliament, she watches its course with closest interest. Ordinary people obtain information of what passes in the House of Commons from their morning newspapers. The Queen has a special reporter, who with his own hand draws "Pictures in Parliament" for her Majesty's special information. He is no less a person than the Leader of the House. It was George the Third who instituted this parliamentary practice. In his time there were no long reports of parliamentary proceedings in the newspapers, and his Majesty commanded Lord North to despatch to him nightly a letter descriptive of the proceedings, cataloguing the results of the sitting. Most newspapers to-day have under various titles their parliamentary summary. Lord North was the first parliamentary summary writer. The continuous story has been abundantly supplemented during the Queen's reign, the bookshelves in the private library at Windsor bulging with the record of three score years. The work is written by a rare series of eminent hands—Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Randolph Churchill, to-day Mr. Balfour, yesterday Sir William Harcourt. It would be delightful and instructive reading, and is much too good to be wasted on the desert air of Windsor Palace library.

The only peep the public have been permitted to gain of this rare treasure-trove is possible in Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. There will be found a few passages from Disraeli's letters, written from the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons during Lord Derby's second administration. Dizzy was then in the prime of life, and was sedulously setting himself to overcome the strong personal dislike with which the Queen, influenced by the Prince Consort, at the time regarded him. Here was an opportunity of showing her Majesty what potentiality of an interesting companion, a sprightly correspondent, lurked under the glossy curls of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. Dizzy was at pains to make the most of the opportunity. His nightly account of parliamentary proceedings doubtless lacks the grim accuracy of Sir Robert Peel's communi-

cations; but, judging from the specimens available, they sparkle with point, are as full of graphic touches as is *Coningsby*.

It is a peculiarity connected with this important ministerial function that the letter to the Queen shall, with the assistance of a blotting pad spread on the knee, be written from the Treasury Bench in full view of the House. It would appear more convenient that the Leader of the House should repair to his own room, and with the convenience of a writing desk, compose his letter. More than sixty years ago Sir Robert Peel, coming in with his first Ministry, and being as much hurried as was possible with one of his temperament, began to write the letter on his knee, seated on the Treasury Bench. His successor imitated him. Sir Robert, coming back again in 1841, returned to his early habit. Thus it became established.

Mr. Gladstone introduced a characteristic variety into the practice. In the stormy sittings of the Parliament of 1880–5 he adroitly availed himself of the opportunity of successive divisions to get his letter to the Queen written. Commencing it on the Treasury Bench while the question was being put and the House cleared for a division, he, as soon as the tellers were named, with youthful alacrity headed the procession for the door. Planting himself at one of the writing tables in the division lobby he went on with his work while his followers trooped past. The division over, he returned, bringing up the rear, happy in the consciousness that he had utilized ten precious minutes that would otherwise have been lost on a busy day.

Those present on that night in June, 1885, when the government were unexpectedly defeated on Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's Budget amendment can never forget how Mr. Gladstone wrote his letter to the Queen. It was half-past one in the morning when he resumed his seat after winding up the debate in an animated speech. When the House was cleared for the division he hastened out carrying blotting pad and sheet of paper, coming back with his letter half written. While members streamed in from either side, and the buzz of excitement grew to stormy heights, Mr. Gladstone went on writing, presenting his humble duty to the Queen, and informing her Majesty how matters thus far fared. Before he had finished, Lord Randolph Churchill had leaped upon the bench below the gangway, hat in hand, wildly cheering, and the Premier, still going on writing, was enabled to add to his

budget of news the interesting item that in a House of 516 members her Majesty's government had been defeated by a majority of twelve.

The Prince of Wales, in this as in other matters filling parts in public life too laborious for the Queen's advancing years, is a frequent attendant upon Parliamentary proceedings. As a peer he carries the title of Duke of Cornwall, but, in common with the other royal princes, he sits in the House as a prince of royal blood. His place is on the front cross bench facing the woolsack, a situation indicative of the evenly balanced mind—"the cross bench mind" Lord Granville happily called it—which is not in thrall to any political party. The Duke of Cambridge has from time to time taken part in debate. The Prince of Wales' active participation in the proceedings of the House is confined to the occasional presentation of a petition in favor of the bill legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister. As a rule, invariable upon political issues, the Prince abstains from the division lobby, but for many years he has voted in favor of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

At one time, much more than of late years, His Royal Highness was a constant visitor to the House of Commons, his pleasant presence beaming from the center seat of the Peer's gallery immediately over the clock. During the turbulent times that marked the birth of the Parnellite party he frequently dropped in to watch the recurring crises. This habit gave the late Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar an opportunity of distinguishing himself above his fellows. One Tuesday evening in the early spring of 1875 Mr. Chaplin, then a private member, secured first place for a motion relating to the breed of horses. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by a numerous suite of peers whose faces were familiar at Newmarket and Epsom, came down to hear the speech and the debate. It was a great opportunity for Mr. Chaplin, and he was evidently prepared to rise to it. Unfortunately for him he had chanced some days earlier to offend Mr. Biggar. Joey B.—the member for Cavan—like the redoubtable Joe Bagstock, was sly, dev'lish sly. If Mr. Chaplin saw his opportunity, Joseph not only descried his, but seized it first.

Mr. Chaplin had risen, fixed his eyeglass, smitten himself reassuringly on his portly chest, had coughed in prelude to his opening sentence, when from below the gangway opposite, a well

known shrill voice was heard exclaiming: "Mr. Speaker, sir, I believe there are strangers in the House."

For a moment the crowded chamber was hushed in dismayed silence. The Speaker broke it by enquiring whether the honorable member for Cavan persisted in his intention of noticing strangers. "If you please, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. Biggar with encouraging nod towards the chair. Then the anger of the House found issue in a roar of contumely, through which was heard the unparliamentary, almost unprecedented, sound of hissing. Honorable members might just as usefully have sat down by the river's brink and shouted "Stop" to the falls of Niagara. At that time there was in force the mediæval order which required the immediate and absolute withdrawal of strangers from every part of the House upon an individual member taking note of their presence. Mr. Biggar was master of the situation, and few human faces offered an opening for exceeding the breadth of his smile as he surveyed it.

The speaker had no option. He must needs order strangers to withdraw. Thereupon the Prince of Wales, the German Ambassador, who happened to be in the diplomatic gallery, and the crowd of peers, boasting the bluest blood in England, were compelled to scuttle. Mr. Biggar had his fun, but the House of Commons reaped permanent benefit from the prank. He brought into broad daylight the absurdity of the ancient custom, which was thenceforward doomed. The privilege of spying strangers is no longer counted among the possessions of individual members of the House of Commons. Strangers may today be excluded, but only upon motion duly made and carried by a majority.

H. W. Lucy.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF POLITICAL PARTY.

To the Editor of the *North American Review.*

Sir: My assertion in your last number that political party, through which representative government has hitherto been worked, is apparently in a state of final disintegration, has appeared to some a hard saying. With regard to party in the United States I defer to American authorities, and I shall look forward with interest to the process by which the Democratic party is to re-organize itself and reconcile the element of Jeffersonian individualism with the socialistic element impersonated in Mr. Altgeld.

But let my critics turn their eyes to the other side of the water. In France, in Italy, in Germany, political party seems to be extinct. In its place you have a multiplicity of sections or groups, the number of which appears to be always on the increase. The consequence in France and Italy is a dangerous instability of government. In the case of France the succession of ephemeral ministries has been almost ludicrous. In Italy it has been found necessary, in order to obtain a basis for a government, to have recourse to the most unnatural coalition. If in Germany there has been comparative stability, it has been due to the personal ascendancy of Bismarck, or to the authority of the Emperor, who still retains a portion of the power derived from a dictatorship of national defence. Nor do the groups differ from each other only on particular measures. If they did, their re-organization into parties might be expected. Each, as has been remarked, has its own ideal of government, and is struggling for the ascendency of that ideal.

In the Austrian Empire, and in Hungary as a state in itself, the divisions are national and racial rather than political. In Belgium there is a strong clerical party, to which the other elements are opposed. In Spain, government can hardly be said to have been representative, so greatly has its course been disturbed by civil war, by the violence of army chiefs, and by personal intrigue.

In Great Britain, its native seat, political party seems still to live. Yet even here its term of life appears precarious. The Unionist party, now in power, is held together, not so much by a general identity of political sentiment, as by a common fear of the dismemberment with which the country is threatened by Home Rule. Mr. Chamberlain must have turned himself inside out if, in general politics, he is at one with Lord Salisbury. On the other side of the House of Commons you have three sections, the Liberals, the Socialistic Radicals, and the Irish Home Rulers, which can hardly be said to form a party, and certainly could not maintain a united government.

Between the Liberals, whose chief was Lord Rosebery, and the Socialistic Radicals, of whom Mr. Labouchere is the most prominent, there is a visible chasm. Both these sections voted the other day against the Irish Home Rulers on the vital question of national education. On that occasion the Irish Home Rulers showed that, connected as they are with the priesthood, they can hardly be called Liberals; while of the Liberals, three-fourths, probably, in their hearts wish Home Rule at the bottom of the sea. There is nothing like the sharp bisection of political opinion which there was in the old Whig and Tory days under the early Georges, or at the period of the French Revolution.

To supply a sound and moral basis for party government you must have a clear and permanent bisection of political opinion. Without this the existence of the parties can be sustained only by a Shibboleth or by corruption.

Switzerland seems to get on with representative government and without party organization. Her method deserves study. But her politics are more cantonal than federal, and as a whole they are on too small a scale to furnish a precedent or assurance for the great nations. It can hardly be said, therefore, that by her the problem has been solved.

Let it not be supposed that when a political problem is recognized as likely to call for solution a despondent view is taken of the political situation. The intelligence requisite to furnish the solution has probably been sharpened by exercise under the party system, as well as instructed by a vast and varied experience, garnered and methodized for us by political observers. Of public spirit and aptitude for self-government there is now far more in the world than ever there was before. If we do not at present see the way, the way will surely be found. The course of history is something like the path in the Gemmi Pass, which always seems to be blocked, but still, as we approach the obstacle, opens out again. Party government had its source in the issue between the Hanoverians and the partisans of the House of Stuart, an issue momentous, indeed, yet not inexhaustible. One can hardly imagine any thoughtful man being devotedly attached to it, or despairing of our political destinies because it seems to be near its end. Yours faithfully,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, May 10, 1897.

THE SENATE AND THE TARIFF BILL.

THE Senate of the United States, proceeding with traditional and wholesome care to the perfecting of the Dingley Tariff bill, has once more aroused the impatient protest of a restless people. We hear much of "the mire of debate"; we listen to low rumblings of discontent because of slow and aggravating deliberation. These complaints have been uttered before, and their recurrence at this time is neither novel nor surprising. The swiftly moving world looks with scorn upon methods that have the misfortune to possess the flavor of the last century. It demands speed, even though thoroughness be sacrificed and though justice and right be crushed beneath the Juggernaut of unreasoning and senseless haste.

In this especial instance, however, there are other factors at work beside the impetuosity of the times. A country depressed, a nation suffering from a prolonged period of commercial inactivity, a vast army of idle workmen waiting eagerly for the resumption of industrial pursuits, a political party

anxious to restore the prosperity it has so confidently predicted—all these and more appeal for prompt action on the pending measure in the belief that it contains the germ which shall develop into much-desired fruit. So now, as when in days gone by public sentiment was wrought to an exited pitch, there is a feeling that the Senate should be forced to hasten. Its complacency only irritates and annoys. The very indifference which it manifests to public clamor stimulates and intensifies the chorus of public disapproval. There would be some ground for this impatience if the much-abused system of unlimited debate had operated to the detriment of the country. On the contrary, its existence means the endurance of one great safeguard of the republic and its preservation is of more importance than the passage of a thousand tariff bills combined. To the thinking mind there is also cause for suspicion as to the propriety of changing the rules of the Senate in the very fact that the pressure therefor is most pronounced in times of partisan strife and public excitement. A movement which culminates at the height of passionate feeling is not, we suggest, the safest thing to be crystallized into law.

The Senate being a deliberative and not a purely legislative body, it very properly has no recognition of the previous question, the parliamentary method of forcing a vote. A Senator can speak whenever he pleases, as often as he pleases and as long as he pleases upon any pending proposition and no agreement to take a vote can be reached until unanimous consent has been given. This has not always been the case. There was a time in the very earliest days of the Senate when the previous question had its place, but, like the fig tree of Biblical story, it bore no fruit, withered and was cut down. The founders of the government, with that prophetic foresight which is at once our admiration and our envy, saw that there must be some place where the majority could be held in curb, some barrier erected between the House of Representatives and the President. The power to gag and suppress the brutal force which could be exerted with or without reason by a relentless majority against a helpless minority might be properly vested in a body like the House of Representatives, but if equally assertive in the Senate would produce dangerous results. With no check anywhere upon the expression of majority will, it would be possible for both Houses of Congress to place in the hands of a partisan President legislation which, passed in haste, would be sorely repented at leisure.

When, inch by inch, the slaveholders in the Senate fell backward toward final defeat, their antagonists sought to speed their downfall by depriving them of the parliamentary defense afforded by the Senate rules. From that day to this the effort to compel a vote by majority decision has been repeated with more or less persistency and radicalism. It is worth noting, however, that arguments which lacked neither in ability nor forceful presentation have not yet convinced the Senate that a change is desirable. Even the most modified form of clôture finds no support except among the few. The strongest argument in favor of departing from conservative methods has probably been made by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. "To vote without debating," he says, "may be hasty, may be ill-considered, may be rash, but to debate and never vote is imbecility." If the premises of this forcible statement were correct, the conclusion would be irresistible. The trouble is, however, that the intimation that the Senate never votes is not warranted by the facts. Neither is it true, as once asserted, that the rules of the Senate make it nearly impossible to do business. On the contrary,

the record of work done favors the Senate as against the House. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, the Senate passed 1,682 bills and joint resolutions, the House 1,200. In the Fifty-third Congress the figures were 1,086 and 951 respectively; and in the Fifty-second, there were 1,350 bills and joint resolutions to the credit of the Senate as against 990 for the House. The same result could be shown in any Congress. The rules of the Senate, therefore, do not obstruct legislation. More than this, it can be positively asserted that no measure of transcendental importance to the country, which commanded the earnest and aggressive support of a majority of the Senate and had behind it a positive public opinion, has ever failed to pass that body. If persistent, strenuous opposition finally prevails, it is because of grave defects in proposed legislation. The failure of the so-called Force bill is often cited as a victory for the minority—as one occasion where senatorial methods thwarted the majority will. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Force bill, at the close of a long and exceedingly bitter struggle, was displaced and another measure substituted for consideration by a direct vote of a majority of the Senate.

Unlimited debate, as I have shown, does not prevent the transaction of business. It does put a check upon hasty voting. Is this to be deprecated? The pages of legislative history answer the question in the negative. Take the force bill just mentioned. A House surcharged with riotous partisanship passed it with reckless haste. Had majority rule been uncurbed in the Senate, the menace to individual liberty contained in the bill, its rigorous provisions and the danger of its far-reaching purpose, could never have been emphasized until the minority was converted into a majority. No one to-day, we imagine, would be willing to assert that the force bill ought to have become a law, with its consequent re-solidification of the South and its brood of sectional ills. But for this same barrier of debate, the legislation of the reconstruction era would have been a blot upon the page of American history. If the minority had not interposed with moderate suggestion and appealing argument, blind passion and unreasoning hate, born of prejudice and fratricidal struggle, would have forged political chains and lacerated old sores until the succeeding rancor and strife would have become intolerable. It was the freedom of debate which punctured the absurdities of the Blair educational bill and prevented a romantic scheme for the expenditure of untold millions from being enacted into law. On the other hand, if the repeal of the Sherman law was an admirable thing, that repeal could never have been accomplished if it had been in the power of the majority to speedily force a vote, for when that measure reached the Senate the majority was against it. It was during the progress of the debate that the necessary votes for repeal were won.

If it be claimed that all this is no excuse for the deliberate attitude of the Senate toward the Tariff bill, it must first be proven that there is occasion for apology. The Ways and Means Committee and the House together occupied three months and a half in framing and passing the bill. If the Senate should desire to occupy only the same period, it has still until the 15th day of July before it must needs take the final vote, a date still some time distant. In the House, too, the consideration was largely in the nature of a farce. Only a few of the more than one hundred pages were even read, the remainder being bolted entire, save where the Ways and Means Committee patched up its hurried work by changes made at the last minute. This may be expedition but it is not legislation. It means that the bill went

to the Senate studded with incongruities and filled with errors of fact and of judgment. This is but history repeating itself. When the McKinley bill, which was passed in the same fashion, finally became a law, it contained between 700 and 800 amendments properly and necessarily added in the Senate. As for the Wilson bill, one has only to recall the deficit under which the government has staggered for nearly four years to realize what a mire of distress would have engulfed the country if additional revenue had not been added to the bill through the Senate amendments. In the Senate, too, we gain publicity. Unlike the procedure in the House, every item is subjected to keenest scrutiny. The defence for every increase, the explanation for every reduction, is being made in open court. The inquiries of a vigilant and curious minority are being answered, votes are daily being recorded, responsibility for committee action and individual opinion must be met. All this was deliberately avoided in the House, and would be impossible in the Senate with the institution of a gag law. It would be impossible even with the most modified form of cloture yet devised.

Freedom of debate does not prevent the consummation of imperative legislation; it benefits good laws and modifies or defeats those which are improper; it insures prudent examination, essential thoroughness and most advisable publicity. To its credit also must be placed its educational value. But for the prolonged discussion over the repeal of the Sherman law there would have been no financial issue in the last campaign nor would 6,500,000 voters have followed Bryan to the polls. It has been in the Senate and not in the House of Representatives that all the great campaign issues have been formulated, enlightening the people on public questions. All these are minor factors, however, beside the vital consideration of the safeguard which unlimited debate provides against despotic authority. Enforce a cloture rule in the Senate and there is no forum in the whole scheme of government where the minority can secure equitable rights. "It is the refuge of the minority permanent, abiding, and unchangeable," says Senator Turpie, and he adds that the principle of asylum ought to be as inviolable there as it is in any procedure under international law. Remove the opportunity of the minority to raise its protest, and representative government, in its broadest and fullest sense, is nullified at once. Majority power without proper limitation silences a vast integral part of the country's population and if unbridled and unobstructed in the Senate, as it is in the House, would invite national disaster. There must be some place where the minority can find voice, some platform where the inequalities of popular representation are corrected, some sanctuary where every man is on an equal footing and entitled to the same privilege and consideration, no matter whether he be on the triumphant or losing side. The minority has some rights which the majority is bound to respect, despite the assertions of intolerant victors to the contrary. Otherwise, there can be no acceptable adjustment of conflicting interests, no harmony which is so essential to the continued solidity of the Republic. Against any abandonment of the system which now prevails all the forces of conservatism and stable government solemnly protest.

The millions who believe in the free coinage of silver found their sentiments voiced in the discussion of the repeal of the Sherman law. If that debate could have been prevented by a peremptory vote, the same power would to-morrow suppress the free consideration of some topic even more vital to the American people. Suppose for a moment that the Senate

should in the future be controlled by corporations and trusts, would the masses feel secure if the great weapon of free debate were denied them? Most assuredly not. I agree with Senator Teller when he says that it may become the highest duty, the greatest obligation, of an American Senator to stand and resist, if he be in the minority, until he has brought the majority to a respectful hearing of his case. The trouble is that the House is no longer a deliberative body, but is dominated by partisan influences and by autocratic rules which admit of no freedom of action. An inflamed condition of the public mind, inordinate desire for power, motives of party revenge—all these can easily be potent in securing the passage through the House of measures that would disgrace the statute books. In the Senate, however, the opposition imposes careful consideration. Time, the great precipitator of all turbidity, intervenes and prevents the hasty vote that would send the objectionable law to the White House for the President's action. Washington never said a truer thing than when he likened the Senate to a saucer into which the hot tea of the House was poured to cool.

The barriers which wise custom has erected and long experience has sanctioned, are not to be torn down in a single night because of unthinking and inconsiderate clamor. The forum of free debate, wherein Clay and Webster in the past and others equally able and statesman-like in the present, have displayed their eloquence and intellectuality, is not to lose through ignorance and prejudice all the honor and the glory with which its great debaters have enshrined it. Against an excited, aggressive, and relentless majority the minority will still find a court where it can be heard without stint and without apologizing for its presence. There is still, thank Heaven! a legislative body where the brake of opposition can be applied to blind and unruly haste.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

ANOTHER WORD ON PRISON LABOR.

THE employment of prison labor so that it will not compete with free labor is a subject that has received during recent years deep consideration from penologists and those interested in prison reform. The system in vogue at the present time should not be condemned without a fair trial.

The objections raised originally by labor organizations, aided and abetted by manufacturers affected directly by prison labor competition, resulted in the adoption of various methods to keep the convicts in the penal institutions of the State employed. At one time the State employed its convicts largely on State lands. Sing Sing prisoners worked the lime deposits at that institution, while at Clinton the iron mines were developed. No objection is raised to this method of employing convicts, and it has been a mystery to many men why it was ever changed. The penal population of 1,200 in the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, and the average of 2,000 inmates to be found in the Workhouse, have been always employed for the benefit of the county of New York and to this no one has ever objected.

Labor organizations are on record that convicts shall work, but for thirty years they have protested against a system that places criminals in direct competition with free labor. They have insistently and persistently opposed a law that allowed the work of convicts to come into competition with the products of the legitimate manufacturer.

It has been clearly shown that, under the contract system, manu-

facturers could not compete with the prison makers of stoves or shoes. The legitimate business man was obliged to pay the current rates of wages, rent, insurance, and the other charges that go to make the burdens of a factory, while the contractor of prison labor had his factory free and convicts working for him at from thirty to forty cents a day under a task system which meant severe punishment if the convict failed in his work.

After the contract system came the State account and piece price plans. These were even worse for the State, as the people furnished the immense capital required to establish plants (nearly all of which has been lost to the State), while the goods were sold at ruinous prices. The whole subject was exhaustively discussed before the Constitutional Convention, which set the seal of condemnation upon the unjust methods of employing convict labor which obtained in the past, and adopted an amendment prohibiting the employment of such labor except directly for the State. This has been law for two years, but until very recently the prison managers made no effort to begin work under this new system as specifically directed by the Constitution.

The new Constitution also created a prison commission. This board consists of seven men and one woman, none of whom hitherto has had any special acquaintance with or made any special study of the subject of the employment of prison labor. This board is charged with the work of supervising the system, and, at its very first meeting, declared itself opposed to the old plan of employing labor in our prisons.

The first report of this board in courageous language declared that it is a simple matter to find ample employment for the prisoners now in the penal institutions of the State without placing these convicts as competitors in the open labor market. The new law directs that all State institutions supported wholly or in part by public funds shall obtain as far as possible their necessary supplies from the prisons. I have not space enough to quote more liberally from this report, but it took such important ground on this question that it awoke the dormant energies of the Superintendent of State Prisons, who, in a recent report, declared that he can find work for all the convicts in the State, and that these shall be employed in such a manner that their work will not compete with free labor.

Now that this new system is to be put on trial, I assert that it is only fair for the friends of the old plans to suspend their opposition until time shall demonstrate whether the new system is a success or a failure. Our opponents have always maintained that all they wanted was work for the convicts, but in urging the old plans they never stopped to consider how many free men were deprived of employment by reason of unfair competition. I am rather inclined to believe that those who were not directly interested in contracts were prompted in their opposition by a lack of knowledge of the true facts. I submit a few to show that we have quite a large community depending upon the State—large enough to make a good-sized city, and these the convicts could work for.

I take from the Comptroller's report of 1897 the following facts :

Population of reformatories and charitable institutions	6,000
In hospitals	19,234
In other institutions, exclusive of prisons	6,156

It cost the State nearly six million for the maintenance of this population—food, clothing, etc.—during the fiscal year which ended September 30, 1896. This population of more than 31,000 does not include the inmates of

the protectories, prisons, and penitentiaries, which, if added, would make a total of nearly 50,000 people who are a charge upon the State.

New York has altogether about 4,500 convicts available for work in the penal institutions covered by the new law. These can be employed in the following manner, and as one who has been interested in prison reform for many years, I am sure that there will be very little opposition. A fraction of the convicts could be employed to raise all the vegetables and prepare the food required by this community. Another fraction could cut and grind stone to improve the public highways. Cloth could be woven for the inmates of State institutions. With proper effort no convict need be idle.

It may be said that this sytem of employing convicts will not yield a profit. Do the people expect profit from convict labor? I think not. All that the public expects is that these institutions shall be made self-supporting, less expense of maintenance. The State of Mississippi has recently demonstrated the practicability of the system I advocate. The matter largely depends upon the men in charge.

There is no labor performed by prisoners that does not compete in some degree with free labor. The problem before us is how to reduce this convict competition to a minimum, and if those in charge of this work in this State will attempt to make the penal population supply the food, clothing, etc., for all public charges, I think the battle will be won, and all lovers of fair play will have cause to rejoice that another species of slavery has been abolished. As to the reformatory influence of labor in our prisons and the statement that constant employment is the only check to insanity, so often referred to by eminent penologists, I wish to say that when I was a member of the prison commission in this State, I examined minutely into the workings of the Elmira Reformatory as compared with our regular States prison. The conclusion reached by our commission was not flattering to the Elmira Reformatory. In fact, the consensus of opinion was that there is no reform unless the prisoner has reformatory tendencies. Those who are reformed do not owe their reformation to rigid rules rigidly enforced, but rather to their own determination to remain out of prison and live a decent life. Work never reformed criminals. The fact that men do not want to work makes them criminals, which is a distinction with a difference.

I believe that the clause of the new law which classifies criminals so that, after a person has been sentenced for the third time, he will be compelled to remain in prison until pardoned, will have more influence in reforming convicts than all the rigid rules adopted by wardens or city boards.

A word as to the development of insanity in our prisons, and I am done. During the past ten years the average each year shows that about fifty-five persons confined in prisons have become insane, and these lapses occurred at times when convicts not only had enough to do, but were overworked. Those who have been familiar with convict life know that insanity never comes from lack of work. The so-called "insane convict" idea is a development of morbid sentimentality.

It is indeed gratifying to me that this fight for prison reform, which I took up in 1871 as President of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State, has been forced to a successful issue. I hope to be permitted to live to testify to the success of this new system of employing prison labor, and am happy in the knowledge that the prison ring of the State of New York with all its power is a thing of the past.

GEO. BLAIR.

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TOLEDO, OHIO.

ITS ATTRACTIONS FOR BUSINESS AND RESIDENCE.

THE centre of population of the United States lies in Indiana somewhat to the south of Indianapolis; but the centre of population of the United States and Canada which, alike by the principles of Blaine, of Cleveland, and of Bryan, must become one with us commercially, as she has been and now desires to be, is very near the city of Toledo. The centre of natural and accumulated wealth is not far from the same spot; and in the great Western States of which Toledo is one of the Eastern gateways is living perhaps the most thrifty, enterprising, and industrially successful large population in the world; for, according to the brilliant article of Mr. Mulhall in the last number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the annual savings of their population in the years 1850-1890 averaged $49.10 per capita as against $38 50 in the Middle States, $28.30 in New England, $14.50 in the Southern States, $22 in Great Britain and $18 in France. Thus Toledo resembles a distinguished citizen "in her midst" who fought at Gettysburg. His division performed the decisive work of the fight, his regiment led the division, his company led the regiment, and he, of course, was the inspiring force of his company, so that he is fairly entitled to the credit of saving this great country. Such a man could not do otherwise than locate in Toledo.

Toledo is the second railroad centre in the world; is the terminus of the longest canal in the country; has a fine harbor, many miles of dockage on both sides of the Maumee, and room for many more. The new straight channel is proving of great advantage to her water commerce. Six of her railroads lead directly to the coalfields, and the finest coal is delivered at $1.10 per ton and upward. Toledo is the largest distributor of soft coal in the world. On her docks miles of tons of Lake Superior ore are unloaded, and here, therefore, at the natural meeting point of coal, coke, and the finest known ore, is probably the most advantageous point in the world for the economical production of iron and steel. Such is said to be the judgment of Andrew Carnegie, as it is of many disinterested experts.

The building here of the plant of the National Malleable Castings Company, said to be the largest in the world of its kind, without a dollar of bonus from Toledo, seems to indicate that the opinion of experts has been shared by men of affairs. This is a point one would like to dwell on did the space at command and the embarrassment of riches in other respects permit. Toledo used to be considered chiefly as a great grain market and it is still among the leading ones of the country, its elevators having a storage capacity of 8,000,000 bushels. It is the leading market of the world for clover seed.

Toledo is an exceedingly clean city, largely owing to the fact that natural gas constitutes the bulk of its fuel except for manufacturing purposes. For this reason and because of its exceedingly good health record (latest available statistics show death rate of 8.50, as against Detroit 14.30, Cleveland 17.42, and in fact the lowest of any city of its size in the country), Toledo is in fine repute as a residence city. Her excellent schools, including her celebrated Manual Training School, her beautiful Public Library, and her facilities for innumerable cheap excursions add much to the city's attractiveness, especially as a residence for artisans, but also for the well-to-do.

Until last year Toledo was the only city in the world where one could have a ten-mile ride to and from a waterside resort, admission to a good place of entertainment, with music and dramatic entertainment, and *all for ten cents.* Five belt lines of street railways, ranging in length from five to twenty miles, give the poor man and tired housewife as good a cooling-off after a hot day as the carriages of the rich. There are also a dozen waterside resorts and a chain of parks recently laid out around the city. The Valentine, frequently said to be the finest theatre in the country, has just been completed, as has also a handsome new court-house.

Twelve building and loan associations furnish means for home-building to wage earners and afford a good rate of interest for their savings. Aiding in the building of thousands of homes for those who, without them, would have continued to rent and spend their earnings instead of saving them, these must be classed among the most beneficent institutions of the city. Ten years ago these did not exist. They have been uniformly well managed and not a single failure has occurred among them. The climate also is, as

compared with other cities in neighboring States, mild and equable, and no cyclone has ever been known to visit the city.

Speculation in real estate reached a high point in Toledo prior to 1873, but the tradition of the collapse of that year has been such that speculation has since been almost unknown. Realty values are based wholly on income-producing power. The most valuable corner in the city is not considered worth more than $1,000 to $1,200 per foot front, as compared with $4,000 in Cleveland and Detroit.

In 1890 Toledo, with a census population of 81,434 (her progress being

1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
3,800	13,000	31,000	50,000	81,000)

reached that point where the experience of other cities shows that a new start may be expected. And so indeed it has proved. In the last ten years the number of names in the city directory has increased from **26,384** to **55,112** (increase 109 per cent.); the banking capital and deposits **$6,000,000** to **$15,000,000** (increase 150 per cent.); miles of street railway 2[illegible] to **109** (increase 448 per cent.); population 65,000 to 135,000 (increase 108½ per cent). These remarkable gains are largely due to the wealth brought to the city by our 24 bicycle factories (Toledo is the second bicycle city in the country), and perhaps even more to the development of Northwestern Ohio oil territory, of which Toledo is the natural headquarters. Natural gas has also had its share in the result. Owing to these things and to the absence of speculation in realty the panic of 1893 had comparatively little effect on Toledo, not a single bank closing or even suffering a decided run, and not a single large mercantile or manufacturing business being closed. Her remarkable progress lately may be judged from the fact that for seven successive quarters Toledo has led all the cities of the United States in percentage of increase in Post Office receipts. Comparisons are odious, but our neighbors have so much to be proud of that they will forgive them.

PERCENTAGES OF GAIN IN POST OFFICE RECEIPTS.

Toledo, 13.9 per cent.,
Cincinnati, 3.4 per cent.,
Cleveland, 1.5 per cent.,

A late report of *Bradstreet's* says that in general increase of trade Toledo leads the cities of the United States. Leading cities stand as follows:

INCREASE.	Per cent.
Toledo	35.0
St Louis	15.4
Pittsburg	13.1
Boston	8.7
Milwaukee	8.5
Providence	4.7
Omaha	1.8

DECREASE.	Per cent.
New Orleans	20.3
Chicago	10.8
San Francisco	8.8
Cleveland	6.5
New York	6.3
Denver	3.1

Thus it happens that Toledo has become noted among commercial men during the past four years as a place where things were still doing and where they might expect to sell goods.

Toledo gives a warm welcome to newcomers and new industries. Owners of suburban realty assist manufacturers, and her Chamber of Commerce, at whose request this article is written, extends a friendly hand. There are innumerable opportunities here for capital and enterprise, among which may be more particularly specified the following:

A canning factory (tin cans being already made here on a large scale).

A rubber tire works (the only complement needed for our bicycle industries).

A blast furnace.

A large and first-class hotel.

A car building company.

Any inquiries sent the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce will receive prompt attention.

CHARLES S. ASHLEY.

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By Pure Food
Not by Drugs

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AGAINST DISEASE HERE IS THE STRONGEST FENCE

Natural Living.

Seek by natural living to be well and happy. Disorders of the body cannot be helped by medicines unless the abuses stop. When that is done the individual is on the right road to recovery.

Daily bodily ails slowly add up, until a day of reckoning comes in the shape of a spell of sickness, expensive to the pocket and always a considerable push down the hill in more ways than one. It sometimes seems difficult to find where the trouble lies until coffee and tea are abandoned, and a plain diet taken on.

POSTUM CEREAL

... Food Coffee ...

Is Natural Coffee made of grains. It heals the system suffering from the effects of coffee and unnatural living.

Insist on having the genuine Postum. Some stores are loaded with imitations "just as good as Postum," "a dishonest scramble for a larger sixpence."

See the seals like those on the corners printed in red on the packages.

Postum Cereal Food Coffee is scientifically prepared from the parts of the cereals that go directly to rebuild the gray matter in the nerve cells.

Its use in the place of coffee means health, pleasure, power, gold.

If it has been served to you weak and unpalatable, don't condemn the beverage because of the carelessness of the cook. Insist that it be made black and rich as Mocha, **boiled 15 minutes, not less.** Serve hot, with cream, and you have a drink of magnificent flavor.

FAME AND GOLD AWAIT THE STURDY AND TEMPERATE

IT MAKES RED BLOOD

Imported Coffee
Exports Nerves

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Wherever You Are

on the dining car, in the cafe, touring awheel, avoid the danger of changing water—drink

HIRES Rootbeer

CARBONATED.

Drives away thirst, dispels languor, increases your health, adds materially to the enjoyments of life. It's always ready for drinking, and those who know its benefits are always ready to drink it.

Sold by all dealers by the bottle and in cases of two dozen pints. See that HIRES and the signature, *Charles E. Hires* are on each bottle.

A Package of HIRES Rootbeer extract makes 5 gallons. Sold as formerly, by all dealers.

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It is a complete **restorative** of the vital forces.

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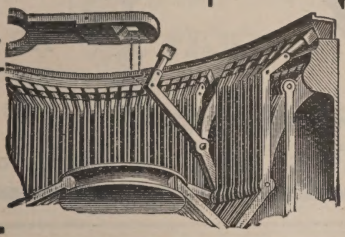

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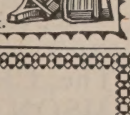

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Made instantly and deliciously with boiling water. Sold everywhere in 1 lb. and ½ lb. tins.

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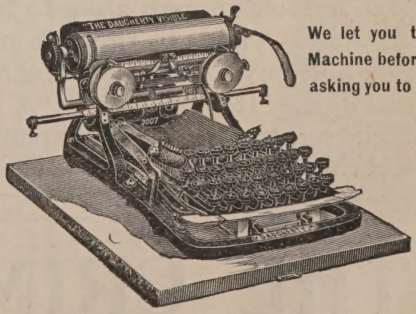

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Send 2 cent Stamp for Catalogue....

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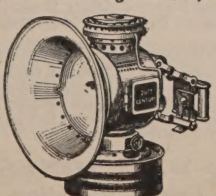

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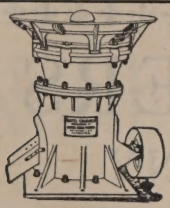

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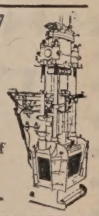

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THE

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PABST MALT EXTRACT The "Best" Tonic.

If you are a brain worker, a woman with household worries and cares, or if you need physical strength to fight the battles of life,

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"I cannot be too grateful for the immense improvement PABST MALT EXTRACT, the "Best" Tonic, has made in my system. Two years ago I was a dyspeptic wreck of fifty, but PABST MALT EXTRACT, The "Best" Tonic, has changed all that. It has not only cured my dyspepsia, but it has braced my nerves and cured me completely of insomnia. I consider that it has saved my life. It has changed a nervous, broken down wreck of fifty-two to a strong, fresh young man of forty. When my daughter was recovering from typhoid fever, she gained nearly a pound a day for three weeks, solely by the liberal use of your decidedly "Best" Tonic.

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The need of a protecting influence, a sure and safe provision for contingencies common to every household, was as real then as now.

In these days of progress, Life Insurance policies as issued by

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